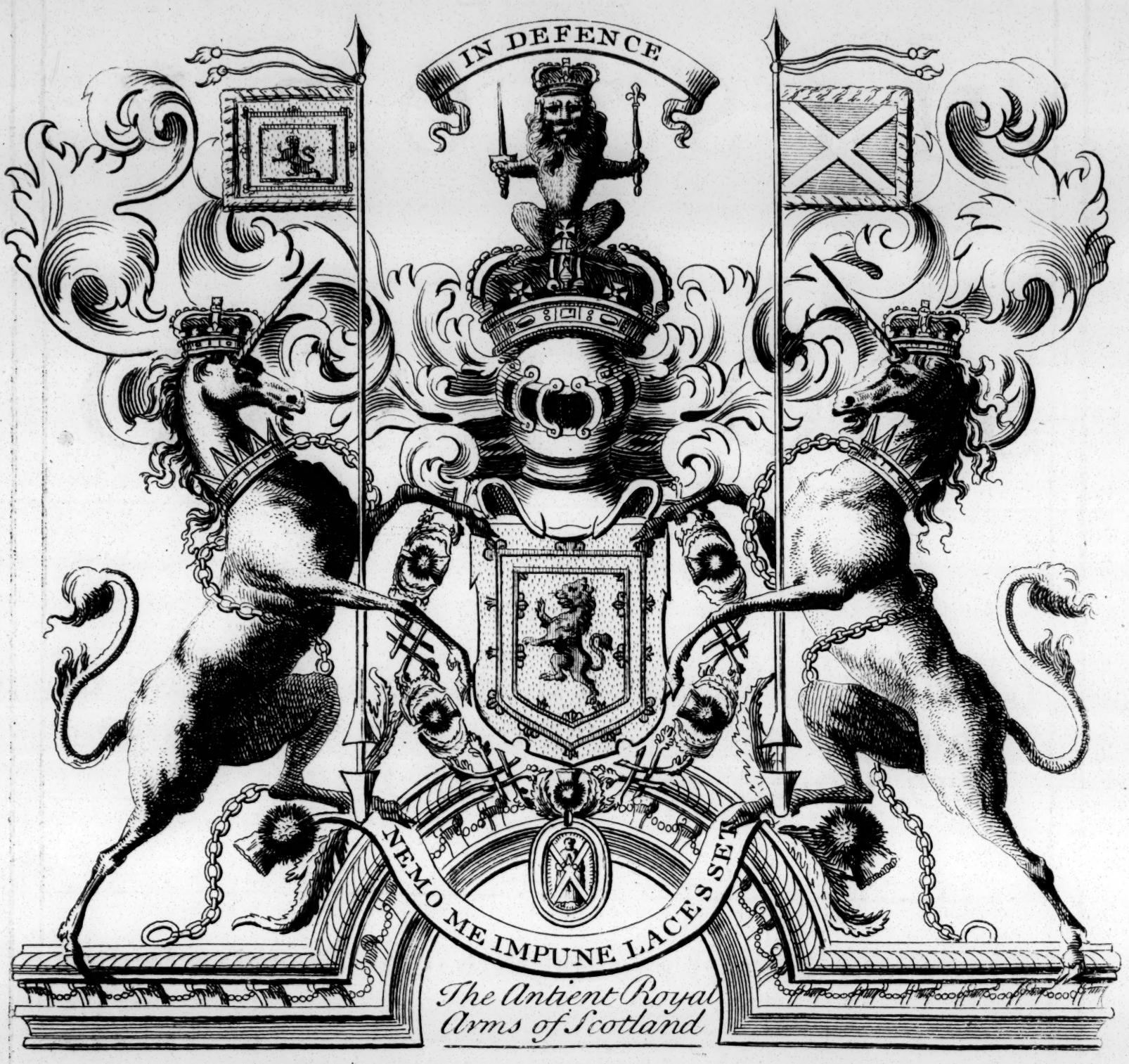
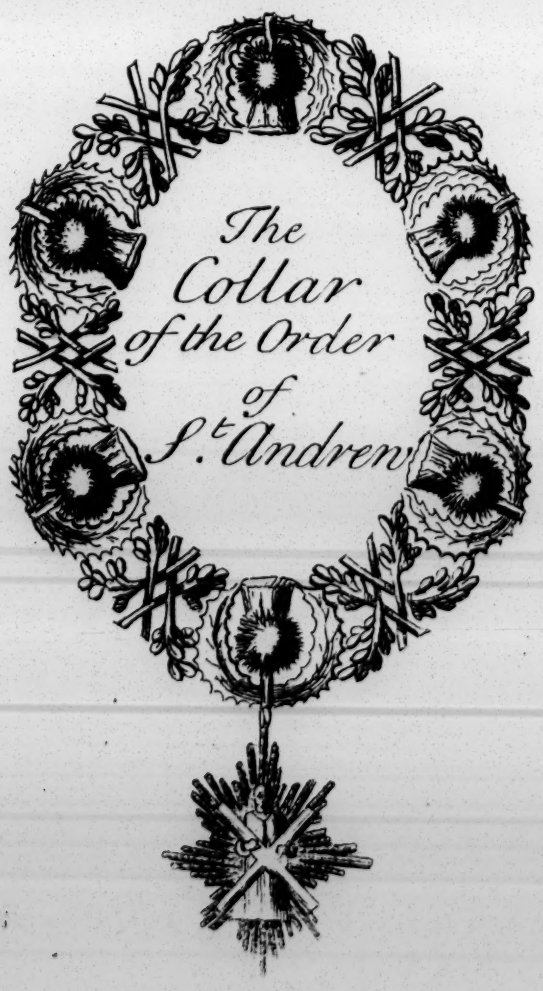


The Antient Royal Arms of Scotland



THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CONTAINING

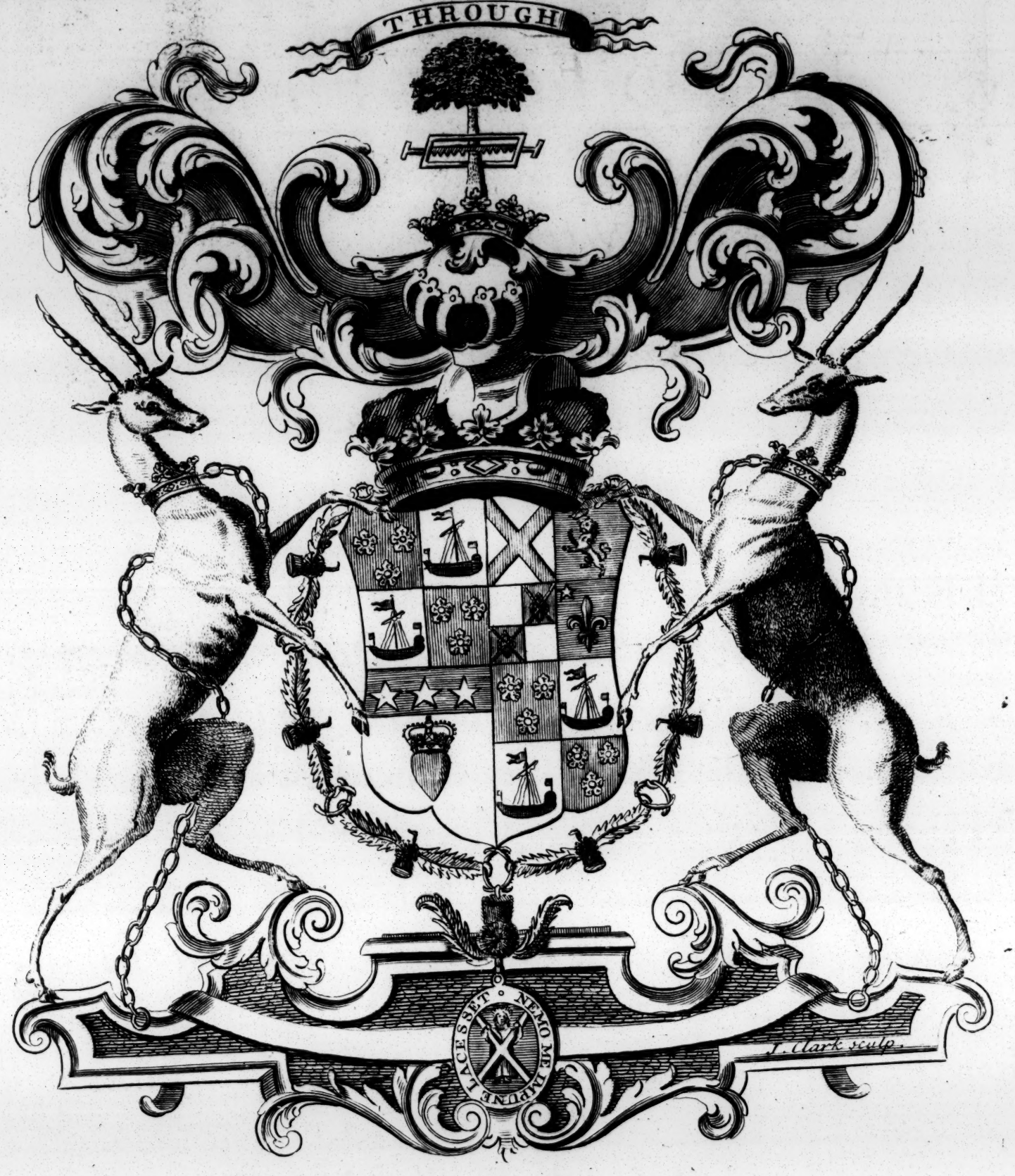
All the HISTORICAL TRANSACTIONS of that NATION, from the Year of the WORLD 3619. to the Year of CHRIST 1726.

Impartially Collected and Digested into a Regular Method.

By DAVID SCOTT.

WESTMINSTER:
Printed by J. CLUER and A. CAMPBELL, in *King's-street*, near the Abbey. M.DCC.XXVII.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM



To the Moſt Illuſtrious PRINCE,

JAMES

BRITISH MUSEUM

Duke of *Hamilton*, *Chattlerault* and *Brandon*;

Marquiſs of *Clydſdale*; Earl of *Arran*, *Lanerick* and *Cambridge*; Lord *Aven*, *Polmount*, *Machanſhire* and *Innerdale*; Baron of *Dutton*; Hereditary Keeper of the Royal Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*; and Knight of the moſt Ancient and moſt Noble Order of the THISTLE.

May it pleaſe Your GRACE,

AS You (My LORD) are both the Firſt Peer and Prince of the BLOOD ROYAL of *Scotland*, the Hiſtory of that Nation naturally claims *Your Grace*'s Patronage: And as this is my firſt *Effort*, I moſt Humbly

A beg

beg Leave to introduce it into the World under the *Sanction* of *Your moſt Noble Name*; as I am well aſſur'd, that the *Reſpect* univerſally due to *Your Grace*'s *Moſt Illuſtrious Birth and Perſonal Merit*, will, in ſome Meaſure, be communicated to any Thing that has the Honour to appear under Your *Protection*.

IN this HISTORY I have endeavour'd, amongſt other Things, to revive the *Memorable Actions of Your Noble Anceſtors*; but am ſorry, that neither my Capacity, nor the Extent of this Work, can ſufficiently deſcribe their Noble and Generous *Exploits*, perform'd in the Service of their reſpective Princes, and their Country: Yet, MY LORD, I hope my honeſt Endeavour to rectify the *Miſtakes* of ſome far more eminent Authors, Ancient and Modern, will obtain Pardon for my other *Imperfections*.

IT is a ſingular Happineſs that has always attended *Your Grace*'s Family, That no *Temptation* or *Provocation* could ever induce any of Your *Progenitors* to engage in private *Conſpiracies* or publick *Rebellions*; nor even to take, or deſire, Revenge of ſuch Injuries, as by Law and Juſtice they might have demanded: Of which there are many Inſtances in the following Hiſtory; eſpecially in the Caſe of the truly *Noble* and *Loyal* JAMES Duke of HAMILTON, *Your Grace*'s Great Grandfather, whoſe Character is moſt maliciouſly and falſly aſperſt by ſome envious or ſelf-intereſted Perſons, who have led others into great *Miſtakes* with Relation to his Grace's Actions: For it is certain, that tho' no Subject could be more provok'd or tempted to *Diſloyalty* than his Grace was;

yet

yet notwithſtanding of thoſe many Temptations and Provocations he had, to abandon the KING's Cauſe, and ſave his Life and Fortune; he ſtill perſiſted in his *Loyalty* and *Integrity*, and freely laid down his Life, as the *Laſt* and *Greateſt* Teſtimony of his Sincerity to the ROYAL CAUSE. And when his *Grace*, next after his *Royal Maſter*, came to ſacrifice his Life, amongſt other Expreſſions in his memorable Speech, he ſaid, with an Air that teſtify'd his inward Satisfaction and Sincerity; *For my own Part, I do proteſt never to have ſwerv'd from that true Allegiance which was due to him,* (meaning the KING;) *and that hath conſtantly been paid (to my Comfort I ſpeak it) to His Progenitors, by my Anceſtors, for many Ages, without Spot or Diſhonour; and I hope ſhall be ſtill by my Succeſſors to his Poſterity.*

I have nothing farther to add upon this Occaſion, but my moſt Earneſt and Sincere good Wiſhes, That *Your Grace* may Long Live, to inherit all the Virtues and Felicities of *Your Noble Anceſtors*; and that You may continue, as you are, the CHIEF ORNAMENT of Your Native Country.

AND, as *Your Grace* has been pleas'd to Countenance me in this Undertaking, wherein I have ſucceeded beyond my Expectation; I ſhall upon all Occaſions, according to my ſmall Ability, contribute my beſt Endeavours towards the general Advantage of my *Native Country*; which is the only Way that I can propoſe to merit *Your Grace*'s Approbation of my Performances. And if it may pleaſe *Your Grace* to indulge this my firſt Attempt, and paſs by

the many Infirmities incident to a Young and Unskilful Author; I faithfully promiſe to uſe *all poſſible Diligence and Induſtry* in mending my Faults herein, and *improving* my Knowledge in whatever may be of Advantage to the Country and Satisfaction to the Publick: And ſhall, upon all Occaſions, acknowledge *Your Grace*'s Favour with the utmoſt Gratitude and Reſpect, due to Your *Great Character* and *Noble Family*, by,

MY LORD,

YOUR GRACE'S

BRITISH MUSEUM

Moſt Obedient,

Moſt Oblig'd, and

Moſt Faithful,

INNER-TEMPLE,
May 1. 1727.

Humble Servant,

DAVID SCOTT.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

HAVING taken upon me to collect the *Hiſtorical Tranſactions* of my NATIVE COUNTRY, from the *earlieſt Accounts* to the *Preſent Time*; it may be reaſonably expected, that I ſhould ſay ſomething to the *Publick* in the Defence of my PERFORMANCE: Wherefore, in the *Firſt Place*, as I have honeſtly intended ſome Satisfaction and *Advantage* to my NATIVE COUNTRY, and at the ſame Time to turn my ſpare Hours to ſome Account; I hope all my Noble and worthy *Country People*, and others, will allow my Youth and Inexperience to plead Pardon for the Faults of my *Firſt Attempt*; which I hope ſome few more Years, and further Experience, may enable me to make amends for.

WHATEVER other Motives might have induc'd me to undertake this *Great Task*, I can ſolemnly declare, that I have had no View of *Party* or *Perſonal Favour*, or *Intereſt*, to carry on my Deſign, further than what honeſt and commendable Induſtry may reaſonably expect to meet with, at the Hands of ſuch *Judicious*, *Noble*, and *Worthy Perſons*, who are pleaſed to approve of my *Endeavours*.

AS I have ſeen many Examples of ſeveral unhappy Perſons, who, by being *Party Tools* and *Paraſites*, have made their Lives miſerable, and their Memory hateful to all good People, I am reſolv'd never to meddle nor engage my ſelf in any Thing, either by *Word* or *Deed*, that I can apprehend to be juſtly offenſive to any Party or Perſon: And I hope the Method I have taken in compiling the following *Hiſtory*, will teſtify for me to the World, that I have avoided all Manner of *Party Reflections* or *Flattery*; as I can freely declare to the World, that I have no Manner of Dependence on any Party or Perſon, further than that Reſpect and Regard I owe (and ſhall moſt readily pay) to my *Superiors* and *Benefactors*; and the Offices of Friendſhip and Gratitude, which I likewiſe owe, and ſhall moſt chearfully pay, to all my *Friends* and *Wellwiſhers*. But if, after all

my *Diligence* and *Induſtry*, to oblige all Ranks of People, as far as may be in my Power; any ungenerous Perſons ſhould be ſo very mean ſpirited and malicious, as to ſhew themſelves my Enemies, without any Cauſe by me given; I muſt be free to tell them, that I am ready to defend my ſmall *Performances*, according to the Privilege I have of being a free-born Subject.

As to the *Authors* I have made Uſe of in compiling this *Work*, I ſhall freely acknowledge, that in the firſt Five Books I have compared *Hector Boetius*, with *George Buchannan*, *Leſly*, *Holinſhed*, and ſeveral other *Authors* both ancient and modern, and continued the Hiſtorical Part, without interſperſing ſuch needleſs Digreſſions, as, in my humble Opinion, are entirely inconſiſtent with the Connection of *Hiſtory*. In the Sixth Book, which contains a great Part of this *Work*, I have made Uſe of Doctor *Abercromby*'s Martial Atchievements of the *Scots* Nation, with *Hawthornden*'s Lives of the Five JAMESES, *Buchannan*, and *Holinſhed*'s Hiſtory, with ſeveral other *Memoirs* of that Part of the *Hiſtory* of *Scotland*. And in the Lives of Queen MARY, and King JAMES VI. I have made Uſe of Sir *James Melvil*, Mr. *Crawford* of *Drumſoy*'s Memoirs, Archbiſhop *Spotiſwood*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Scotland*, with ſeveral other *Memoirs* in Print and Manuſcript: And as to the laſt Two *Books*, containing the *Hiſtory* of *Scotland*, ſince the Conjunction of both Crowns, I have had many Materials, beſides the Noble Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, and the Annals of the latter Reigns; ſo that if I am called to Account by any Party or Perſon, for any particular Relation herein mention'd, I am ready to appear and produce my Authority.

THEREFORE ſhall conclude with the laſt Words of my firſt *Apology*, That as I am confident, *Truth* in its native Dreſs, is more acceptable to the Judicious and Learn'd, than *Falſhood* in the moſt modiſh Ornaments of ſtudied *Rhetorick*, I hope the Veracity of what I have publiſh'd, will render my weak *Performance* acceptable to all impartial Judges. And as I have in this Undertaking, I ſhall in all other Actions of my Life, endeavour to convince the World, that I prefer Honeſty and Integrity, to uncertain Profit or vain Applauſe. And as an honeſt Character is preferable to precarious Intereſt, ſo it is more eaſily acquired and maintained; therefore I ſhall reſt ſatisfied with the Certainty of that judicious old Proverb, *Honeſty is the beſt Policy*.

LIST

LIST

OF THE

SUBSCRIBERS.

N. B. *The Names who have this* * *Mark before them, have Subscrib'd for* ROYAL PAPER.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A.

* HIS *Grace the Duke of* Atholl.
* *His Grace the Duke of* Ancaster *and* Kevestón, *Lord Great Chamberlain of* England.
Her Grace the Dutchess Dowager of Atholl.
The most Honourable the Marchioness of Annandale.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Abbingdon.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Arran, *Chancellor of the University of* Oxford.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Airly.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Aberdeen.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Albemarle.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount* Arburthnet.
The Right Honourable the Lord Abergaveny.
The Right Honourable the Lord Arundell *of* Wardour.
The Honourable Thomas Arundell, *Esq*;
The Honoured Sir John Anstruther, *Baronet.*
The Honoured Sir Francis Andrews, *Baronet.*
Captain Alexander Abercromby *of* Glassoch.
John Arburthnet, *M. D.*
Robert Arburthnet, *Esq*; *Banker in* Paris.
John Arburthnet, *Esq*; *Banker in* Paris.
Captain George Arburthnet.
Mrs. Margaret Anderson.
Dingly Askham, *Esq*; *Principal of* Benard's Inn.
James Abernethie *of* Burry, *Esq*;
William Archer, *Esq*;
William Acton *of* Wolverton, *Esq*;
The Reverend Mr. John Aldenbrook, *Fellow of* Katherine-Hall, Cambridge.
The Reverend Mr. George Anderson *of* Lutterworth, Leicestershire.
The Reverend Mr. James Anderson.
Mr. Daniel Alderley *of* Chester.
Mr. Stephen Austin *Bookseller of* London.
Mr. Joseph Austin, *Son to the late Provost of* Perth.
Mr. William Atkins *of* London.

B.

* HER *Grace* Anne *Dutchess of* Buckcleugh.
* *Her Grace the Dutchess of* Buckingham.
* *His Grace the Duke of* Buckingham.
His Grace the Duke of Bedford.
The most Honourable the Marquis of Bowmount.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Buchan.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Burlington.
* *The Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of* Burlington.
The Right Honourable John Stewart *Earl of* Bute.
The Right Honourable the Lord William Beauclar.
The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Bristol, *Dean of Christ's Church*, Oxon.
The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Bangor.
* *The Right Honourable* William Grevile, *Lord* Brook.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord* Binning.
The Right Honourable the Lord Bruce.
The Honourable James Bruce, *Esq*;
The Honourable John Berkley, *Esq*;
* James Bertie *of* Weston, *Esq*;
* *The Houourable* George Baillie *of* Jervisswood, *Esq*;
His Excellency William Burnet, *Esq*; *Governor of* New-York.
Rowland Berkley *of* Cothridge, *Esq*;
John Berkley *of* Spetchley, *Esq*;
The Honoured Brigadier Bisset.
Dr. Buttler, *President of* Magdalen *College*, Oxon.
The Honoured Sir John Brown, *Baronet.*
The Honoured Sir Thomas Brand, *Knt. Gentleman-Usher, and daily Waiter to his Majesty.*
Alexander Brodie *of* Brodie, *Esq*;
The Reverend Mr. Gilbert Burnet.
Orlando Bridgeman, *Esq*;
Humphry-Worly Burch *of* Middle-Temple, *Esq*;
Alexander Burne, *Esq*;
James Bogle, *Esq*; *Secretary to his Grace the Duke of* Hamilton.
Doctor John Burchard Menckenius, *Counsellor and Historiographer to the King of* Poland.
John Butler *of* Symonds-Inn, *Gent.*
Alexander Baillie, *Gent.*
Francis Baffano *of* Chester, *Gent.*
Patrick Blair, *M. D. at* Boston, Lincolnshire.
Mr. Alexander Brown *of* London, *Chirurgeon.*
Mr. John Barlow *of St.* Laurence-Lane, London.
Mr. Samuel Baddeley *of* Worcester, *Merchant.*
Henry Brook, *Esq*;
Mr. Daniel Brown *of* London, *Bookseller.*
Mr. John Biggs *of* Nicholas-Lane, London.
Mr. David Barclay.
Mr. James Brown *of St.* Martin's-Lane, London.
Mr. Lewis Barbar, *Gunsmith to his Majesty.*
Mr. Joseph Bowkar *of* Chester.
Mr. John Brisco *of* Chester.
Mr. Robert Bowie *of Pall-Mall.*
Mr. John Bruce *of* Fleet-Street, London.
Mr. Alexander Buchan *of* Round-Court, London.

Mr. John Bowie *of* Piccadilly.
Mr. William Batemen.

C.

HIS *Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.
The Right Honourable Peter, *Lord* King, *Baron of* Ockham, *Lord Chancellor of* Great-Britain.
* *His Grace the Duke of* Chandos.
* *Her Grace the Dutcheſs of* Cleveland *and* Southampton.
* *The moſt Honourable the Marquiſs of* Carnarvon.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Crawford.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Cheſterfield.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Clarendon *and* Rocheſter.
* *The Right Honourable the Counteſs of* Cardigan.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Caſſils.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Caſtlehaven.
* *The Right Honourable Lord Viſcount* Cheney *of* Whitehaven.
* *The Right Honourable Lord Viſcount* Chetwynd.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord* Craven.
* *The Right honourable the Lord* Cadogan.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord* Creighton.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord* Carmichael.
The Right Honourable Lord Charles Cavendiſh.
The Right Honourable the Lord James Cavendiſh.
* *The Right Honourable Sir* Spencer Compton, *Knight of the Bath, and Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.*
The Right Honourable Lady Mary Caryll.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Cheſter.
* *The Honourable Sir* Robert Clifton, *Knight of the Bath.*
The Honourable Collonel Peter Campbell.
* *The Honoured Sir* James Campbell *of* Ardkinglaſs, *Baronet.*
* *The honoured Sir* John-Hynde Cotton, *Baronet.*
The Honoured Sir John Colleton, *Baronet.*
The Honoured Sir Richard Corbet, *Baronet.*
George Cheyne, *M. D.*
* John Campbell *of* Stakpole-court, *Eſq;*
* Dougal Campbell *of* Craigniſh, *Eſq;*
* Daniel Campbell *of* Shawfield, *Senior, Eſq;*
* John Campbell *of* Shawfield, *Junior, Eſq;*
John Campbell *of* Barwilline, *Eſq;*
* William Chambers, *Eſq;*
Thomas Clifton *of* Letham, *Eſq;*
William Cleland, *Eſq;*
Francis Chute *of the* Middle Temple, *Eſq;*
Dougal Campbell *of* Ederline, *Eſq;*
Thomas Cartwright, *Eſq;*
James Cardinal *of* Chelſea, *Eſq;*
James Chetham, *Eſq;*
Laurence Craigie *of* Killgraſton, *Eſq;*
Alexius Clayton *of the* Middle Temple, *Eſq;*
Daniel Crachly *of* Danielſaſhe, *Eſq;*
Andrew Crotty, *Eſq;*
Darcy Chantrell, *Eſq;*
John Cotton *Eſq;*
Daniel Clayton *of* Flint, *Gent.*
George Cockburn *Gent.*
Corpus Chriſti *College Library*, Oxon.
The Reverend Mr. James Chalmers.
The Reverend Mr. Alexander Chalmers.
The Reverend Mr. George Cook *of* Warton.
The Reverend Mr. William Cremer.
The Reverend Doctor Edmund Callamy.
Mr. John Clymer *Governor of* Hoxton *Work-Houſe.*
Mr. Henry Crawford *of* Craill, *Merchant.*
Mr. John Crawford *of* London *Merchant.*
Mr. Alexander Crawford *of* London, *Merchant.*
Mr. Robert Crookſhanks, *Merchant.*
Mr. Thomas Cuthbert *of* London.
Mr. John Crookſhanks.
Mr. Oliver Coult.
Mr. John Cunningham *of* London.
Peter Campbell, *Gent.*
Mr. Cornelius Conner *of* Ryder-Street.
Mr. James Campbell *of* London, *Ship-Maſter.*
Mr. James Campbell *of* London, *Orange-Merchant.*
Mr. Thomas Corbet *of* London, *Bookſeller.*
Mr. Robert Coſsly *of* Briſtol, *Bookſeller.*
Mr. Richard Coſsly *of* Glouceſter.
Mr. William Cook *Printer, and Poſt-Maſter of* Cheſter.
Mr. Thomas Cook.
Mr. Thomas Cobb *of* London, *Engraver.*
Mr. John Clark *of* London, *Engraver and Print Seller.*
Mr. John Cluer *of* London, *Printer*, 12 *B.*
Mr. Bezaleel Creake *of* London, 12 *B.*
* *Mr.* Alexander Campbell *Printer*, 1 *Royal, and* 12 *ordinary B.*

D.

* HIS *Grace the Duke of* Devonſhire.
* *The Right Honourable* Francis Scott *Earl of* Dalkeith. 4 *B.*
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Dyſart.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Dundonald.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Dunbarton.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Dunmore.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Durham.
Her Excellency Madam D'Acunha.
* *The Right Honourable* George Doddington *Eſq; one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.*
* *The Honourable Sir* Coyners Darcy, *Knight of the Bath.*
The Honourable Collonel George Dowglaſs.
The Honourable Mr. John Dowglaſs.
The Honourable Andrew Drummond, *Eſq;*
* *The Honoured Sir* James Dalrymple *of* New-Hails, *Baronet.*
* *The Right Honourable* George Drummond, *Eſq; Lord Provoſt of* Edinburgh.
The Honourable Brigadier Dalziel.
James Dowglaſs, *M. D.*
* John Drummond *Eſq; one of the Directors of the* Eaſt-India *Company.*
Mountague Gerrard Drake, *Eſq;*
Mr. James Dowglaſs, *Merchant.*
Mr. James Davidſon.
William Draycoat, *Gent.*
John Downie, *Gent.*
Mr. Stephen Davenport. 2 *B.*

E.

* THE *Right Honourable the Lord* Erskine.
* *The Right Honourable Sir* John Eyles, *Baronet, Lord Mayor of* London.
The Right Honourable Sir Robert Eyre, *Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas.*
The Honoured Sir Charles Erskine *of* Camo, *Bart.*
Charles

Charles Erskine, *Esq*; *his Majesty's Sollicitor for* Scotland.
The Reverend Doctor Egerton.
Philip Egerton, *Esq*;
Thomas Eaton *of* Leeswood, *Esq*;
Martin Eccles, *Esq*;
Robert Eaton, M. D.
James Edmonds *of* London, *Coach-maker.*
Mr. Thomas Errington *of* Llangunog.
Mr. James Eaton.

F.

THE *Right Honourable, the Lord Viscount* Fitzwilliams.
The Right Honourable the Lord Forrester.
* *The Honoured Sir* Francis Forbes, *Knight, late Lord Mayor of* London.
Charles Fleetwood *of* Brumley, *Esq*;
William Fitzherbert *of* Swinerton, *Esq*;
The Reverend Mr. John Fletcher *of* Queen's *College*, Oxon.

G.

* THE *Right Honourable* James Stewart, *Earl of* Galloway.
* *The Right Honourable* Alexander Stewart, *Lord* Garlies.
The Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of Gainsborough.
The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Grimston.
The Right Honourable the Lord Griffin.
The Right Honourable the Lord Gower.
The Right Honourable the Lord Glenorchy.
The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Gage.
The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Gloucester.
The Honoured Sir William Gerrard *of* Bryn, *Baronet.*
The Honoured Sir Richard Grosvenor *of* Eaton, *Baronet.*
Robert Grosvenor, *Esq*;
The Honoured Sir William Gordon *of* Inner-Gordon, *Baronet.*
The Honoured Sir Archibald Grant *of* Monymusk, *Baronet.* 2 *B.*
Peter Giffard *of* Chillington, *Esq*; 2 *B.*
John Graham, *M. D. Esq*;
Lewis Gordon *of the* Middle-Temple, *Esq*;
James Granger, *Esq*;
Captain William Gerrard.
The Reverend Mr. Alexander Gardin.
John Graham *of* Killerne, *Esq*;
Thomas Green *of* Westminster, *Esq*;
Mr. George Glenton *of* Fleetholm, *in* Westmoreland.
Mr. Archibald Grant *of* Dantzick, *Merchant.*
Mr. Alexander Grant *of* Edinburgh, *Merchant.*
Mr. Edward Giffard *of* Worcester.
Mr. Thomas Gilbert *of* Worcester.
Mr. John Gyde *of* Rodborough.
Mr. William Green *of* London.
Mr. James Goodwin *of* London, *Chymist and Apothecary.*

H.

* HIS *Grace the Duke of* HAMILTON, 12 *B.*
* *The Most Honourable the Marquiss of* Hartington.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Huntington.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord* Herbert.
The Right Honourable the Lord Archibald Hamilton.
The Right Honourable Lord Edward Herbert.
Mrs. Herbert *of* Bedford-Row.
The Honoured Sir John Hale, *Baronet.*
Mungo Halden *of* Gleneagles, *Esq*;
Patrick Halden, *Esq*; *one of the Commissioners of the Excise.*
Major James Halden.
William Hamilton *of* Grange, *Esq*;
[illegible]iam Hamilton, *Esq*;
[illegible]nes Hamilton, *Esq*;
Stephen Hern, *Esq*;
[illegible]illiam Hamilton *of* Depthford, *Gent.*
[illegible]omas Hughs *of* Northophall, *Esq*;
John Hughes *of* Northop, *Esq*;
[illegible]ward Handford *of* Woolershill, *Esq*;
[illegible]us Hutchinson, *Esq*;
William Hutchinson, *Esq*;
William Harwood *of* Grosvenor's-*Ally*, *Esq*;
Captain Henry Hatsell.
Charles Hardy, *Esq*;
Mr. John Hayes *of* Woolverhampton.
Mr. Percival Hobson *of* Lombard-street.
Mr. James Harvey.
Mr. James Hart *of* Edinburgh, *Printer.*

I.

THE *Right Honourable* William O Bryen, *Earl of* Inchiquin.
* *The Right Honourable, Lord Viscount* Irwine.
The Right Honourable, Sir Joseph Jekyell, *Master of the Rolls.*
The Honoured, Sir Henry Innes *of* Innes, *Baronet.*
* James Joy, *Esq*;
George Jones, *Esq*;
The Reverend Mr. Edward Jones, *Fellow of* Jesus *College*, Oxon.
Phillip Jones, *Esq*;
Mr. John Jones.
Mrs. Mary Jones.
Messieurs William *and* John Innys *of* London, *Booksellers.*
Mr. William Johnston.
Mr. John Irwine.

K.

* HIS *Grace the Duke of* Kent.
* *The Right Honourable* Gerald d'Courcy, *Lord* Kingsale.
The Honourable Collonel William Ker.
The Honoured Sir James Kinloch *of* Kinloch, *Bart.*
* Abel Ketelbey, *of the Middle Temple, Esq*; *F.R.S.*
Captain Walter Keith.
Captain Alexander Keith.
Mr. David Kydd.
Mr. Thomas Kirkpatrick *of* London.
Mr. John Kirkpatrick *of* Norwich, *Merchant.*

L.

* HIS *Grace the Duke of* Leeds.
* *Her Grace the Dutcheſs of* Leeds.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Lincoln.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Litchfield.
* *The Right Honourable Lord Viſcount* Lymington.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of London.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Litchfield *and* Coventry.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Lincoln.
* *The Honoured Sir* Thomas Lowther, *Baronet.*
The Honoured Sir John Leman, *Baronet.*
The Reverend Mr. John Lindſay.
Gabriel Little *of* Liberton, *Eſq;*
Darcy Lever, *Eſq;*
Aſheton Lloyd *of* Placebellin, *Eſq;*
John Lloyd *of* Penrihobin, *Eſq;*
John Lloyd *of* Killan, *Eſq;*
Mr. William Livingſton, *Merchant.*
Mr. James Leake *of* Bath, *Bookſeller.*
Mr. William Lamb *of* Dover-ſtreet.
Mr. George Lamb, *his Son.*
Mr. James Lacy *of* London, *Bookſeller.*
Mr. John Leeke.
Mr. David Lyon *of* London, *Bookſeller.*
Mr. Daniel Lloyd.
Mr. Charles Lightbody, *Surgeon.*
Mr. Charles Lynd.
Mr. Richard Lee.

M.

* HIS *Grace* James Graham, *Duke of* Montroſe.
* *The Right Honourable* Alexander Hume, *Earl of* Marchmount.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Mountrath.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* March.
The Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Mollyneux.
The Right Honourable William Stewart, *Lord Viſcount* Mountjoy.
The Right Honourable the Lord Montgomery.
The Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Malpas.
The Right Honourable the Lord Maſham.
The Right Honourable the Lord Morpeth.
The Right Honourable Lord George Murray.
The Honourable Caryll Mollyneux, *Eſq;*
The Honourable Mrs. Anna-Maria Mordaunt, *Maid of Honour to the Princeſs of* Wales.
The Honourable Collonel Robert Munro *of* Fowlis.
The Honoured Sir Thomas Moncrieff *of* Moncrieff, *Baronet.*
William Moriſon *of* Preſtongrange, *Eſq;*
The Honoured Sir John Mitchel *of* Weſtſhoare, *Baronet.*
Andrew Mitchel *of* Weſtſhoare, *junior*, *Eſq;*
The Reverend John Mather, *Preſident of* Corpus Chriſti *College, and Vice Chancellor of the Univerſity of* Oxon.
John Murray *of* Philiphaugh, *Eſq;*
* Alexander Murray *of* Stanhope, *Eſq;*
Richard Moyſton *of* Penbedow, *Eſq;*
Captain Æneas Mackleod.
Kenneth Mackenzie *of* Gray's-Inn, *Eſq;*
Mrs. Middleton *of* Croſſinewidd.
David Mitchel, *Eſq;*
Samuel Mead, *Eſq;*
John Middleton *of* Briſtol, *M. D.*
James Monro, *M. D.*
David Middleton, *Eſq;*
Francis Maxwell *of* Tinwald, *Eſq;*
Alexander Montgomery, *Eſq;*
William Morrice, *Eſq;*
David Moncrieff, *Eſq;*
The Reverend Mr. Muſtard.
Robert Marſhal, *Eſq;*
Collonel Patrick Macdowall.
The Reverend Mr. John Maxwell.
The Reverend Robert Maxwell, *D. D.*
Mr. James Malcolm.
John Maidſton *of* Gray's-Inn, *Gent.*
The Reverend Mr. William Mackgeorge, *Miniſter at* Pennycook.
Mr. James Milne.
Mr. Nathaniel Miſt, *Printer.*
Mr. Thomas Maſon *of* London, *Merchant.*
Mr. Daniel Mackeuen *of* London, *Merchant.*
Mr. Alexander Mitchell.
Mr. John Moffatt *of* Exeter, *Merchant.*
Captain John Mannory.
Mr. Herman Moll, *Geographer.*
Mr. Robert Mitchell, *Letter-Founder.*
Mr. Charles Mackneilly *of* London, *Merchant.*
Mr. Archibald Mackay *of* London.
Mr. George Mitchel.
Mr. John Middleton.

N.

* HIS *Grace* Thomas Howard, *Duke of* Norfolk.
* *Her Grace the Dutcheſs of* Norfolk.
* *The Right Honourable* James *Earl of* Northampton.
* *The Honoured Sir* Michael Newton, *Baronet, Knight of the* Bath.
His Excellency Francis Nicholſon, *Eſq; Governor of the Province of South* Carolina *in* America, *and F. R. S.*
The Honoured Francis North, *Eſq;*
The Reverend Dr. Newton, *Principal of* Harthall, Oxon.
Mr. John Nicholas *of* Cheſter, *Merchant.*
Richard Naſh *of* Bath, *Eſq;*
Mr. William Neilſon.

O.

* HER *Grace the Dutcheſs of* Ormond.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Orkney.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Oxford.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Orrery.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord* Onſlow.
* William Oxford, *aſq;*
The Reverend Mr. James Orme.
Captain George Ouchterlony *of* Montroſe.
Mr. Benjamin Okell *of* Northampton.
Mr. Robert Ouchterlony.
Mr. James Oliphant.
Mr. Robert Oliphant *of* London, *Hatter.*
Mr. Thomas Ottey.

P.

HER Grace the Dutcheſs of Portland.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Pembroke
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Portmore.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount* Primroſe
The Right Honourable the Lord Petre.
The Right Honourable the Lord Percival.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord* Paiſly.
The Right Honourable the Lord Paget.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Peterborough.
The Right Honourable Sir Thomas Pengelly, *Lord Chief Baron of the* Exchequer.
The Honourable Robert Price, *Eſq; one of the Juſtices of the Court of Common-Pleas.*
The Honourable Sir Francis Page, *one of the Juſtices of the Court of Common-Pleas.*
The Honoured Sir John Pakington *of* Weſtwood, *Baronet.*
Herbert Perrot Pakington *of* Weſtwood, *Eſq;*
The Honourable Collonel Paget.
Collonel Edward Pennant *of* Bagilt.
Rowland Pool *of* Egermount, *Eſq;*
Mr. Henry Potter.
James Paterſon *of* Woodſide, *Eſq;*
William Paterſon, A. M.
Mr. Thomas Payne *of* Threedneedle-ſtreet.
Mr. Thomas Petrie *of* London.
Mr. John Paton *of* Edinburgh, *Bookſeller,* 13 *B.*
Mr. Petter Poter *of* Cheſter, *Bookſeller.*

Q.

* *HIS Grace the Duke of* Queensberry, 8 *B.*
* *Her Grace the Dutcheſs of* Queensberry.

R.

* *HIS Grace the Duke of* Richmond *and* Lenox.
* *His Grace the Duke of* Rutland.
* *Her Grace the Dutcheſs of* Rutland.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Rothes.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Rochford.
The Right Honourable the Lord John Ruſſel.
Sir Thomas Renton, *Knight.*
John Robinſon *of* Gwerſylt, *Eſq;*
Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, *Keeper of the Advocates Library at* Edinburgh.
Mr. John Robertſon.
Philip Ronayne *of* Ronaynes-Court *in the County of* Cork, *Gent.*
Mr. Charles Rivington *of* London, *Bookſeller.*
Captain Andrew Rany.
Mr. Thomas Richardſon.
Mr. Littleton Rae *of* Budley.
Mr. James Reid *of* Chelſea, *Surgeon.*
Mr. Alexander Reid *of* London, *Painter.*
Mr. James Rattery, *Dyer in* Perth.
Mr. Michael Ruſſel.

S.

* *HIS Grace the Duke of* Somerſet.
* *His Grace the Duke of* St. Albans.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Seaforth.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Selkirk.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Stair.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Stafford.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord* St. John *of* Bletſhoe.
The Right Honourable the Lord Southwell.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of St. Aſaph.
* *The Right Honourable Sir* Robert Sutton, *Knight of the* Bath, *and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council.*
The Honoured Sir Rowland Stanly *of* Hooghton, *Baronet.*
William Stanley *of* Hooghton, *Eſq;*
* *The Honoured Sir* John Shaw *of* Greenock, *Baronet.*
The Honoured Sir James Stewart *of* Burry, *Baronet.*
* *The Honoured Sir* Thomas Scawen, *Knight, Alderman of* Cornhill *Ward.*
* Thomas Scawen *of* Caſtleton *in* Surrey, *Eſq;*
The Honoured Sir Edward Smith, *Baronet.*
The Honourable Collonel James Scott.
* *The Honourable* John Scroop, *Eſq; Secretary of the Treaſury.*
Captain John Scott.
Captain James Scott.
James Scott *of* Logy *Eſq;*
Edward Sheldon *of* Weſton, *Eſq;*
Ralph Standiſh *of* Standiſh, *junior, Eſq;*
William Scott *of* Gornberry, *Eſq;*
The Reverend Mr. Stedman, *for the Library of* Queen's *College,* Oxford.
Mr. William Stirling, *Merchant in* London.
William Strahan, *L. L. D. of* Doctors Commons
Mr. John Sackfield, *Attorney at Law.*
Mr. George Strahan *of* London, *Bookſeller.*
James Stevens, *Eſq;*
Mr. Legard Sparham *of* London, *Surgeon,*
Mr. Walter Scott *of* Madera, *Merchant.*
John Scott, *Gent.*
James Stirling, *A. M. Teacher of Mathematicks in the Academy in* Tower-Street, London.
Mr. Edward Symons *of* London, *Bookſeller,* 12 *B.*
* *Mr.* Richard Stoughton *of* Bartholomew-Lane, *only ſurviving Son of Dr.* Richard Stoughton, *Author of the Great Cordial Elixir.* 6 *B.*
Mr. John Scott *of* London.

T.

* *THE Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount* Townſhend.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount* Tyrconnel.
The Right Honourable the Lady Viſcounteſs Tyrconnel.
The Reverend Dr. Thelwal, *Principal of* Jeſus *College,* Oxon.
* David Threpland *of* Fingask, *Eſq;*
Patrick Turnbull *of the* Middle-Temple, *Eſq;*
John Turner, *M. D. of* Cornwall.
Captain James Talbot.
John-Ivory Talbot, *Eſq;*
Mr. Tilden *Merchant, of* Oporto.
Mrs. Frances Twiſden.
Mr. Humphrey Traford *of* Ruſſel-Street.
Mr. William Thomſon *of* Leiceſter-Fields.
Mr. —— Tryon.

Mr. Thomas Tompeny *of* Woolverhampton.
The Reverend Mr. Thomas Tullideph.
Dr. Walter Tullideph *of* Antegua.
Mr. David Tullideph *of* London, *Merchant.*

U.

THE *Right Honourable the Earl of* Uxbridge.
Captain John Urquhart.
Mr. Thomas Uvedale.

V.

* THE *Right Honourable Lord Viſcount* Vane.
* *The Honourable* Henry Vane, *Eſq*;
Mr. Joſeph Venables *of* Newport, Shropſhire.
Mr. John Vernor *of* Finch-Lane, London.

W.

* THE *Right Honourable the Earl of* Warwick.
* *The Right Honourable the Earl of* Weſtmoreland.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount* Weymouth.
The Right Honourable the Lord Walgrave.
* *The Right Honourable the Lord* Walpole.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop *of* Wincheſter.
* *The Honourable Sir* James Wood *of* Bonnington, *Baronet, Collonel of the Royal Regiment of* Scots *Fuzileers.*
The Honoured Sir Robert Worſley *of* Chilton, *Baronet.*
The Honoured Sir John Werden *of St.* James's, *Baronet.*
* Watkin-Williams Wynn *of* Wynnſty, *Eſq*;
James Whorwood, *Eſq*;
Richard Williams *of* Goldſgrave, *Eſq*;
William Wynn *of* Carnarvon, *Eſq*;
William Wynn *of* Jeſus *College*, Oxon, *Eſq*;
William Watſon *of* Breedons-Norton, *Eſq*;
Benedict Wakeman *of* Beckensford, *Eſq*;
Edward Wood *of* Holywell, *Gent.*
Mr. James Woodman *of* London, *Bookſeller.* 3 *B.*
John Were *of the* Inner-Temple, *Eſq*;
Mr. James Willock *of* London, *Merchant.*
Mr. Robert Willock.
Mr. John Walker *of* London, *Merchant.*
William Whiteworth, *Gent.*
Mr. Walter Wood *of* Clent.
Mr. William Watts *of the Academy in* Tower-Street, London.
Mr. John Wayte.
Mr. Robert Williams *of St.* James's *Market.*
Mr. William Wood *of* London, *Peruke-maker.*
Mr. William Watſon.
Mr. John Wilſon.

Y.

* HIS *Grace the Archbiſhop of* York.
* *The Right Honourable Sir* William Young *Knight of the* Bath, *and one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.*
William Young, *Eſq*;

NAMES omitted in the LIST.

THE *Honoured Sir* Thomas Samuell, *Baronet.*
* *The Honoured Sir* Clement Cottrel, *Knight, Maſter of Ceremonies.*
Solomon Aſhely, *Eſq*;
John Aikman *of* Brumhillton, *younger, Eſq*;
Francis Aikman *of* London, *Gent.*
James Crathorn *of* London, *Gent.*
Mr. Edward Heath *of* Weſtminſter, *Apothecary.*
Mr. Robert Hill.
Mr. John Pierce *of* Cary-ſtreet.
Mr. James Gartſyde *of* Mancheſter, *Merchant.*
Mr. Samuel Mountford *of* Worceſter, *Bookſeller.*

BRITISH MUSEUM.

The

BRITISH
MUSEUM

A New and Correct MAP of SCOTLAND & the ISLES.

Containing all ye Cities, Market Towns, Boroughs &c. the principal Roads, with ye Computed Miles from Town to Town.

By Herman Moll Geographer.

6 Degrees West from Edinburg Castle 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 Deg. East

59 58 57 56 55

The WESTERN ISLANDS

Lewis I. Harris Taransay N. Uist South Uist. Benbecula I. Barra I. Coll I. Tire iy I. Mull I. Rum I. Skie I. Scalpa Raarsa I. Flada I. St Maries I. Iona I. I. Colonsay Oronsay Ila I. Oversa I. Boot I. Ailsa I. The Mul of Cantire

Gallan Head Pigmies I. Sigram I. Uuya I. Roll Row Stenich Loch Tua Bernera Sigram Bregg Barvas Stornoway Loch Stornway Heusines P. Scarp I. L. Kolmkil Birkin I. Flannan Islands Loch Erifort Classerni Scalpa Glas Harbour Loch Farbat Rowdil Solles Rona Kilvoria Kilchoan Knock Fairnam Kingsbury Dunvulm Loch Enord Brehapoor Kilmorie Restr Penuile Sosa Kil Cast. Glenbretil Muck Eynort Radagan Kilchamerin Kilmaroy Kilbride Kilbar Fuda Eriska Papay Bishops Isles Donich Castle Sodrisdel Kilchoan Kilmorie Arinkill Arrois C. Braki Kairnburg Keandavar Bernera Scorby Torristy Duart C. Duart Castle Shabach Lismore Kerrera Loch Letterline Kilbryd Loch Awe Kilchurn Castle Gulf of Corrywreckan Owanagen Loch Tarbat Duncol Fort Bintengad Port Loch Tarbat Sennagard Tarbat Rondel Balenoish Kiloarn Rilcatan Stroun Kair Head Colerain Londonderry Antrim Bangor Belfast PART OF IRELAND

Brough of Birsa Pomona ORKNEY ISLANDS Kirkwall Isl. Hoy mouth Hoy I. Stronsa I. Stronsa Firth Copinsha Sound Burra I. South Ronalsha Swinna Pictland Pentland Firth Faro Head Mal I. Dwirnish Roost Farra Plain Ronn Coin Sandwait Beg Inner Luisfoord Innabol Row Stoir Assynt Clawhoill Inner Chireag Achanahard Badinsedly Loch Brasdale P. Rowri I. Garloch Sanda Calnakil Combrichtmore Strom C. Donan Braecah Muck Eynich Kilchamerin Kilmaroy Kilbride Kilmore Loch C. Megarie Torry Ch. C. Nayair C. Loch Alyn Ardtornish Kilmore Arinkill Arrois C. Glenforsa Kerrera Duart C. Duart Castle Lismore Loch Letterline Kilbryd Loch Awe Kilchurn Castle Gulf of Corrywreckan Owanagen Loch Tarbat I. Colonsay Oronsay Bintengad Port Loch Tarbat Sennagard Tarbat Rondel Balenoish Kiloarn Rilcatan Stroun Kair Head Colerain Londonderry Antrim Bangor Belfast PART OF IRELAND Orkney Sandwick Stronsay Firth Deerness Kirkwall Scapa Holm Kirkness Orphir Stenness Firth Hoy Long Head P. Stour Foula I. Foula Yell I. Yell Fetlar Whals I. Brassa Sound Lerwick Isl. of Schetland Swenburgh H. Faire I. NORTHERN Orkney Isl. N. Ronalsha westra Sanda Stronsa Rousay Pomona I. S. Ronalsha Hoy OCEAN Dungsby Head G. Britain 5 10 20 30 40 Miles of Great Britain

Pentland Firth Caithness Strath Navern Sutherland Firth of Dornoch Firth of Cromatie Firth of Murray Ross Inver Ness Murray Bamfe Buchan Marr Badenoch Loch Carry Athol Gaury Merns Angus Broad Albin Lorn Strathern Perth Mentieth Fife Argile Sterling Clackmannan Falkirk Dumbarton Glasgow Renfrew Clydsdale Lothian Twedale Tiviotdale Lidisdale Eskdale Annandale Nithisdale Galloway Carrick Kyle Cunningham Dunbarton Lennox Stirling Kinross Fife Forth Firth of Forth Tay Firth Lothian Mers Northumberland Cumberland Carlile Part of ENGLAND IRISH SEA Solway Firth Loch Ryan Wigtoun Kirkcudbright Orr R. Barlocca Kirkcudbright Mul of Galloway Bay of Glenluce Port Patrick Dunkay Larig Ardslinchar Sanquhar New Galloway Dumlanerk Moffat Airdoch Lochmaben Dumfries Annan Blackwood Carnsalloch Pumfferries Abbey Cleistoun Tree Maka Wigtoun Whithern Glenluce Stranraer Forhowse Finard Dornakle Sinclair R. Inch Char R. Kilhenzie Girvan Balgeny Balintrae Killachen Drumming Skelden Qugang Crauffurd Ellerslie Pedun Kyle Craigie Dunlop Ayr Air R. Dun R. Irvin R. Irvine Kilmarnock Riccarton Hamilton Bridgwood Lanerk Cambusnethan Clyd Pleebles Moins Twedale Selkirk Tiviot dale Jedburgh Hawick Ormistoun Kelso Learmouth Wooler Belford Alnewick Ayle Mouth Rothbury Northum berland Morpeth Billingham Tyn R. Newcastle Braken Hill Carlile Holm Kirkpatrick Ecclefechan Annand Kirtle Esk R. Lyne R. Liddel R. Kirkandrews Gretna Green Solway Firth Cumberland ENGLAND Montrose Red Head Aberbrochock Dunbeth Langvale R. The Ord Head Helmsdail Loch Beg Dunrobin Castle Dornoch Loth Loth R. Brora Inner Shine Loch Shin Loch Loyal Rawe nil Strathy R. Strathy Kildonan Amster Kilt Thurso Dunsby Head Dungsby Head Nesse H. Sinclair Papingo Week Telston Clyth Dunbeth Langvale R. The Ord Head Helmsdail Loch Beg Dunrobin Castle Dornoch Firth of Dornoch Ferbaet Ness Firth of Cromatie Firth of Murray Findorn R. Tarnameanach Balnacoul Ardtuille Dingwall Milltoun M. Tarard Taine Tarbet Ness Cromarty Channery Fortrose Gordonstoun Cullen Banff Bog of Gicht Boyne Down Strechin Towy Gicht Vgie R. Spey R. Balvany Forres Elgin Brodie Duffus Tarnameanach Loch Ruthven Loch Moy Loch Ness Dunsdurin Inverness Stuart Tomnarich Lochy R. Ballachastel Findorn R. Tarnameanach Kildrummie Glas R. Tarves Inverury Dona R. Kintore Cluny Old Aberdeen New Aberdeen Port Lethie Cowie Stonhaven Dunotyr Castle Laurenstoun Esk R. Montrose Red Head Aberbrochock Kynairds Head Fraserburg or Rattray Buchan Ness Peterhead Bounes Vthan R. Newburg Kynairds Head Fraserburg or Rattray Buchan Ness Peterhead Bounes Vthan R. Newburg Old Aberdeen New Aberdeen Port Lethie Cowie Stonhaven Dunotyr Castle Laurenstoun Esk R. Montrose Red Head Aberbrochock Dunbeth Langvale R. The Ord Head Helmsdail Loch Beg Dunrobin Castle Dornoch Firth of Dornoch Ferbaet Ness Firth of Cromatie Firth of Murray Findorn R. Tarnameanach Balnacoul Ardtuille Dingwall Milltoun M. Tarard Taine Tarbet Ness Cromarty Channery Fortrose Gordonstoun Cullen Banff Bog of Gicht Boyne Down Strechin Towy Gicht Vgie R. Spey R. Balvany Forres Elgin Brodie Duffus Tarnameanach Loch Ruthven Loch Moy Loch Ness Dunsdurin Inverness Stuart Tomnarich Lochy R. Ballachastel Findorn R. Tarnameanach Kildrummie Glas R. Tarves Inverury Dona R. Kintore Cluny Old Aberdeen New Aberdeen Port Lethie Cowie Stonhaven Dunotyr Castle Laurenstoun Esk R. Montrose Red Head Aberbrochock Kynairds Head Fraserburg or Rattray Buchan Ness Peterhead Bounes Vthan R. Newburg

SEA.

FORWARD

To His Grace
The Most Noble Prince
CHARLES Duke of
Queensberry and Dover
&c. &c. &c. &c. &
Lord High Admiral of SCOTLAND
This Map is most humbly Dedicated
by His Grace's very much oblig'd humble servant David Scott.

Explanation
- Cities
- Universities
- Boroughs
- 4 4 Roads

9 Degrees West from London 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

The History of SCOTLAND.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Book I.

The original Deſcent of the Scots; *Their coming into* Albion: Fergus *Crown'd King of* Scotland, A. M. 3619. *The Hiſtory of the Kings, continued to the Reign of* Ederus; *when* Julius Cæſar *invaded the* Britons, A. 3912.

ACCORDING to Hiſtorical Tradition, the *Scots* are originally deſcended from *Greeks* and *Egyptians*; as *Hector Boetius* and ſeveral other Ancient Writers, do mention: That a *Greek* Prince, named Gathelus, Son of *Cecrops* King of *Athens*, having inſulted the Inhabitants of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, was ſeverely reproved by his Father. But being more inclin'd to Warlike Adventures, than ſubmit to Paternal Correction; he gather'd a Party of reſolute young Men, and went with them into *Egypt*, to fight againſt the *Ethiopians*, who had invaded and waſted that Realm to *Memphis* the chief City. *Pharoh-Orus*, in the 33 Year of his Reign, gave the Command of his Army to *Moſes*, the Captain or Leader of the *Hebrews*; with whom *Gathelus* joyn'd his Party, and fought a dangerous Battle; wherein they overcame and purſued the *Ethiopians* to *Saba*, the chief City of the Iſle of *Maroe*; which they took by Force, and ſubdued to King *Pharoh*. *Gathelus* having ſignalized his Conduct and Valour in this Victory, was ſo well eſteem'd by the *Egyptians*, that he obtain'd King *Pharoh*'s Daughter, named *SCOTA*, in Marriage; and had large Poſſeſſions given him in that Kingdom, where he, with his Wife and *Greek* Soldiers, lived in Peace for many Years: But it is ſaid, That after this Victory *Moſes* was envied and hated by the *Egyptians*; and as the *Hebrews* grew

Gathelus, a *Greek* Prince.

Went into *Egypt*, *A. M.* 2414.

Obtains Victory over the *Ethiopians*

Is married to *SCOTA*.

numerous and formidable, the *Egyptians* were jealous of them, fearing they would usurp the Government of the Kingdom; oppressed them with grievous Taxes and Servitude; and *Moses* having revenged the Injuries done to his People, on an *Egyptian*, was in Danger of his Life; whereupon he fled into the Land of *Midian*, where he remain'd until he was call'd by Divine Commission, to deliver the *Israelites* from *Egyptian* Bondage, and conduct them to the *Land of Promise*.

Gathelus and his People were well respected by the *Egyptians*, during the Life-time of *Pharoh-Orus*; but he dying, was succeeded by *Pharoh-Bocchoris*; who added to the former Oppressions of the *Israelites*, at which time the Almighty GOD returned His Servant *Moses*; to effectuate their miraculous Deliverance. It is said that *Gathelus* being conversant with *Moses*, and hearing the *Responses* of Oracles; was forewarn'd of the impending Plagues and Destruction of *Egypt*: Therefore prepared Ships, with all necessary Provisions, and having all things ready; He took with him his Wife and Children, with a great Multitude of *Greeks* and *Egyptians*; and sailed from the River *Nile*, in the 2453 Year of the World, after he had lived 39 Years in *Egypt*: And after a long and troublesome Voyage, he came upon the Coast of *Barbary*, formerly called *Numidia*; where he attempted to land; but being resisted by the Inhabitants, he set to Sea again, and passing through the Streights (now called) of *Gibralter*; he landed at a Sea Port of *Spain*, then called *Lusitania*, which is alledg'd to be called from his landing *Portus Gatheli*, now *Portugal*. Upon his landing, the Inhabitants armed themselves to force them to their Ships; but *Gathelus*, with his Company, encounter'd them in Battle, and obtain'd such Victory, as gave them Possession of some Part of the Country; and the Inhabitants entreated to make Peace with him and his People, which they agreed to; yet soon after they raised an Army, with a Design to destroy *Gathelus* and his People; but finding them prepared to defend themselves, they again sent to *Gathelus* to renew the Peace, with an Offer of larger Possessions in the North Parts of that Country, with Assurance that That Land, should be given to him and his Posterity for ever; and also obliged themselves to assist him and his People against all Foreign Invasions. *Gathelus* accepted of their Offer, and removed with his People, to that Part of *Spain* called *Gallicia*; where he built a City which he named *Brigantia*, since called *Compostella*. It is said that *Gathelus* had in this City a Marble Chair, in the manner of a Throne, whereon he sate, and gave Laws to his People: And at that time he called his People, *SCOTS*, by the Name of his beloved Wife *Scota*; whereby they might be distinguished, from the Inhabitants of That or any other Nation where they might reside.

Gathelus sails from the River *Nile*, *A. M.* 2453.

Arrives in *Spain*, and obtains Victory over the Inhabitants.

Removes with his People to *Gallicia*.

Gathelus's Marble Chair

SCOTS first so call'd.

The *Scots* increasing to a great Number, were envied by the Inhabitants; who again raised an Army to destroy them: But *Gathelus* being still on his guard, met them with his Army, and gave them Battle, in which both Parties fought valiantly; and though the *Scots* claim'd the Victory, yet were so weakned, that they accepted of Peace from the *Spaniards*; upon Condition that they would corroborate their former Grants, of the Lands possess'd by the *Scots*. After this they lived in Peace for many Years, until the *Scots* grew so numerous, that the Country could not contain, or sufficiently subsist them: Therefore *Gathelus* considered, that it would be far more proper and honourable, to seek some other Country for his People; than be obliged to violate the Bands of Peace, which had been so faithfully kept by the *Spaniards*, for several Years. Whereupon he consulted his People, and determin'd to send Men with Ships, to search into the Ocean, to find some uninhabited Country or Isles, where they might settle their Residence. *Gathelus* having by his Wife *Scota*, two Sons, the eldest named *Heber*, and the other *Hemecus*; he gave the Command of those Men and Ships to *Heber*, and sent his Brother *Hemecus* with him. After they had been several Days at Sea, they discover'd a great Isle, lying North-East from the Coast of *Spain*; and having viewed some Part of it, they landed; and as the Inhabitants were incapable of making Resistance, as being unacquainted with the Use of Arms, they fled to the Mountains and Rocks

Rocks for Shelter. *Heber* ſeeing the Iſle ſpacious, and plentiful of Fruit, and all other Neceſſaries of Life, ſent to the Inhabitants to ſignify to them; That if they would ſubmit to him, and live peaceably with his People, he would forbear moleſting them, and would defend and preſerve them from all other Invaſions. The People finding *Heber* ſo merciful, they ſubmitted to him upon his own Terms, and lived peaceably together for many Years; and when *Heber* had brought this Iſle to exact Obedience, he committed the Government of it to his Brother *Hemecus*, and returned to *Spain*. It is alleged that this Iſle was named *Heberniæ* from this *Heber*, by whom it was then conquer'd.

Gathelus died about the time his Son *Heber* landed in *Spain*, and the *Scots* received him as their Commander or Sovereign: He continued Peace with the *Spaniards*, and as the *Scots* increaſed in *Spain*, he tranſported them into *Hiberniæ*; and having diſcovered ſome uninhabited Iſles, near the North Coaſts of *Hiberniæ*, he ſent over ſeveral Colonies of the *Scots* to take Poſſeſſion of them; and being ſettled in the Iſles, they called them *Heberides*, from the Name of *Heber* their Prince. He govern'd his People many Years; and at his Death was ſucceeded by his Son named *Metellius*, or as ſome call him *Meletius*, from whom the Kings of *Hiberniæ* are deſcended, he having three Sons named *Hermonius*, *Ptolomeus*, and *Hebertus*. *Hemecus* in his Life-time kept the old Inhabitants of *Hiberniæ* in Subjection; but after his Death they inſulted the *Scots*, who ſent over to *Meletius* for Aſſiſtance againſt the Inhabitants: Whereupon he ſent over his three Sons before mention'd, with an Army, wherewith they deſtroy'd them entirely, and put the *Scots* in Poſſeſſion of the whole Iſle. *Hermonius* return'd to *Spain*, and left the Government of *Hiberniæ* to his two Brethren. From this *Hermonius* deſcended *Simon Breck*, who is ſaid to be the firſt King of *Ireland*; and that he brought over with him from *Spain* to *Ireland*, the Marble Chair. This *Simon Breck* reign'd King of *Ireland* 40 Years, and was ſucceeded by his Son named *Fanduff*, whoſe Son was *Ethion*, whoſe Son was *Glaucus*, whoſe Son was *Nathaſyll*, whoſe Son was *Rothſay*; who was the firſt King of *Ireland*, that went over into *Albion*. It is ſaid that *Rothſay* having Notice of the uninhabited Continent, near the Iſles poſſeſſed by the *Scots*, that he went over with Ships and Men, to take Poſſeſſion of that Country, which is ſaid to have been then call'd *Albion*; and that *Rothſay* firſt landed at an Iſland which he called by his own Name; and paſſing from that Iſle, he landed at that Part which was then call'd *Ardgile* or *Ard-gathel*; from whence he went over a great Part of the Country, and put the *Scots* in Poſſeſſion of all the Weſt Coaſt, from North to South, and called the Country from the People, *SCOTLAND*. The time of the *Scots* coming firſt into *Albion*, is ſaid to have been in *A. M.* 3383. *Rothſay* hearing of his Father's Death, return'd to *Ireland*, and the *Scots* Colonies which were ſettled in *Scotland*, divided themſelves into Tribes or Clans, and every Tribe or Clan, appointed the chief Perſon among them, for their Captain or Chiftan, after which manner the *Scots* in *Albion* were govern'd for many Years.

Gathelus, his Death, is ſucceeded by *Heber*.

The *Scots* firſt coming into *Albion*, from them call'd SCOTLAND, *A. M.* 3383.

While the *Scots* Colonies poſſeſſed the Weſt Iſles, and the adjacent Continent, it is ſaid that the *Picts* came firſt into *Scotland*; and that they were a baniſhed People from *Scythia* in *Germany*, or *Denmark* anciently called *Scandia*; and being driven out of their own Country, they landed in the Iſles of *Orknay*, where they lived ſome time; but knowing of the Continent of *Albion*; they ferried over that narrow Sea, between *Orknay* and *Caithneſs*; which from them was call'd *Pict-land* or *Pentland-Firth*. It is believed that they were call'd *Picts* from the Cuſtom they had of painting their Bodies or Faces, or as ſome ſay their Shields or Cloaths, with the Figures of Beaſts and Birds, and ſeveral other Devices. When they landed in the North, and found the Country uninhabited, they took Poſſeſſion of all the Eaſt-Coaſt of the Continent, from *Caithneſs* to the South Border of *Scotland*: And being an induſtrious and laborious People, they cultivated the Ground, and produced Corn and other Neceſſaries of Life; and at their ſettling they built ſtrong Houſes of Stone and Mortar. But the *Scots* were much given to the Uſe of Arms, ſuch as Bows and Arrows, or Darts; and as the Part of the Country, which they poſſeſſed,

Picts, their firſt coming into *Albion*.

poſſeſſed, was full of Woods, they had great Plenty of Cattle, and wild Beaſts and Fowls of all Kinds; which occaſion'd the *Scots* to exerciſe themſelves in Hunting and Hawking, as well for their daily Subſiſtance as for their Diverſion.

The *Picts* married to the *Scots* Women.

It is reported, that the *Picts* wanting Wives, ſent to their Neighbours, the *Scots*; deſiring to be admitted into Alliance with them, by Marrying with their Daughters; which being granted by the *Scots*, the *Picts* contracted ſuch Acquaintance and Familiarity with them, that they lived many Years in Peace and Amity, not offering to invade one anothers Properties; and, to corroborate their Alliance, the *Scots* were alſo married to the *Pictiſh* Women.

Britons, the Inhabitants of the *South* Part of the Iſle.

At this Time, the *South* Part of the Iſle was inhabited by a People call'd *Britons*, who knowing the Confederacy of the *Scots* and *Picts*, envy'd their Felicity, and contriv'd to breed Diviſions between them; leaſt that Two Nations ſhould have Occaſion to make War againſt them, and be too powerful for them to withſtand; and as the *Britons* fear'd the Strength of the *Scots* and *Picts*, they did not think it convenient, to attempt any Thing againſt them by Force of Arms; but plotted how they might deſtroy them by Stratagem: Whereupon, they ſent private Meſſages to the *Picts*, ſhewing: That they were ſurpriz'd, that the *Picts* had not propos'd their Alliance to them, who were a civiliz'd People, in all Reſpects ſo much like unto one another; whereas the *Scots* were a warlike dangerous People, every Way different from them both: And beſides theſe Reaſons, they inſinuated an alledg'd Prediction, which foretold the Deſtruction of the *Picts* to be by the *Scots*; adding, that if they would break off their Alliance with the *Scots*, and declare War againſt them; they ſhould have Aſſiſtance, with all Neceſſaries of War, to drive the *Scots* out of *Albion*; whereby they might be free from the Apprehenſion of that Prediction.

The *Picts* were ſo very credulous, as to believe all this deceit of the *Britons*; and return'd their Anſwer: That they were at firſt neceſſitated, to enter into Acquaintance and Alliance with the *Scots*, as they were the neareſt Neighbours to their Part of the Country: But ſince the *Britons* had ſo generouſly offer'd their Alliance and Aſſiſtance, againſt a People whoſe dangerous Deſigns, they had reaſon to dread; they would gladly accept of the Offers made by the *Britons*, and break off the Alliance with the *Scots*: Provided the *Britons* would give them immediate Aſſiſtance, they would declare War againſt the *Scots*; which Anſwer gave great Satisfaction to the *Britons*. The *Picts* had not yet any juſt Pretence to declare War againſt the *Scots*; but having a deceitful Promiſe, of an Army of *Britons* to join them, ſo ſoon as the *Scots* would appear ready to give them Battle; they commanded by Proclamation, that all the *Scots* Men ſhould depart every Town, and all other Parts of the Country poſſeſs'd by them, before a Day limited, upon Pain of Death: That Day being expired, ſeveral *Scots* Men were ſlain by the *Picts*; which barbarous Cruelty ſo enrag'd the *Scots*, that they fell upon the *Picts*, and ſlew them wherever they could find them; untill they had ſufficiently reveng'd the Murder of their People. Great Slaughter being committed on both Sides, without any regard to their Relation, or former Alliance: The *Picts* declar'd War againſt the *Scots*, and were reſolv'd to fall upon them ſuddenly; as they imagin'd the *Britons* would give them ſuch Aſſiſtance as would eaſily vanquiſh and deſtroy the *Scots*. In the mean Time, the *Scots* aſſembled with their Chiftans, and after Conſultation, they determin'd to give Battle to the *Picts*: But having Intelligence of their Confederacy with the *Britons*, they again aſſembled in Council to conſider proper Means to engage the Two Nations in Battle; at which Time it was propoſed by ſome of the moſt judicious Chiftans: That as the perfidious *Picts*, had violated their Oaths and Promiſes, to their Relations and faithful Neighbours, and had privately enter'd into an Alliance, with the *Britons* to deſtroy them; therefore advis'd to ſend over Ambaſſadors to *Hiberniæ*, to their ancient Relations, to repreſent the Barbarity and Treachery of the *Picts*, with all the Circumſtances of their Danger; and to implore their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Picts* and *Britons*, who intended to deſtroy, or drive them from their Poſſeſſions in *Albion*. This Advice being unanimouſly approv'd, by all the Chiftans and Clans; an Ambaſſador was immediately ſent over to *Hiberniæ*.

The *Picts* declare War againſt the *Scots*.

The *Scots* ſend to *Hiberniæ* for Aſſiſtance.

The

The chief Prince of that Nation, whoſe Name was *Ferquhard*, receiv'd the Ambaſſador reſpectfully, and after hearing the Injuries done to the *Scots*; ſent over his Son *FERGUS*, with a great Number of Men and Arms: And that he might be the more reſpected by the *Scots* in *Albion*; he brought over with him, the Marble Chair, call'd *Fatal*, from an Inſcription which is mention'd in *Latin* Verſe:

Ferquhard ſends his Son *FERGUS* with an Army to *Scotland*.

Ni fallat fatum Scoti, *quocunque locatum*
Inveniunt Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.
If Fate fail not the *Scots*, in that Place where
They find this Stone, they ſurely ſhall reign there.

When *Fergus* landed in *Albion* with his Army, he was receiv'd by the *Scots* with all Demonſtrations of Joy and Reſpect: And when all the Chiftans, with their Tribes, were aſſembled, he made an Oration, ſhewing them; That it was not Intereſt, nor Expectation of Reward, or Preferment, had induc'd him to come over to their Aſſiſtance: But as they were one People of the ſame Blood, he came with his Army, to revenge the Injuries done them by their Enemies; and would venture his Life in their Defence, and loſe it, or obtain Victory. The *Scots*, pleaſed with this generous Declaration, made Anſwer to *Fergus*; That as he was the Succeſſor of *Gathelus*, the Prince and Commander of their ancient Progenitors, and had regarded their Sufferings ſo far as to hazard his Life in their Defence; It would be great Injuſtice and Ingratitude in them, to deny him that Power and Command, to which he had a juſt Title by his Birth: And that as his Valour and Virtue was ſufficient, to recommend him to their Favour and Affection, if a Stranger: Since he was a Prince of their own Blood and Lineage, they could not doubt being happy under his Government; Therefore they would always reſpect and obey him as their chief Commander, and Sovereign Prince.

Fergus's Declaration to the *Scots*.

The *Scots* being then at *Argyle*, it was unanimouſly agreed, in a full Aſſembly of the Chiftans and People; That *Fergus* ſhould be made chief Commander of the Army, and declar'd their Sovereign Prince; with the ſame Power over all the *Scots* in *Albion*, or *Scotland*, as his Predeceſſors had formerly over the *Scots* in *Spain* and *Hiberniæ*: And according to the Cuſtom of the Kings of *Hiberniæ*, or *Ireland*, *Fergus* was Crown'd, ſitting in the Marble Chair, and Declared KING OF SCOTLAND.

FERGUS I. *The* Firſt *King of* Scotland.

FERGUS, the Son of *Ferquhard* King of *Ireland*, was crown'd King of *Scotland*, at *Argyle*, in the Year of the World 3619, being 330 Years before the Incarnation of our Bleſſed Saviour *JESUS CHRIST*; After the building of *Rome*, 420 Years; And about the Fourth Monarchy, when *Darius* the laſt Monarch of *Perſia*, was vanquiſh'd by *Alexander* the Great, King of *Macedon*.

FERGUS crown'd King of *Scotland*, *A. M.* 3619.

When the Ceremony of the Coronation was perform'd, *Fergus* (now call'd KING) exhorted the ſeveral Tribes or Clans, to be obedient to their Chiftans, as formerly; ſhewing them, that the Chiftans ſhould be accountable for the Behaviour of their particular Clans; and as he had Notice that the *Picts* and *Britons*, were then enter'd into the Borders of *Scotland*; he commanded the Chiftans to have all their Clans, (with 40 Days Proviſion) ready to march with him againſt the *Picts* and *Britons*; to give them Battle, if Need required: And according to the Cuſtom of the People, the King cauſed Sacrifice to be made, and pray'd to the Gods, to take Vengeance of the Party that had occaſion'd the War; and to grant him ſuch Felicity in his juſt Defence, as to obtain Victory without great Slaughter of his People.

The Ancient Royal Arms of *Scotland.*

The *Picts* and *Britons* being advanc'd in two Armies; *Fergus* with his Army of *Scots* march'd againſt them, having his Banner diſplay'd, on which was depicted, in a Golden Field, a Red Lyon Rampant: Which Arms was afterwards carried by the ſucceeding Kings of *Scotland*, on all their Standards and Shields, without Alteration, until it was augmented by the *French* Arms, in the Reign of *Achaius*.

When the three Armies came within Sight of each other, the *Scots* and *Picts* were form'd to join in Battle: And the *Britons* alſo formed, but were reſolv'd to delay fighting, until the *Scots* and *Picts* were engag'd, and either of them defeated; ſo that they might attack the fatigu'd Conquerors with their freſh Army, and deſtroy them; by which means they might kill or drive both *Scots* and *Picts* out of the Iſle. This Deceit of the *Britons* being diſcover'd to King *Fergus*, by a fugitive *Briton*; he ſent Notice thereof to the *Picts*; and at the ſame time deſir'd a Conference with their King. The *Picts* being convinc'd of the fraudulent dealings of the *Britons*, they condeſcended that their King, with the chief Perſons of his Army, ſhould meet *Fergus* with ſuch as he thought fit, at a Place appointed between both their Armies; and when the two Kings met, being attended by the chief Perſons of both Armies; they inform'd each other of the Treachery of the *Britons*, who had occaſion'd ſuch Diſturbance between their two Nations. While they were together, the *Picts* Wives, being Daughters of the *Scots*, implored the Kings with moſt lamentable Cries and Tears, to renew the former Alliance: So that their Conference terminated in mutual Promiſes, to continue the ancient Alliance, and to joyn their Forces againſt the *Britons*, to redreſs the Damages they had done each other.

The *Britons* finding the hopes they conceiv'd by their firſt Project, entirely fruſtrated; they ſent Robbers privately among the *Picts*, to drive away their Cattle, endeavouring to make them ſuſpect the Robberies were committed by the *Scots*: But that Contrivance being likewiſe diſcover'd, did ſo exaſperate both the Kings, that they with their Armies enter'd the *Britons* Kingdom ſeparately, and having waſted the Country with Fire and Sword, carried off great Numbers of Cattle and other Goods, which they divided among their Soldiers. The *Britons*, to revenge this Loſs, enter'd *Scotland* with a great Army, and ravaged the Country till they came to the River *Down*, which divideth *Kyle* from *Carrick*, and pitch'd their Tents upon the Banks of that River: When *Fergus* had Notice thereof, he raiſed his Army, and ſent all the Women and Children, with their portable Goods, to the moſt inacceſſable Mountains, and ſecured all the Roads and Avenues, till the *Picts* could come up; who being come and joyn'd with the *Scots*; they enter'd into Conſultation, and determin'd to ſend a Party of their Army into the Enemies Country, to draw the *Britons* after them: But the King of the *Britons* having Intelligence of their Deſigns, by his Spies, he ſent 5000 Men before them, to lye in Ambuſh in the upper Grounds, and order'd the reſt of his Army to march directly againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*: Whereof, when they had Notice, they again enter'd into Conſultation, and determin'd to attack the *Britons* by Night. They form'd their Army, with the *Scots* in the Front, and the *Picts* in the Rear, and aſſaulted the *Britons* before Day-light, by which means they made great Slaughter among them. In this Engagement fell the moſt Part of the *Britons* Army, with their King named *Coilus*, from whoſe Name the Place where they fought was call'd *Coile*, afterwards, by Alteration of the Word, was named *Kyle*, lying in the Shire of *Air*. They were ſo diſpirited, after the Loſs of their King, and ſo many of their Army, that they ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Scots* and *Picts*, to make Peace; which the Confederate Kings granted, but not without upbraiding them with their former Treachery. When the *Scots* and *Picts* return'd home, the Kings exhorted their People to adore the Gods, who had given them ſuch Victory over their Enemies; and to live in Peace and Amity, as became Neighbours, Relations, and Confederates. In the mean time both Kings and People gave each other Solemn Oaths and Promiſes, to preſerve their Alliance inviolably in all time coming.

Coilus, King of *Britons*, with moſt of his Army, are ſlain by the *Scots* and *Picts*.

The

The *Scots* being thus freed from all Apprehenſions of Danger, by the prudent Conduct and Valour of *Fergus* their King, they propoſed to ſwear Oaths of Fidelity and Obedience to him, and his Poſterity. It is ſaid, that ſome Perſons about King *Fergus* deſir'd to know, whether the Kingdom ſhould be govern'd abſolutely by the King, or by the Nobility, or by the Multitude? It was anſwer'd, That as many Rulers might occaſion Diviſions; therefore they would not be govern'd by the Nobility nor Multitude, but that the King ſhould have the abſolute Power over the whole Nation; declaring they would never admit of any other Form of Government than MONARCHY. They then ſwore, that they would never obey nor acknowledge any one, as their King, except *Fergus* and his Poſterity: Which Oaths and Promiſes, if by them violated, they prayed, that all the Plagues and Miſeries of their Predeceſſors might be inflicted on them and their Poſterity, as the juſt Puniſhment of their Perjury. All which ſolemn Vows and Promiſes, confirm'd by dreadful Oaths and Invocations, voluntarily given to *Fergus* and his Poſterity, were engraven in Marble Tables, and deliver'd into the Cuſtody of the Prieſts or religious Men, to be preſerv'd to Poſterity, and duly obſerv'd in all time coming, by the People of *Scotland*.

The *Scots* ſwear Oaths to *Fergus* and his Poſterity.

The Kingdom of *Scotland* being thus confirm'd to King *Fergus* and his Poſterity, he appointed proper Perſons to ſurvey the Country; and with the Concurrence and Approbation of the King of the *Picts*, they ſet Boundaries or Land-marks, to let each Nation know their diſtinct Properties: For it ſeems, that before this time the bordering Parts of the two Nations were uſed by both in Common.

When *Fergus* had ſurvey'd his Dominions, he determin'd to divide the ſame among his Nobles, or Chiftans of the Clans; ſo that every Chiftan, with their Tribe or Clan, ſhould have their proper Poſſeſſions; and the Government of ſuch Parts of the Kingdom, ſhould be Heretable to their Poſterity for ever. Therefore, to avoid all Suſpicion of Partiality in this Diviſion, the King cauſed it to be done by Caviles, or Lots; ſo that each Chiftan and his Tribe ſhould have that Part which fell to his Lot: And accordingly, the FIRST Lot being that Part which is now call'd the Shires of *Caithneſs*, *Strathnaver* and *Sutherland*, lying between the North Coaſt of the Continent, and the River *Tain* in *Roſs*, fell to a Chiftan named *Corunath* and his Tribe. The SECOND Lot fell to *Lutork* and his Tribe; being that Part of the Country lying between the Rivers *Tain* and *Neſs*, from the Eaſt to the Weſt Seas, now call'd Eaſt and Weſt *Roſs*. The THIRD Lot fell to *Warroch*, being the Lands lying between the Rivers *Neſs* and *Spey*, now call'd *Murray*. The FOURTH Lot to *Thalis*, with the Lands of *Boyn*, *Enzie*, *Strathbogy*, *Banff* and *Buchan*; which Lands were then call'd *Thaliæ*, by the Name of the Chiftan. The FIFTH Lot fell to *Murdoch*, being the Lands of *Marr*, *Badyenoch* and *Loquhaber*. The SIXTH Lot to *Novance*, being the Lands of *Lorn* and *Kintyre*, with the Mountains and high Places lying between *Marr* and the Weſt Seas. The SEVENTH Lot fell to *Atholus*, being the Lands of *Athole*. The EIGHTH, being the Lands of *Strathern* and *Broadalbin*, fell to two Chiftans named *Creonis* and *Epidites*. To the NINTH Captain or Chiftan, named *Argathelus*, fell that Part of the Country which is ſaid to be call'd from his Name *Argathel*, now *Argyle*. The TENTH Lot to *Lolgonas*, with the Lands of *Lenox* and *Clydſdale*. To the ELEVENTH Chiftan, named *Silurach*, fell the Lands of *Kyle*, *Carrick* and *Cunningham*. And the TWELFTH Lot, of the Lands of *Galloway*, *Nithſdale* and *Annandale*, fell to *Brigandes*, by whoſe Name that Part of the Country was formerly call'd *Brigance*, and the Inhabitants call'd *Brigandes*.

The Kingdom of *Scotland* divided by Lots.

At this time the *Picts* poſſeſs'd that Part of *Scotland*, lying between *Buchan* on the North, and the River *Tine* on the South; containing all the Lands of the Shires of *Aberdeen*, *Merns*, *Angus*, *Perth*, *Fife*, *Sterling*, the *Lothians*, *Haddington*, *Tweedale*, *Tivotdale*, and *Mers*; with all the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Zetland*.

The Kingdom of the *Picts*.

When *Fergus* had divided the Lands among his Chiftans, he enacted Laws, whereby Perſons of all Ranks might have Juſtice done them, in caſe of any In-

jury done by their Neighbours; and appointed Persons to judge and punish all such as could be found Guilty of Slaughter, Murder, Robbery, Theft, or any other Crimes. By this prudent Means King *Fergus* govern'd his Subjects, and liv'd in Peace and Tranquility with his Neighbours, the *Picts* and *Britons*. He built the strong Castle and Town which he call'd *Berigonium*, in *Loquhaber*: This was the Capital of *Scotland* for many Years, where he erected his Court, to which all his Subjects from the *Isles* and *Continent* resorted. He delighted in every thing which contributed to the Felicity of his People; and as he rewarded and caress'd his good Subjects, he likewise punish'd all evil Doers; by which Means the *Scots* became a formidable Nation, being well furnish'd with Arms, and all other warlike Stores, to defend themselves against their Enemies.

King *Fergus* goes to *Ireland*.

While *Fergus* liv'd happily in *Scotland*, there arose great Contention among his Relations in *Ireland*; whereupon they sent to King *Fergus*, desiring he would come over to decide their Differences, as he had a Title to the Government of their Kingdom. He complied with their Request, and took Shipping with several of his Nobles, and went over to *Ireland*, where he soon pacified the Divisions of the People: And having settled the Succession of that Kingdom, he embark'd, in order to return into *Scotland*; but, by a sudden Tempest, he perish'd, with all his Company, at that Part of *Ireland*, which was call'd, from his Death, *Carrick-Fergus*, or *Craig-Fergus*, i. e. *Fergus*'s *Rock*. *Fergus* reign'd Twenty Five Years in *Scotland*, and left Two Sons, named *Ferlegus* and *Mainus*. In his Time reign'd *Esdail*, King of the *Britons*; and *Cruthenus*, King of the *Picts*; who built the City of *Camelion*, which was the Capital of their Kingdom, and a Town of such great Strength, that it was often defended against the *Britons*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *English*: But it was demolish'd by *Keneth* the Second, by whom the *Picts* were entirely destroy'd and banish'd out of *Scotland*. This *Cruthenus* also built the Castle of *Agneda*, after call'd *Edinburgh*; which was call'd the *Maiden-Castle*, as it is said, that therein the young Noble Women of the *Picts* were taught Needle-work, and such other Handy-Work, as was common at that Time.

Is drown'd at *Carrick-Fergus*.

EDINBURGH Castle built by *Cruthenus*.

King *Fergus* being dead, the Chiftans of the Clans assembled to settle the Succession of the Crown; and as they were bound by their former Oaths to *Fergus*, they could not acknowledge any One as their King, but his Posterity: Yet as the Children of the deceas'd King were unfit for the Government, by reason of their Age; it was propos'd by some of the Chiftans, That considering the Danger the Nation might be liable to, under an Infant King, it would be necessary to appoint some Person of perfect Age and Capacity, to govern the Nation during the Minority of the deceas'd King's Son, and that at his coming to Age, this Vice-Roy, or Regent, should resign the Government.

Altho' this Advice was generally approv'd, yet they were still divided in their Sentiments, 'till after several Remonstrances for and against this Form of Government, it was at last determin'd; That the next Person of the Royal Blood (being of perfect Age, and well qualify'd) should take the Government, and be accountable for his Administration to the next immediate Heir of the deceas'd King: And to give him the better Authority during the Time of his Administration, they consented that he should have the Title, and all other Privileges due to the King. This Law did continue in Force amongst the *Scots* 1025 Years, to the Reign of King *Keneth* the Third; by Virtue of which Law, *Fritharis*, the Brother of King *Fergus*, was appointed to govern as King.

FRITHARIS. *The* 2 *King of* Scotland.

FRITHARIS, the Brother of *Fergus*, was admitted to the Government in the Year of the World 3666, before the Incarnation of our SAVIOUR 305, from the Beginning of the Monarchy of *Scotland* Twenty Five Years.

He

He govern'd the Nation with ſuch Equity and Juſtice, that by his prudent Conduct he continu'd Peace Abroad, and had the Love of the Subjects at Home. After taking upon him the Government, he aſſembled the Chiftans and their Clans, and made a Speech to them; wherein he ſaid, That he receiv'd the Crown only in Truſt for his Nephews, and would do every Thing that could advance the Welfare of the Subjects, either in Peace or War, with as much Reſpect and Affection to the deceas'd King's Children, as if they were his own. He exhorted the People to remember, the honourable Actions of *Fergus* their late King, and to reſpect his Memory, by a due Regard to his Children; deſiring them to appoint grave and diſcreet Men for their Preceptors, to train them up in the Knowledge of Virtue and Honour; that they might be fit for the Government, when they came to perfect Age.

The King of the *Picts* ſent to *Fritharis*, to continue the ancient Alliance; to which he comply'd, and they gave mutual Promiſes to defend each other againſt all Enemies, and to puniſh all ſuch as would endeavour to breed Diſturbance between both Nations; ordaining, at the ſame Time, that all Perſons doing any Wrong or Injury to their Neighbours, ſhould make immediate Redreſs. Both Kings had a Conference with the chief Perſons of both Nations: and after ratifying the Articles ſo agreed between them, they return'd Home, and liv'd peaceably for many Years.

Ferlegus, the Son of *Fergus*, being come to Age, had a great Deſire to Reign: which being made known to ſome of the moſt turbulent of the People; they took Opportunity to poſſeſs him with Envy and Hatred againſt his Uncle; ſhewing him, that *Fritharis* had no Right, to keep the Crown from him, who was the lawful Heir: Whereupon *Ferlegus* came to his Uncle, accompanied with a Number of thoſe his Counſellors, and demanded the Crown. *Fritharis* was ſo far from being offended, at this raſh Undertaking of his Nephew, that he anſwer'd; he would gladly ſurrender the Government, but that it would be proper to aſſemble the Nobles, to have their Conſent and Approbation: And having conven'd them, he declar'd his Readineſs to reſign the Government to the lawful Heir; expreſſing many Words to his Commendation. As for himſelf, he ſaid, as he was only entruſted with the Kingdom; he would rather reſign it freely, than deſire to keep it for ſuch a ſhort Space as the Period of his Life would permit: So that by a voluntary reſignation, his Fidelity and Affection to his Nephew would appear to be more the Effects of real Reſpect than Neceſſity. But the People finding *Ferlegus* of an unruly Diſpoſition, and too much inclin'd to the Advice of wicked Perſons; they reſolv'd that *Fritharis* ſhould govern, 'till *Ferlegus* was of more Years, or brought over from his evil Counſellors. By this Diſappointment, *Ferlegus* was the more eaſily prevail'd on by thoſe wicked Perſons, to contrive the Death of *Fritharis*; but their Conſpiracy being diſcover'd to the People, they judg'd the Author of ſo deteſtable a Deſign worthy of Death: Yet the Memory of *Fergus* his Father, and the earneſt Sollicitations of his Uncle, prevail'd ſo far, that they did not inflict any other Puniſhment, than to ſet Guards over him, to obſerve and watch his Words and Actions: But being impatient to obtain what he ſo much deſir'd and expected, he found means to eſcape from his Keepers, with a few of his Familiars, and fled to the *Picts*; where finding no Encouragement in his Deſigns, he left them, and went to the *Britons*, where he liv'd in Obſcurity, and died ſoon after.

Ferlegus demands the Crown from *Fritharis*, is deny'd by the People.

Fritharis died in the Fifteenth Year of his Government; and according to the Laws formerly mention'd, and the Oaths given to *Fergus*, the Nobles Crown'd *Mainus*, his Second Son.

Fritharis his Death.

MAINUS. *The* 3 *King of* Scotland.

MAINUS, the Second Son of King *Fergus*, (*Ferlegus* the eldeſt being dead, as aforeſaid) was Crown'd at *Argyle* in the Marble Chair, in the Year of the World, 3681; before the coming of CHRIST, 291 Years; from the

Beginning of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 40 Years. He was a Noble and Virtuous Prince, more like his Father *Fergus*, than his Brother: He ſettled Peace at Home and Abroad, and puniſh'd all wicked and profligate Perſons of his Realm; and at the ſame Time rewarded and eſteem'd all Perſons of Worth and Merit. He gave Commiſſions to his Subjects, to judge and decide all Debates among their Neighbours; and all difficult Matters were decided by himſelf. He went over his Kingdom once in the Year, holding Juſticiaries for redreſſing Grievances. He was a ſtrict Obſerver of the Religion of thoſe Days, and often exhorted the People to worſhip and ſerve the Gods, who gave them Peace, Plenty, and Proſperity; telling them how profitable Juſtice and Religion was to Mankind; that as Power was of the Gods, no human Device could avail without the Permiſſion of the Gods, whoſe Protection was the beſt and ſafeſt Guard to all Kings and People. In his Days they ordain'd large Stones to be rais'd on the South ſide of their Temples, on which they did Sacrifice: Many of thoſe Stones remain'd 'till late Years, and ſome are ſtill to be ſeen, of ſuch vaſt Bulk, that it was admirable to think how they could be brought together. The Sacrifice of thoſe Days, was a certain Portion of Corn, Cattle, and Fruits of the Earth, which was alloted to Prieſts; and what was over and above their Subſiſtance, was offer'd to the Gods in Sacrifice.

King *Mainus* renew'd the League with *Crinus* King of the *Picts*, and kept Peace with *Elgan* King of the *Britons*; and it is ſaid he was better guarded by his own Sanctity, and Benevolence to his Subjects, than by his Army. He died in the 29 Year of his Reign, at his Caſtle of *Beri[illegible]onium*, much lamented by all his Subjects and Neighbours, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Dornadilla*.

DORNADILLA. *The* 4 *King of* Scotland.

DORNADILLA ſucceeded his Father *Mainus*, in the Year of the World, 3709; before the coming of CHRIST, 262 Years; after the Beginning of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 69 Years. He was a good and virtuous King, who delighted in the Peace and Proſperity of his Subjects, and renew'd the League with his Neighbours the *Picts* and *Britons*. He ſpent much of his Time in Hunting of Deer, Wolves, and other wild Beaſts; judging that Excerciſe to be proper enough in Time of Peace, as being healthful, and alſo proper to harden the Body, to endure Fatigue in Time of War; beſides, the Mind was thereby agreeably diverted from the Thoughts of Luxury and Covetouſneſs, to which indolent Perſons are too often inclin'd. The Venatory Laws obſerv'd by the *Scots*, 'till of late Years, (and ſome ſtill in the Highlands) were made in this King's Reign. He ordain'd, That every Nobleman ſhould breed up and keep a Greyhound and Two Ratches for his Uſe; and when they met in general Hunting, with all their Hounds and Attendants, that all the Nobles ſhould have equal Shares of the Chace and Prey: And that every Perſon who ſhould kill a Wolf, ſhould have an Ox for his Reward; for, it ſeems, that the Wolves were ſo very numerous, that they devour'd many Sheep, and other Cattle. This King alſo ordain'd ſuch Laws in Deer-hunting, That any Perſon, whoſe Dog could firſt bite the Deer in the Chace, ſhould have the Hide thereof; the Owner of the Second Dog to have the Head and Horns; the Body to be divided by the Maſters of the Hunting, at their Pleaſure, and the Entrails to feed the Dogs. If any Diſpute ſhould happen in Hunting, a Judge was to be choſen by general Conſent, whoſe Verdict ſhould decide the Debate. It was alſo ordain'd, That they ſhould meet once in every Month, to offer Sacrifice in the Temple of *Diana*, the Goddeſs of Hunting.

King *Dornadilla* ordain'd, That all the Laws made from the Beginning of *Fergus*'s Reign, ſhould be Engraven on Marble Tables, and deliver'd into the Cuſtody of the Prieſts, and the moſt learn'd Judges of the Nation; ſo that they might always have the Laws before them, when they ſhould ſit in Judgment upon any Criminal. By this Method, when any Perſon committed a Crime

Crime puniſhable by Death, the Sentence was pronounc'd according to the Law ſo recorded, and the Criminal ſubmitted to Execution: But when any Judge gave Judgment contrary to theſe Laws, the Criminal had a Privilege to complain to the King of the Injuſtice, and be heard. In every Iſle and Diviſion of the Continent, was a Judge, or Interpreter of the Law, who had Power to condemn or acquit any Criminal, according to the Laws given for their Rule; which Power (limited according to the Laws of *Scotland*) the Sheriff of the Shires are inveſted with to this Day.

Dornadilla reign'd Twenty Eight Years in Peace and Felicity, and died at his Caſtle of *Berigonium*, leaving only One Son, named *Reutherus*, who being but an Infant, could not be admitted to the Throne; therefore his Brother *Nothatus* ſucceeded, according to the former Law.

NOTHATUS. *The 5 King of* Scotland.

NOTHATUS, the Brother of *Dornadilla*, was admitted to the Government in the Year of the World, 3737; before the coming of CHRIST, 234 Years; of the Monarchy *Scotland*, 97 Years. At firſt he appear'd fit for Government, but after the Second Year of his Reign, he oppreſs'd the Subjects with Cruelty and Inhumanity: He chang'd the Government (which, 'till then, had been moderate and peaceable) into Tyranny, and puniſh'd all Ranks of People promiſcuouſly, with Forfeiture of Goods, Baniſhment, or Death: But while he continu'd his wicked Courſe of Life, one *Dowalus*, of *Galloway*, hearing that his own Life was inſidiouſly aim'd at by *Nothatus*, he went with a Number of his Friends (taking the young King *Reutherus* with them) to the Place where *Nothatus* was, and charg'd him with the Slaughter of the Nobles, and Seizure of their Eſtates; and then demanded of him to reſtore the Kingdom to the lawful King. Tho' *Nothatus* found himſelf affronted after this manner, yet he retain'd his wonted Fierceneſs, and upbraided *Dowalus* and the Nobility, threatning to puniſh them, and deny'd to reſign the Crown. Theſe Threatnings encreas'd the Animoſities between them; inſomuch, that at laſt they came to Blows, and in the Scuffle, *Nothatus* was ſlain, having reign'd cruelly and avariciouſly Twenty One Years.

REUTHERUS. *The 6 King of* Scotland.

REUTHERUS, the Son of *Dornadilla*, was crown'd King in the Year of the World, 3758; before the coming of CHRIST, 216 Years; of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 118 Years. The King being young, there was great Diviſions among the Nobles; who tho' they knew *Nothatus* worthy of Puniſhment, yet did not approve of what *Dowalus* had done in killing the King, and Crowning a young Prince, againſt the Laws made to the contrary.

Ferquhard (Chiftan of *Kintyre* and *Lorn*) Couſin to *Nothatus*, was the chief Perſon of the diſcontented Faction; and at laſt, they declar'd War againſt *Dowalus* and his Party: But they having the King among them, they invited to their Aſſiſtance *Getus*, King of the *Picts*, who readily join'd him; and *Ferquhard* being join'd by the Inhabitants of *Kintyre*, *Lorn*, and *Argyle*, invited over many *Iriſh*-men: Both Armies met, and fought Twice in One Day, 'till *Dowalus*'s Party were put to Flight, and purſued with great Slaughter. In this Battle fell *Dowalus*, and *Getus* King of *Picts*, with many other Noble Perſons; and *Ferquhard* was alſo ſlain, with many of his Party: And tho' they obtain'd the Victory, yet ſo great was the Slaughter of *Scots* and *Picts*, that there was ſcarce left a ſufficient Number of People to inhabit the Country.

War between *Ferquhard* and *Dowalus*.

Dowalus's Party routed, he is ſlain with *Getus*, King of *Picts*.

The *Britons* enter *Scotland* with an Army.

The *Britons* having now gotten that Opportunity which they ſo long wiſh'd for, came with an Army, and went over the Country ſo far as *Bodotria*, (now call'd *Forth)* exerciſing great Cruelty againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*. *Reutherus*, the King, eſcaped very narrowly from the *Britons*, and went into *Ireland*, where he remain'd ſome Years. The *Scots* retired to the Mountains and Iſles, as did the *Picts* to the Iſland of *Orknay:* And the *Britons* planted Garriſons in many Places, eſpecially in the South Parts of *Scotland*, and the Low Countries of the *Picts*.

The *Scots* and *Picts* were miſerably afflicted near Twelve Years; but, at laſt, a new Breed of luſty, warlike *Scots* Young Men grew up, being enur'd to Hardſhip, by the Oppreſſion of the *Britons:* They apply'd to *Reutherus*, their King, then reſiding in *Ireland*, and ſent Meſſengers to all their Neighbours, as alſo to the *Picts*, exhorting them to try their Fortunes: Whereupon *Reutherus* ſail'd from *Ireland* into the Weſtern Iſles, and from thence to *Albion*. He landed in *Loch-Broom* (or *Brien)* in Weſt *Roſs*, and was join'd by *Getus*, King of the *Picts*, Son of *Getus*, who was ſlain in the aforemention'd Battle, *Reutherus* being then married to the Siſter of this *Getus*. They conſulted how they might manage the War againſt the *Britons*, and concluded to attack them with all poſſible Expedition, while they were unprepar'd: And when they met, a ſharp Battle was fought, where *Reutherus* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by ſuch Conduct and Valour, that they obtain'd a compleat Victory over the *Britons*; and purſued and drove them out of *Scotland*, obliging them to quit all Garriſons, Towns and Lands appertaining to the *Scots* and *Picts*; alſo to promiſe never to invade either Nation in Time coming. Both Kings being repoſſeſs'd of their Kingdoms, *Reutherus* ſpent his Days in Peace and Quietneſs, and died the Twenty Sixth Year of his Reign; leaving a Son named *Thereus*, being but Ten Years of Age.

REUTHA. *The 7 King of* Scotland.

REUTHA, the Brother of *Rutherus*, ſucceeded in the Government, in the Year of the World, 3784; before the coming of CHRIST, 190 Years; of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 144 Years. He was a good Prince, and ſtndied the Good of his People, who were grown ſomewhat inſolent, upon their late Victory over the *Britons:* but the King, by diligent Endeavours, brought them to a milder Behaviour. He enacted many publick and profitable Laws, ſome of which remain to this Day. He caus'd Monuments or Tombs to be erected over the Sepulchres of Valiant and Noble Men, to preſerve the Memory of their good Deeds to Poſterity; and order'd great high Stones to be ſet in the Ground about their Graves.

In this Reign were brought into *Scotland*, by the King's Order, ſeveral Artificers, ſuch as Smiths, Joyners, and other Mechanicks; alſo Phyſicians and Chirurgeons, who had certain Fees provided them for Maintainance, to be collected from the Subjects of the ſeveral Places where they reſided. The Artificers were to have certain Hire for all their Work, in all Parts of the Country; but particularly in every Diſtance there was allow'd one Smith, who was to have the Head of every Ox or Cow kill'd in that Diſtrict or Pariſh; and the Wright or Joyner to have the Neck or Craig thereof; and every one in the Pariſh to give them a certain Meaſure of Corn: Which Cuſtom is ſtill obſerv'd, in ſome Parts of *Scotland*, to this Day.

Ptolomy, King of *Egypt*, ſends Philoſophers to ſurvey the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

In this Reign there came certain Learn'd Men from *Ptolomeus* King of *Egypt*, to know the Situation and Conſtitution of *Scotland:* They were kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by the King's Command; and were the more acceptable to the People of *Scotland*, on Account of the former Relation between the *Egyptians* and the Progenitors of the *Scots*; as the Kings of *Scotland* were deſcended from *Scota*, Daughter to the King of *Egypt*. Thoſe Learned Men, or Philoſophers, were conducted over the Kingdom, and obſerv'd all the Sea-Ports, Mountains,

Mountains, and remarkable Places, as they were commanded by *Ptolomy* their King, who delighted much in the Study of Geography and Aſtronomy; having by diligent Induſtry and Study, compoſed that elaborate Work, known ſince by the Title of *Ptolomy*'s Coſmography.

Reutha having govern'd the Kingdom with Juſtice and Equity 16 Years, voluntarly reſign'd the Crown to his Nephew *Thereus*.

THEREUS. *The* 8 *King of* Scotland.

THEREUS, the Son of *Reutherus*, ſucceeded in the Government in the Year of the World, 3798; before the coming of CHRIST, 172 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 158. He appear'd at firſt to be virtuouſly inclin'd; but ſoon after, by giving himſelf up to the Company of evil Counſellors and wicked Perſons, he ran head-long into all Manner of Vice, puniſhing the Nobility at the Deſire of lewd Fellows, who encourag'd him in all evil Practices, and having by Flattery got into great Power, oppreſs'd the Subjects with the utmoſt Cruelty. The Chiftans of the Clans conſidering the deplorable Condition of the People, reſolv'd to apprehend and puniſh thoſe wicked Perſons; which, when they underſtood, they told the King that the Nobles deſign'd to take away his Life: Whereupon he fled privately to the *Britons*, and ſoon after ended his Days at *York*, in the twelfth Year of his Reign. When the King fled, one *Connanus*, Chiftan of the *Brigandes*, was appointed Vice-Roy until the King could be found and brought back; but he concealing himſelf 'till his Death, could not be found. This *Connanus* was a prudent Man, who compos'd all Matters, and puniſh'd all evil Doers according to the Law; and when he receiv'd News of the Death of *Thereus*, he reſign'd his Magiſtracy.

JOSINA. *The* 9 *King of* Scotland.

JOSINA, the Brother of *Thereus*, was crown'd King, in the Year of the World, 3810; before the coming of CHRIST, 160 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 170. He was a good and virtuous Prince, and renew'd the Peace with his Confederates the *Picts*. This King, in his young Days, being very familiar with the Phyſicians and Chirurgeons, did encourage them, and gave himſelf ſo much to the Practice of that Science, that the Noblemen ſtrove to imitate their King; by which Means, in his Reign, there was ſcarce a Nobleman or Gentleman in *Scotland* but could skilfully cure Wounds, Bruiſes, or ſuch Maladies as were known in thoſe Days: For it ſeems there was no Knowledge of Phyſick at that Time, but what was of Herbs produc'd by the Country. The moderate Living and conſtant Exerciſe, which our Fore-Fathers ſo conſtantly accuſtom'd themſelves to, not only prolong'd their Days, but alſo preſerv'd them from thoſe many ſtrange Diſtempers known to their Poſterity; being generally occaſion'd by irregular Living, eſpecially Exceſs of Drinking, and Want of Healthful Exerciſe.

Prieſts from *Spain*, are ſhipwreck'd in *Scotland*.

In the Reign of King *Joſina*, Two moſt venerable Men, being learn'd Prieſts of *Spain*, paſſing from *Portugal* to *Athens*, were, by a violent Tempeſt, Ship-wreck'd at or near *Loch-Broom* in the Shire of *Roſs*. The Ship and Mariners being drown'd, and they only ſav'd, were brought to the King, who ſeeing them moſt pleaſant of Viſage, and finding them to be learn'd, order'd them to be decently cloath'd, (they being almoſt naked) and well entertain'd. After ſome Time, they went over moſt Part of the Nation to know the Conſtitution of the Country, and the Manners and Religion of the People. When they

they return'd, the King call'd them into his Preſence, and deſir'd to know from them, what they underſtood of the Nature of the Ground of *Scotland*, and of the Manners and Religion of the People thereof? They anſwer'd the King, That they had not Time to have great Experience of the Nature of the Ground, nor was the perfect Uſe of all their Senſes recover'd, after the great Hardſhip they had endur'd in the late Storm: But, ſo far as they could learn of the Nature of the Earth, there was great Treaſure in the Veins of it, which might yield much more Profit than could be had by the Corn it could produce. As for the Manners of the People, it was agreeable; but their Religion they declar'd was moſt abominable: For they worſhip'd Idols, ſuch as Beaſts, and other periſhing Creatures, inſtead of the true and living *GOD*, the Creator of all Things; who had Power and Dominion over all Creatures in the Earth and Seas. *Joſina* gave attentive Ear to what they ſaid, and was converted from Heathen Idolatry, to know, and worſhip the Almighty GOD. He alſo deſir'd thoſe Prieſts to inſtruct the People, and command them to worſhip and pray to the Great GOD, Creator of Heaven and Earth, forbidding them to ſacrifice (as the Cuſtom then was) to *Iſis*, and *Apis*, the *Egyptian* Idols. By the Inſtruction of thoſe Prieſts, the Kings and People of *Scotland*, afterwards worſhip'd and pray'd to the living GOD, in all their Temples, and deſtroy'd their Idols. It was the Cuſtom before that, to pay great Adoration to the Sun, Moon, and Stars. Such is the blind Ignorance of the *Gentiles* to this Day; that they adore the Sun, Moon, and Stars; being taught to believe they are Gods: And their Belief is ſo confirm'd by their great Light, and ſtrange Motion, beyond the Reach of their weak Knowledge.

The King inſtructed to worſhip the Almighty GOD.

Joſina reign'd Twenty Four Years in all Felicity, and died in good old Age, at the Caſtle of *Berigonium*.

FINANUS. *The* 10 *King of* Scotland.

FINANUS, ſucceed his Father *Joſina*, in the Year of the World, 3834; before the coming of CHRIST, 176 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 194. He was a wiſe and virtuous Prince, and follow'd his Father's Example. He endeavour'd to accuſtom his Subjects, to a juſt and moderate Government, ſtudying to maintain his Kingly Power, more by good Will, than by the Strength of an Army. He added many judicious Noblemen, to the Number of his Council, and ordain'd as a Law; That the King ſhould do nothing in the Government of the Realm, without the Advice and Conſent of his Nobles, nor declare War, nor make Peace, without their Advice and Conſent; eſpecially the Chiftans of the Clans. He was a moſt pious Prince, and worſhip'd the living GOD, according to the Inſtructions given him by his Father. King *Finanus* finding many Learn'd Clerks in *Scotland*, ſhew'd them great Reſpect, and in Teſtimony of his Love, and good Will to them, gave a ſpacious Iſland (ſince call'd *Man*) lying in the Ocean between *Brigance*, and *Ireland*, to be poſſeſs'd by thoſe Learn'd Men, who were call'd *Druids*. All the Noblemens Sons were ſent to this Iſland to be inſtructed by thoſe *Druids*; and this was the only Seminary of Learning for the *Scots* Nation for many Years after. *Durſtus* the Son of *Finanus*, was in his Father's Lifetime, married to *Agaſia*, Daughter to the King of *Britons*, and won great Favour among them. *Finanus* viſited the King of the *Picts*, who lay ſick of a vehement Fever at *Camleon*; and out of tender Compaſſion to his Condition, ſtay'd with him ſo long, that he was alſo infected with that Diſtemper, whereof he died, to the great Grief and Affliction of his Subjects. His Body was carried to *Berigonium*, where it was laid by his Royal Anceſtors. He reign'd Thirty Years, in Peace and Proſperity.

The Iſle of *Man* given to Learn'd Men call'd *Druids*.

Finanus viſits the King of *Picts* at *Camleon*, where he died.

DURSTUS.

DURSTUS. *The* II *King of* Scotland.

DURSTUS, the Son of *Finanus*, was crown'd King in the Year of the World, 3864; before the coming of CHRIST, 116 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 224. This Prince, during his Father's Life-time, was belov'd by all People, for his good and virtuous Demeanour: But when he was in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, he gave himſelf up to the Company of young corrupted Perſons, by whoſe vicious Example he became acquainted with all manner of Wickedneſs, and delighted in nothing but Harlots and Riotouſneſs. He turn'd away his Queen, *Agaſia*, that he might with the more Freedom uſe thoſe Harlots. The Nobles conven'd to conſider of thoſe Grievances, and reſolv'd to ſeize ſome of the wicked Perſons, who were the Miniſters of his Luſt and Tyranny; but he being inform'd of the Deſigns of the Nobility, was afraid that they would alſo puniſh him, for his vicious Practices: He therefore ſent ſome of his evil Counſellors to the *Britons* to bring back his Queen; and at the ſame time deſir'd them to ſend him ſupply of Forces to ſuppreſs his Subjects, who were riſing in Rebellion againſt him: But, finding the *Britons* did not regard his Meſſage; he afterwards ſent to his Captains, feigning great Sorrow and Repentance of his former Wickedneſs: Promiſing that he would forſake his lewd Company, and ſubmit to the Advice and Counſel of the Nobles in all his Actions, and allow them to puniſh all ſuch Perſons, as they judg'd guilty of adviſing and encouraging him in his Viciouſneſs and Cruelty. This feigned Repentance, was very acceptable to all his Subjects; and as he had put ſome of his wicked Servants into Priſon, and offer'd to come to his Nobles alone, they were the more aſſur'd of his Sincerity; But all this was by Advice of his wicked Counſellors, to be reveng'd on the Nobility: For having aſſembled ſeveral of the Nobles, he prepar'd a Supper for them; and when they were all unarm'd, at the Entertainment, he gave the Signal to thoſe inhuman Ruffians, to kill them. Many of the Nobles were then ſlain; but ſome eſcap'd and alarm'd their Friends, who came and beſet the Palace, where *Durſtus* and his Ruffians were. He knew that he had made himſelf odious to the People, and could not expect Favour, if taken; therefore he reſolv'd to ruſh out, with thoſe Ruffians, to force his Way, and eſcape, or die in the Attempt; And ſo it was his Fate, to fall with thoſe Ruffians in that deſperate Adventure: But in Reſpect to his Birth, his Body was buried in *Berigonium*, among his Royal Predeceſſors. He reign'd 9 Years.

Durſtus crown'd King *A. M.* 3864.

His vicious Life.

After the Death of *Durſtus*, his Sons fled into *Ireland*; and there aroſe great Contention among the Chiftans, who ſhould ſucceed as King. Several Orations were made, and long Debates were among them: But at laſt they all agreed, That they could not alter the former Laws, ſo often corroborated by repeated Oaths and Promiſes: Therefore they ſettled the Succeſſion on *Evenus*, who was firſt Couſin to *Durſtus*, and the next of the Royal Blood in the Kingdom; for the Sons of *Durſtus*, being young, were kept conceal'd in *Ireland* for ſeveral Years.

EVENUS I. *The* 12 *King of* Scotland.

EVENUS I. (whoſe Father was Brother to *Finanus*) ſucceeded *Durſtus* in the Government, and was crown'd in the Marble Chair at *Berigonium*, in the Year of the World, 3873; before the coming of CHRIST, 107 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 233. He was a wiſe, juſt and virtuous Prince; and was the firſt King of *Scotland*, who made the Subjects ſwear Oaths of Fidelity; which Cuſtom was ever after obſerv'd, not only by the Subjects to the King, but alſo by the Clans: For whenever their Captain or Chif-

tan enter'd Heir to his Father or Predeceſſor, all the Clan aſſembled, and ſwore ſolemnly to be true and faithful to their Chief; which Cuſtom has been always obſerv'd among the *Highland* Clans.

Evenus aſſiſted the *Picts* againſt the *Britons*, who had over-run the *Picts* Country, even to *Camleon* their chief City, to which they laid Siege; Until the King, with his *Scots* Army, coming up with the *Picts*, gave Battle to the *Britons*, and fought till Night parted them; the Victory being ſo uncertain, that both Armies retir'd with great Slaughter and Fear: But the *Britons* in their Retreat, left their Camp ſtanding, with the Carriages; which being known to the *Scots* and *Picts*, they return'd and divided the Spoil according to the Cuſtom of War. *Evenus* rewarded the Wives and Friends of thoſe who were ſlain in Battle, with publick Offices and Goods: And having repell'd his Enemies, he apply'd himſelf to Juſtice, and travel'd over the Realm, and ordain'd a Judge or Sheriff in every Shire of the Realm, to judge all Matters; to that End, that the Kings might not have the Trouble to travel ſo often over the Nation, as they had been oblig'd formerly, for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. He divided the Kingdom into ſeveral Diviſions, ſo that the Judges might know how far their Juriſdiction did extend. He alſo appointed Officers, or Informers, to bring in Accuſations againſt the Guilty: But that Cuſtom being found inconvenient, was either abrogated by Law, or elſe grew obſolete in Practice. He built the Caſtle of *Dunſtaffage*, and a magnificent Burying-Place, where he was buried, and many of his Royal Succeſſors. He ſpent his Days in Peace and Felicity, and died in the 19th Year of his Reign.

Dunſtaffage built by *Evenus* I.

After the King's Death, *Gillus*, his Baſtard-Son, conven'd the Nobles, to perform the Funeral Obſequies of his Father, and brought with him the two Sons of *Durſtus*, named *Donachus* and *Dorgal*; who had been brought over from *Ireland* by *Evenus*, and Royally entertain'd: But as they were Twins, of one Birth, the Contention betwixt them could not well be decided. Mean time this *Gillus*, the Baſtard-Son of *Evenus*, who was a ſubtile ambitious Man, coveted the Crown, of which he had Hopes, if theſe two Brethren were remov'd: Therefore he contriv'd it ſo, that whenever they met to decide their Competition, they always diſagreed; and at laſt brought them together, where he had planted Ruffians to murder them. And when the two Princes were ſlain by him and his Confederates, he fled, and came ſuddenly to the Nobles, as being afraid of his Life; declaring that the King's Sons had intended to murder him. He made a long Speech to the Nobles, ſhewing how unhappy they had been in the Reign of *Durſtus*: Adding, that as all his Sons were ſuch wicked Men, they would make the Subjects miſerable, if they came to govern them; and tho' they had attempted to take his Life; yet in his own Defence, he had juſtly puniſh'd their Treachery, by ſlaying them and wounding ſome of the Ruffians they had employ'd to execute their barbarous Plot. *Gillus* conven'd the Nobles to the Caſtle of *Dunſtaffage*, and there made another Speech, ſhewing the juſt Fates of the Sons of *Durſtus*: And told them, that *Evenus*, his own Father, by his Will and Teſtament, had left him great Treaſure, to be diſtributed among the Nobles after his Death, which he freely offer'd to them; and at the ſame time told them, it was moſt neceſſary one ſhould be appointed to govern the Realm, for the Good of the Subjects; (and having ſecur'd the Gates of the Caſtle by a Party of his Friends, that none of the Nobility could get out) adding, That if they regarded the Memory of his Father *Evenus*, they could not refuſe to give him the Government; therefore demanded it of them. Thus were they compell'd to give him the Crown; knowing, that if they refus'd, their Lives were in his Power, and that he would leave nothing undone which could accompliſh his Deſign: He alſo made them ſwear to be faithful to him, before they could obtain Leave to depart the Caſtle.

The Sons of *Durſtus* ſlain by *Gillus*.

Gillus obtains the Crown by Stratagem.

GILLUS.

GILLUS. *The* 13 *King of* Scotland.

GILLUS, the Baſtard Son of *Evenus*, uſurped the Crown, in the Year of the World, 3892; before the coming of CHRIST, 79 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 252. Having, by the before-mention'd Stratagem, compell'd the Nobles to give him the Government, he ſtudied all Means to ſecure himſelf in it; and hearing that the three Sons of *Donachus* the Son of *Durſtus* (whoſe Names were *Liſſmorus*, *Gormachus* and *Ederus*) were convey'd by the Nobles to the Iſle of *Man*, to be educated there: He went thither, and feign'd great Reſpect to them, and brought the two eldeſt with him over to *Scotland*; pretending, that as they were the next of the Royal Blood, they ought to be educated at his Court, according to their Quality. As for *Ederus*, the youngeſt, he him left in the Iſle of *Man*; and gave a ſecret Command to the Soldiers (who were by him appointed as pretended Guards to his Perſon) to murder the Infant at a Time aſſign'd: But *Ederus*'s Nurſe, having ſome ſecret Intelligence of the intended Murder, fled with him to *Argyle* in *Scotland*; and hid her ſelf with the Child, in a Cave under Ground, where they remain'd for ſeveral Years. The Two eldeſt Brethren were murder'd by a cruel Contrivance of *Gillus*. For having given them in Keeping, to a Perſon whom he hated: He ſent Ruffians in the Night, who murder'd the young Princes, and accus'd the Keeper, or Foſter-Father, of the Murder, for which he was Executed. And when *Gillus* heard, that *Ederus* was eſcap'd from the Iſle of *Man*, he commanded the Soldiers he had before appointed to murder him, to be ſlain for their Diſobedience to his Command, upon Pretence of their having murder'd him.

After this, he murder'd ſeveral Perſons, who were the Relations of *Durſtus*; and committed great Cruelty in all Parts of the Kingdom; 'till, at laſt, the Nobles being enrag'd at his Barbarity, they reſolv'd to reſiſt, and puniſh him, for his Tyrannical Actions, and having rais'd an Army, came upon him ſuddenly. He being ſenſible that he was abhorr'd by all the People, except the Miniſters of his Wickedneſs, therefore, with them, he made his Eſcape in a ſmall Veſſel, wherewith he went over to *Ireland*. In the mean Time, *Evenus*, the Son of *Donvallus*, Brother of King *Finanus*, was crown'd King: And *Cadvallus*, the Chiftan of the *Brigandes*, was made General of the Army; *Gillus* having kept the Crown Two Years.

EVENUS II. *The* 14 *King of* Scotland.

EVENUS, the Nephew of King *Finanus*, ſucceeded in the Year of the World, 3894; before the coming of CHRIST, 77 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 254. *Gillus* having eſcap'd, as before mention'd, to *Ireland*, made great Complaints to the Princes and People of that Nation, alledging great Injuſtice done him by the *Scots*; and, at the ſame Time, offer'd all the Iſles of *Scotland* to the *Iriſh*, if they would aſſiſt him to recover the Crown. The *Iriſh* accepted his Offer, and rais'd an Army, with which *Gillus* paſs'd over into *Scotland*. He landed firſt in the Iſles, where he had Notice that *Evenus* was crown'd King, and had a great Army ready to oppoſe his Return: Whereupon *Gillus* committed great Cruelty in the Iſles, and return'd into *Ireland* with his Army. *Evenus* ſent *Cadvallus*, with his Army, over into *Ireland*, to purſue *Gillus*, who came againſt them with the *Iriſh* Army, and they met, and fought a deſperate Battle; wherein *Gillus* and his Army being put to Flight, he was purſued and taken in a Wood, where they cut off his Head, and brought it to *Cadvallus*.

After this Victory, *Cadvallus* return'd with his Army to their Ships; and when they were at Sea, a ſudden Storm aroſe, which wreck'd moſt Part of

them upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*. The King was very much afflicted for the Loſs of ſo many valiant Men: But ſince they had freed him of a moſt cruel Enemy, he reſolv'd to reward ſuch of them as were ſav'd, and the Wives, Children, and Relations of ſuch as were loſt. He receiv'd *Cadvallus* with the utmoſt Reſpect, and, as a juſt Reward of his Valour and Fidelity, gave him the Town of *Epiack*, with ſeveral Lands in *Brigance*; and to all the other Nobles and Families of the Deceaſed, he gave Lands and Goods in Proportion to their Merit or Loſs in the Expedition.

Epiack, the chief Town of *Brigance*, now *Drumfrees*.

King *Evenus* being at Peace, travel'd over the Kingdom to viſit his Judges, and hear the Complaints of his Subjects: And having ſettled his Affairs, he went, accompanied with ſeveral of his Nobles, to meet *Gethus*, King of *Picts*, who came with his Retinue to the Borders of *Brigance*; and being met, they renew'd the ancient Alliance, and King *Evenus* was married to *Siora*, Daughter to *Gethus* the 3d of that Name, King of *Picts*; the Ceremony being perform'd by the chief *Druid* of the Iſle of *Man*. In this Reign the Inhabitants of the Iſles of *Orknay*, who were formerly ſubject to the King of *Picts*, having made a King among themſelves, had Hopes to enlarge their Kingdom; and ſailing over the *Pictland*, or *Pentland-Firth*, landed in *Caithneſs*. They went over ſome Part of the Country, 'till *Evenus* had Notice of their Invaſion: Whereupon he rais'd his Army, and encounter'd them with ſuch Bravery, that he routed, and purſu'd them to their Ships, where they all were ſlain in the Hurry, while they crowded upon one another, to get on Board; and *Belus*, their King, deſpairing to obtain Quarter, ſlew himſelf. After this Victory, *Evenus* return'd with his Army, and having rewarded every One according to their Merit, diſmiſs'd them; enjoyning them to live peaceably among themſelves: And at the ſame Time apply'd himſelf to ſuch Means as might beſt ſecure the Peace, and advance the Proſperity of his People. It is ſaid, That King *Evenus*, about this Time, built the Two Market-Towns call'd *Ennerlochy* and *Ennerneſs*; taking their Names from the Word *Enner*, (which ſignifies, among the ancient *Scots*, a Harbour, or Sea-port for Ships) and the Rivers on which they are ſituated. Theſe Towns became afterwards Two Sea-ports of conſiderable Trade, the one, *viz. Ennerlochy*, for the Weſt Seas, as to *Ireland*, *Spain*, and *France*; and *Innerneſs* for the Eaſt Seas, to *Norway*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*: And it is mention'd, That the King ordain'd, that *Innerlochy* ſhould be a Place of Security for all Criminals which could fly to the Temple, which was made a Sanctuary in Honour of GOD. About this Time, great Contention aroſe between the Sons of *Cadvallus*, about the Diviſion of the Lands of *Brigance*: Whereupon, the King went to *Epiack*, where, with great Juſtice and Judgment, he ſoon decided their Difference; And, out of Reſpect to the Memory of his faithful General *Cadvallus*, he caus'd his Effigy, or Image, to be ſet up on the Top of a high Mott, or Mount.

Ennerlochy and *Innerneſs* built.

Evenus being come to great Age, and Infirmity of Body, he ſent for *Ederus*, who was preſerv'd, as before mention'd, by his Nurſe: And having admoniſh'd him to obſerve all proper Means to preſerve the Peace and Proſperity of his Kingdom, he recommended him to the People, as the lawful Heir to the Crown, which he moſt willingly reſign'd to him, after he had govern'd the Kingdom in Peace and Quietneſs Seventeen Years; and having the great Pleaſure to ſee *Ederus* crown'd, he died ſoon after, at *Berigonium*, and was buried at *Dunſtaffage*, with the utmoſt Solemnity of the Times.

End of the FIRST *Book.*

BOOK

Book II.

The Wars between the Scots *and* Romans, *from the Reign of* Ederus *to* Fergus II. *the* 40 *King of* Scotland, A. M. 4374. & A. C. 404.

Ederus. *The* 15 *King of* Scotland.

EDERUS, the Son of *Donachus*, and Grandſon of *Durſtus*, ſucceeded in the Government, in the Year of the World, 3911; before the coming of Christ, 69 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 271. He being miraculouſly preſerv'd by the Fidelity of his Nurſe, from the cruel Uſurper *Gillus*, who ſlew his Brethren and Relations, and educated under the virtuous Prince *Evenus*; He did not neglect to reward his faithful Servants and Subjects, who had ventur'd their Lives for his Preſervation: Nor did he fail to imitate his Predeceſſor in all virtuous and valiant Actions, by which Means he executed Juſtice and Equity over all Parts of the Kingdom, and preſerv'd Peace and Tranquility with his Confederates. He, being inclin'd to Activity, renew'd the ancient healthful Exerciſe of Hunting of wild Beaſts, eſpecially of Wolves; for, it ſeems, they were grown very numerous, and ſo ravenous, that the People ſuſtain'd great Loſs, by their devouring many of their Cattle and Fowls. While the King was taking his Pleaſure in ſuch innocent and manly Diverſion, News was brought to him, That one *Bredus* (Kinſman to the Uſurper *Gillus*) was landed with a great Army on the Continent, from the Iſles, and plunder'd the Country. He rais'd a powerful Army immediately, and march'd ſilently in the Night by the Enemies Camp: And coming to the Harbour where their Ships lay, he deſtroy'd them, and return'd ſpeedily to the Camp, ſurpriz'd the Out-guards, and fell upon them ſuddenly, before they could arm themſelves, whereby they were all ſlain or taken. The Ring-leaders were puniſh'd with Death, and the reſt pardon'd; and all the Booty return'd to ſuch of the Owners as could make juſt Claims. Another Kinſman of *Gillus*'s, rais'd an Inſurrection in the Iſles; but was ſoon ſuppreſs'd by the King's prudent and valiant Conduct: And having compos'd all Matters in his Kingdom, he return'd to *Dunſtaffage*, where he kept Court with his Nobles, whom he conſulted in all his Affairs.

At this Time came an Ambaſſador from *Caſſibellan* King of the *Britons*, entreating King *Ederus* to ſend him Aſſiſtance to withſtand the powerful Army of the *Romans*; who, under the Great General *Julius Cæſar*, had conquer'd ſo many Nations; and were then determin'd to invade the Iſle of *Briton*, or *Albion*. With the Ambaſſador came a Noble *Briton*, named *Androgeus*, as his Prolocutor, who addreſs'd King *Ederus*, ſaying, "I will ſay nothing before this "Auguſt Aſſembly, in the Name of *Caſſibellan* (Moſt Noble Prince) but "what is for the Well-fare of Your Nation and Subjects. As Nature, the wiſe "Mother of all Creatures, has diſpoſed this Iſle to be inhabited by Three "valiant Nations; it is not proper they ſhould live in Diviſion and Hatred, "like irrational Beaſts, deſtroying one another; but rather be united in ſuch "entire Friendſhip and Amity, that they may be able to reſiſt all Fo-"reign Enemies, if they ſhould happen to invade either. The *Romans*, who "are declar'd Enemies to all Kings, threaten to deſtroy the *Britons*. Then what "Hopes of Mercy can You have from ſuch powerful Enemies, when You ſee "Your Neighbours deſtroy'd? The *Romans* call themſelves Lords of the World;

Androgeus his Speech to King *Ederus*.

" and are now preparing to invade *Albion*, to ſubdue the *Britons*: And no " doubt, will alſo invade the *Scots* and *Picts*, and deprive them of their Laws " and Liberty, and take Poſſeſſion of all their Lands, Caſtles and Towns; " and ſubject them to moſt ſhameful Servitude, as they have done ſeve- " ral powerful Nations; nor can we expect any more Favour than the *Gauls* " and Others, who were ſubdu'd by them. Therefore, let us joyn together " to reſiſt the Common Enemy, and hazard our Lives in Battle, in Hopes of " Victory; which, if we obtain, by the Favour of the Gods, we ſhall not " only purchaſe Liberty, but likewiſe immortal Praiſe and Honour, to our " ſelves and our Poſterity for ever.

When *Androgeus* had ended his Speech, he was remov'd while the King took Advice of his Council; and after deliberate Conſultation, they determin'd to aſſiſt the *Britons*, as the moſt effectual Means to prevent the approaching Danger. And when the Ambaſſador return'd into the Council, King *Ederus* made Anſwer to him, ſaying: " What you deſire (well beloved *Britons*) " being honourable and of Advantage to our common Intereſt, we are reſolv'd " to join you in Defence of our Realms, which have been ſo valiantly defended " by our Progenitors, from the many threatned Attempts of all Enemies. As " the Circumſtances of our ancient Friends, the *Gauls*, and *Spaniards*, and " other Nations, may ſufficiently teſtify the intolerable Miſeries, of ſuch as " have ſubmitted to the *Roman* Empire; my Opinion is, that it had been more " honourable for them, to have died valiantly in Defence of their Liberty, than " live in ſuch ſhameful Slavery. Though we are in no Danger from the *Ro-* " *mans*, while the *Britons* can reſiſt their Power; yet we may conſider, that " if the *Britons* are ſubdued, the *Romans* will undoubtedly invade our King- " dom: And if they overcome us, (as the Events of War are uncertain) we " may expect to be reduced to Servitude, or entirely expell'd our Kingdom " of *Albion*. Therefore ſince the *Britons* are reſolv'd to fight againſt the *Ro-* " *mans*, in the juſt Defence of their Kingdom and Liberty we are alſo re- " ſolv'd to hazard our Lives and Subſtance with them; and rather die valiantly " in Battel (if it ſo pleaſe GOD) than ſee our beloved Neighbours the *Britons* " deſtroy'd, our Country invaded, and our People ſubdued or baniſhed, where- " by our Wives, Children, and Subſtance may become a Prey to ſuch merci- " leſs Enemies. I ſhall raiſe my Army with all Expedition, and ſend them " to join *Caſſibellan* your King; and ſhall alſo require our Confederate Brother " *Gethus* King of *Picts*, to join with us according to the Articles of our Al- " liance. As I find my People unanimouſly inclin'd to comply with my De- " ſire, I make no doubt of their Valour, and that (with the Aſſiſtance of GOD) " we ſhall obtain Victory in the juſt Defence of our Country.

King *Ederus*'s Anſwer to the *Britons*.

The Ambaſſador being extremely pleas'd with this generous Anſwer, return'd ſpeedily to his King, who was preparing his Army to meet the *Romans*, who were daily expected to land. In the mean Time, *Ederus* having ſent to *Gethus*, King of the *Picts*, ſhewing him, how neceſſary it was for them to aſſiſt the *Britons* againſt the *Romans*, and having obtain'd Aſſiſtance of the *Picts*, he rais'd an Army of 10000 Men, and gave the Command of them to Two Noble Chiftans, named *Cadalla*, and *Dowallus*; who march'd with the Army to join the *Britons*.

Julius Cæſar lands in *Britain*,

At this Time, *Julius Cæſar*, with his *Roman* Legions, landed on the South Coaſt of *Britain*, and diſplay'd the Imperial Banner, whereon was depicted an Eagle: At which Sight the *Britons* forſook their Habitations, and fled for Succour to their King and his Army; who being then join'd by the *Scots* and *Picts*, advanc'd againſt the *Romans*, and gave them Battle. Both Sides fought moſt valiantly, 'till at laſt the *Roman* Army gave Way, and were purſu'd by the Confederates; but yet they kept ſuch good Order in their Flight, that they could not be broken. *Julius Cæſar* being no ways diſcourag'd at this Loſs, was reſolv'd to renew the Battle next Day: But having Notice, that many of his Ships were loſt by a violent Storm, which wreck'd them on the Shore, near the Harbour where they lay; he went ſpeedily to his Fleet; and finding few of them ſafe, made what Expedition he could to repair a ſufficient Number to tranſport

is repuls'd by the *Britons*, *Scots*, & *Picts*.

tranſport his Army to *Gallia*. The *Romans* in their Flight having left moſt Part of their Camp-Carriage, the Confederates divided it among the Soldiers, according to the Cuſtom of War: Mean Time, *Caſſibellan* rewarded *Cadalla* and *Dowallus* with rich Preſents, and they return'd with their Army to *Scotland*.

King *Ederus* ordain'd ſolemn Sacrifice and Mirth over all Parts of his Kingdom, in Teſtimony of his Joy for the Succeſs of his Army and Allies: And to preſerve the Memory of ſuch notable Actions, he commanded them to be publickly recorded by the *Druids* and religious Men. After this firſt Reſiſtance of the *Romans*, the former Alliance between the Three Nations, was ſo ſtrengthen'd, that they ſeem'd to live as One People, with more cordial Reſpect and Affection to one another than formerly: But their Peace and Tranquility did not laſt long, for ſo ſoon as *Julius Cæſar* had ſettled his Affairs in *Italy*, he return'd to *Gallia*, where his Legions had Winter'd, and determin'd to return to *Britain* in the Spring. King *Ederus* having Information from Merchants, as he paſs'd thro' *Inverneſs*, that *Julius Cæſar* had ſubdued *France* to his Empire, and was preparing an Army to return to *Britain*, to revenge the Loſſes ſuſtain'd the Year before, he ſent his Ambaſſador to *Caſſibellan*, ſhewing him the Intelligence he had, and to offer him the ſame Number of Forces which had formerly aſſiſted him, and more, if there was Need of them; but the *Britons* confiding in their own Strength, promis'd themſelves Victory, and refus'd Aſſiſtance of the *Scots* and *Picts*. *Julius Cæſar* return'd to *Britain*, and was twice repuls'd by the *Britons*: But at laſt, *Caſſibellan* with his valiant Captains were overthrown, taken, and kill'd, and his Country made tributary to the *Roman* Empire; being oblig'd to pay 3000 Pounds of Silver Yearly. *Julius Cæſar* having ſtay'd ſome Time to refreſh his Army, reſolv'd to invade the *Scots* and *Picts*, becauſe they had aſſiſted the *Britons* at his firſt Invaſion; yet thought proper to offer Conditions of Peace to them, willing them to ſubmit to the *Roman* Empire, rather than to hazard War. Whereupon, *Ederus* having conſulted his Nobles, determin'd to reſiſt the *Romans*, and return'd Anſwer to *Cæſar*'s Ambaſſador, That he and his Subjects were reſolv'd to defend their Freedom with their Lives and Arms, and never ſubmit to any Foreign Power. The Ambaſſador return'd to *Cæſar*, and told the Anſwer of the *Scots*, that they were reſolv'd not to ſubmit. After that, he ſent a ſecond Meſſage, threatning them with the utmoſt Ruin and Deſtruction, if they would not ſubmit to the Empire; at the ſame Time ſhewing them, how ſo many Powerful Nations of the World had not diſdain'd the Superiority of the *Roman* Empire; and thoſe who had been obſtinate, had been always ſubdued by his Power. *Ederus* not being diſmay'd at his Threats, anſwer'd, That his People having ſworn Allegiance and Obedience to him as their Lawful and Native Prince, he could not oblige them to Perjure themſelves by ſubmitting to, or acknowledging any other Prince, eſpecially a Foreigner: And, for his own Part, he was reſolv'd to venture his Life with his Subjects, and die honourably in the Field of Battle, rather than ſee his Kingdom (which had never been conquer'd by any foreign Power, ſince his Anceſtors firſt had Poſſeſſion of it) ſubdued by any foreign Prince, or his free-born Subjects become Servants to the *Romans*; and deſired the Meſſenger to tell *Cæſar*, he was ready to give him Battle whenever he offer'd to invade his Country.

King *Ederus* commands all notable Actions to be recorded by the *Druids*.

Julius being much offended at the Anſwer of the *Scots* King, was preparing his Army to invade *Scotland*, when he had a ſudden Account brought him, that the Inhabitants of *Normandy* and *Picardy*, and other Parts of *Gallia*, had revolted, and rais'd an Army againſt *Labienus*, his Lieutenant; whereupon he return'd to *Gallia*, without proſecuting his intended Expedition to *Scotland*.

The *Britons* conquer'd by *Julius Cæſar*.

Ederus, in the mean Time, gather'd a numerous Army from all Parts of the Realm; reſolving to obtain Victory over the *Romans*, or loſe their Lives in the Defence of their Country and Liberty. When the King had conven'd his Army, expecting the *Romans* to advance, he had Notice, that one *Murket*, the Couſin of *Gillus*, the late Uſurper, was arriv'd in the Iſles with a great Fleet of Gallies from *Ireland*, and committed great Cruelty upon the Inhabitants.

He ſent *Cadalla*, Chiftan of *Brigandes*, with his Clan, who took all his Ships in the Night; and when *Murket* had no Way left to eſcape, was taken with his Accomplices, and were all hang'd on Gibbets, where they had committed the Murders of Men, Women, and Children. *Ederus* having Notice of *Julius Cæſar*'s Departure, diſmiſs'd his Army, and liv'd in Peace and Quietneſs: He died in the 48 Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*.

EVENUS III. *The* 16 *King of* Scotland.

EVENUS III. ſucceeded his Father *Ederus*, in the Year of the World, 3959; before the coming of CHRIST, 17 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 319. When *Evenus* was crown'd, he was much reſpected by all his Subjects, being a young Man virtuouſly inclin'd, as being well inſtructed by his Father; but by keeping lewd young Men, for his moſt familiar Companions; he gave himſelf up to his Pleaſure and Luſt. He could not be contented with any Number of Concubines; but Publiſh'd and Enacted ſuch wicked Laws, That the King ſhould have the firſt Night, after Marriage, of all Noblemens Daughters; and all Noblemen and Heritors of Lands, ſhould have the ſame Freedom with all their Tenents and Vaſſals Daughters; and that all the Subjects Wives and Daughters ſhould be common to the King and his Nobles; and that every Man might keep as many Wives as he thought fit. All theſe wicked Laws made by this vicious Prince, were ſoon aboliſh'd, except that Law of the firſt Night after Marriage to the Landlord; which Act was ſo agreeable to many of the young Noblemen, that it was ſtill continu'd among them, till the Reign of King *Malcolm* III. call'd *Kianmore*, when his Queen, call'd St. *Margaret*, had that wicked Act aboliſh'd, inſtead of which the Father or the Husband of the young Woman, was to pay a Mark of Silver to redeem her Chaſtity.

Wicked Laws made by *Evenus*,

This King *Evenus* run into all manner of extravagant and wicked Courſes of Life, ſo that he became hateful to his Subjects; and they at laſt determin'd to reſtrain his vicious Life, by apprehending thoſe wicked Perſons who encourag'd him; and to ſet a Guard over him, that he might not have Liberty to abuſe and raviſh the chaſte Women of the Land, according to his former Practices: And accordingly they confin'd him to his Palace, under a Guard. He was found dead next Day, being ſtrangled in the Night, by ſome Perſon expecting a Reward: But diligent Search being made, the Murderer was found, and Executed.

his Death.

This unhappy King reign'd Seven Years, and died without Iſſue. His Body was buried in *Dunſtaffage*.

METELLANUS. *The* 17 *King of* Scotland.

METELLANUS, the Siſter's Son of *Ederus*, ſucceeded in the Year of World, 3966; before the coming of CHRIST, 10 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 326. He was a moſt virtuous, merciful, and humble Prince, and laid aſide all Pleaſure and Vanity, ſtudying the Good of his Subjects, to eſtabliſh Peace at Home and Abroad. He abhor'd and deteſted all the wicked Laws made by *Evenus* his Predeceſſor, and endeavour'd to aboliſh them; which he did, excepting That of the Nobles having the Virginities of their Tennents and Vaſſals Daughters, at their Marriage: Many of the young vicious Noblemen would not forgoe that Privilege, tho' all good Men abhor'd it. In King *Metellanus*'s Reign, *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſent to the King of *Britons*, exhorting him to live peaceable under his Authority, and to pay the Tribute

Tribute due to the *Roman* Empire. The King of *Britons* receiv'd the Meſſage pleaſantly; and, out of Reſpect to the Emperor, ſent rich Preſents, beſides the Tribute due. All Nations of the World being then in perfect Peace and Quietneſs: The Emperor again ſent his Ambaſſador to thank the King of *Britons*, for his Preſent and Good-Will. That Ambaſſador alſo came into *Scotland*, to King *Metellanus*, by the Emperor's Command, deſiring to continue Peace with him: The King receiv'd the Ambaſſador with all due Reſpect, and told him, That although he was no ways ſubject to, nor afraid of the *Roman* Power, yet was deſirous to continue Peace with all the neighbouring Princes, and ſhould ſhew all due Deference and Honour to the *Roman* Emperor; that the Peace which he deſir'd to continue was to him moſt agreeable, as being for the Good and Felicity of his Kingdom and Subjects: And at the ſame Time he ſent ſeveral rich Jewels by the Ambaſſador, as a Token of his Friendſhip and Reſpect to the Emperor.

The Birth of our bleſſed Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

It was in the Tenth Year of the Reign of *Metellanus*, that our BLESSED SAVIOUR, *JESUS CHRIST*, was born in *Bethlem* of *Judea*, of the Holy Virgin *Mary*, Daughter of *Jehoiachim* and *Anna*: And it is obſerv'd, that all the World was in perfect Peace and Quietneſs, for ſeveral Years before and after that happy Time; which ſhould be duly remember'd by all Chriſtians, who rightly conſider the Great Work of their Redemption.

Metellanus liv'd happily, having the entire Love and Affection of all his Subjects, and the Good-Will of all his Neighbours. In his Reign liv'd in *Rome*, *Virgil* the Prince of the *Latin* Poets, alſo *Horace*, *Ovid*, *Varo*, *Strabo*, *Titus Livius*, and many other Learn'd Men. This good King died in the Thirty Ninth Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*.

CARATACUS. *The* 18 *King of* Scotland.

CARATACUS, the Son of *Cadallanus* or *Cadalla*, by *Europea*, the Siſter of *Metellanus*, ſucceeded to the Crown, in the Year of the World, 4005; after the Incarnation of our Bleſſed Saviour JESUS CHRIST, 29 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 365. He was a judicious and valiant Prince, and well belov'd by his Subjects and Neighbours, for his Juſtice, Judgment, and Valour. He enjoy'd all the great Treaſure left by *Metellanus*; who exceeded all the former Kings in Riches. He went over all the Kingdom and the Iſles; and by his courteous and pleaſant Demeanour, gain'd very much the Love of his People.

Kymbalyne, King of the *Britons*, being ſo much in Favour with the Emperor *Auguſtus*; that he held *Britain* without any Tribute, but what he offer'd of himſelf, at his Pleaſure: But after his Death, *Guiderius* was made King of the *Britons*, and finding that there was but few *Roman* Forces in his Realm, he ſtudied how to redeem the Liberty of the Nation from the *Roman* Power; and gather'd an Army, intending to deſtroy the *Roman* Garriſons: But *Claudius* having Notice of the Rebellion of the *Britons*; ſent Two Captains, named *Aulus Plancius* and *Gneus Sentius*, with an Army into *Britain*; and, after ſupplying the Garriſons with Proviſions, they march'd againſt the *Britons*, who met them, and fought a deſperate Battle, with great Slaughter on both ſides; but the *Romans* obtain'd the Victory. The *Britons*, in this Battle, did not ſuſtain ſo great Loſs of Men as the *Romans* did; which encourag'd them to continue Incurſions, with Slaughter of both Parties, till the Winter-Seaſon made the *Romans* retire to their Garriſons.

Guiderius calling to Mind the Victory obtain'd againſt the *Romans*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots* and *Picts*; therefore ſent his Ambaſſador to *Caratacus*, ſhewing him, That they were grievouſly oppreſs'd by the *Romans*, and that certainly thoſe *Romans* would (when they could ſee Opportunity) alſo invade the *Scots* and *Picts*: But if the King of *Scotland* would joyn with the *Britons*

Guiderus, King of *Britons*, ſends an Ambaſſador to King *Caratacus*.

and *Picts*, they might expect ſuch Victory as their great Anceſtors obtain'd againſt the *Roman* General, *Julius Cæſar*, at his firſt Landing; and that if the *Scots* could obtain Victory, it would be to their laſting Honour, as well as Security of their Kingdom, from being invaded by thoſe powerful Enemies.

Caratacus receiv'd this Meſſage, and made Anſwer, That, if the *Britons* had not ſlighted the Supply offer'd by the *Scots*, when *Julius* came againſt them the ſecond Time, they had not been ſo oppreſs'd by the *Roman* Power, but had repuls'd them, as they did when they firſt join'd together: That the *Britons* were juſtly puniſh'd for their vain Ambition, in venturing by themſelves, in Hopes to have all the Glory of the Action; as the only Motive which induc'd them to refuſe the *Scots* and *Picts*, was, that they ſhould have no Share of the Honour obtain'd by them in the ſecond Attempt; which ſo far, contrary to their Expectation, prov'd the Ruin of their Army, and Loſs of their Nation and Liberty. Yet *Caratacus* ſaid, That if the *Britons* would reſolve to join unanimouſly againſt the *Romans*, he would not only ſend Supply, but would go in Perſon to join them; and did not doubt that the King of *Picts* would do the ſame, and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to regain the *Britons* Liberty: But he was afraid the *Britons* were ſo divided among themſelves, that they would not engage with entire Reſolution to die or obtain their Freedom. *Caratacus* likewiſe told the Ambaſſador, That it would be of conſiderable Advantage to the King of the *Britons*, to employ all his Intereſt with the Inhabitants of *Normandy*, *Picardy*, *Germany*, and other Parts of the bordering Countries of *Gallia*, to revolt from the *Romans*; and to promiſe thoſe People to ſend them Supply of Ships and Soldiers, with Money, Arms, and all other Neceſſaries of War, againſt the *Romans*; and alſo to be confederate with all Nations that hate them. By ſuch Means their Armies may be employ'd, ſo that they cannot ſpare a great Army in *Britain*. However, if none of thoſe Stratagems ſhould ſucceed, the King ſaid, "I am willing we ſhould all join together in this Iſle, "all the Forces we can raiſe, and give them Battle; with full Reſolution "to fight and die, rather than flee and be conquer'd: For what can be more "Honourable than to fight for the Liberty of our Country?

The Ambaſſador return'd with this Anſwer, which was right pleaſant to the King of the *Britons*; and he ſent Ambaſſadors (according to the Advice of *Caratacus*) into *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Flanders*, and other Countries. In the mean Time, the *Romans* drew their Army out, and began to haraſs the *Britons* for their Revolt: Whereupon, *Guiderius* gather'd all the *Britons*, and gave him Battle, which was fought deſperately, with great Slaughter; but the *Britons* were overthrown, and their King ſlain: The *Romans* alſo loſt many of their Soldiers, with *Gneus Sentius*, their General.

The Ambaſſadors, who were well receiv'd in the before mention'd Countries, had great Promiſes from thoſe People, to be confederate with the *Britons*, to free themſelves from the *Roman* Power, and were making private Preparations; but having Account of this unfortunate Battle, they deſpair'd to recover their Liberty, and ſo the Ambaſſadors return'd without any Succeſs.

Claudius Cæſar comes into *Britain*.

Soon after this, *Claudius Cæſar*, the Emperor, came into *Britain*, accompanied by *Veſpaſian*, his General, with a great Army; and the remaining *Britons* ſent an Orator to excuſe them before the Emperor, promiſing never to rebel againſt the *Roman* Power, in Time coming. *Claudius* then commanded them to give Pledges for their Performance of thoſe Promiſes, and requir'd all the Nobles of the *Britons* to come to him, on a Day appointed; which if they refus'd, he would ſpare none of their Lives, but purſue and kill them for their Contempt. They finding no Way to defend themſelves, came to *London*, and fell upon their Knees before the Emperor, confeſſing their Rebellion, imploring Pardon for what they had done; and promiſing that they would live thereafter in Obedience to the *Roman* Empire. Many of the *Romans* adviſed *Claudius* to put the principal Perſons to Death; but *Veſpaſian* told the Emperor, that being merciful to them, would gain their Affection and Obedience more than Slaughter and Execution. The Emperor took the Advice of *Veſpaſian*, and pardon'd them, and made *Arviragus* King of the *Britons*; that the Property

of

of the Crown might remain in the Poſſeſſion of the Native Blood; for he was Brother to *Guiderius* the laſt King. *Claudius* continu'd *Plancius* his General, and made *Marcus Trebellius* his Treaſurer in *Britain*; and commanded them to provide all the Garriſons with Men and Proviſions; and make Laws to keep the *Britons* in Peace, and to defend them from the *Scots* and *Picts*. The *Britons* were very thankful to *Veſpaſian* for his great Humanity, in adviſing *Claudius* to ſave their Lives; and they were all order'd to return to their ſeveral Homes. *Claudius* being deſirous to do ſome memorable Action before his Return, deſign'd to viſit the Iſles of *Orkney*, which was a Kingdom by it ſelf; and being weak, he concluded that more ſafe than to make any Attempt againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, who kept a ſtrong Army to defend themſelves. He therefore got his Fleet in Readineſs, and with great Hazard went through the *Pentland-Firth*, and landed in the great Iſle call'd *Pomona*; whereupon the Inhabitants all fled and hid themſelves in Caves and Rocks. *Claudius* went to the chief Town, (now call'd *Kirkwall*) and had Account that *Ganus* the King of *Orknay* was in a Caſtle, about 12 Miles from that Town: *Claudius* ſent a Part of his Army to beſiege the Caſtle, which was for ſome time defended by the Inhabitants, with great Slaughter of the *Romans*; but at laſt the King was taken Priſoner, and brought to *Claudius*, who carried him, with his Wife and Children, to *Rome*. My Author, *Hector Boetius*, in his Hiſtory, mentions the Account of *Claudius Cæſar*'s coming into *Britain*, and the Tranſactions of his Time; as he collected it from *Suetonius*, *Eutropius*, *Bede*, *Campbell*, and *Cornelius Ireland*.

The *Orkadians* ſubdu'd by *Claudius Cæſar*.

In the Fifth Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, the Holy Apoſtle St. *Peter* came into *Italy*, from *Antioch*; where he had preach'd the Chriſtian Faith, and had erected Churches in ſeveral Parts of *Aſia*. This Great Apoſtle began to ſpread the Chriſtian Faith over *Italy*, and in *Rome*, where he was much perſecuted by the Emperor *Claudius*, who ſentenc'd him to be crucified: But the Apoſtle eſteem'd himſelf unworthy of ſuch great Honour, to die after the ſame Manner that his Bleſſed Lord and Saviour ſuffer'd Death; therefore deſir'd of the Executioners that he might be crucified with his Head downward, and his Feet upward: And after this Manner did St. *Peter*, the Prince of the Apoſtles, ſuffer at *Rome*, having preach'd the Goſpel ſeveral Years after the Death and Reſurrection of our Bleſſed Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

It is mention'd, that about this Time, the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, Mother of our Saviour, was tranſlated to Heaven, Soul and Body; in Commemoration of which the 15th Day of *Auguſt* (according to our Computation) is kept, call'd *The Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin*.

When *Arviragus* was made King of the *Britons*, he abus'd his Queen *Woda*, who was Siſter to *Caratacus*, King of *Scotland*; having put her in Priſon, after ſhe had born to him a Son and two Daughters; and in the mean Time, he married a *Roman* Lady, named *Geniſſa*. The Nobles of the *Britons* were highly offended at the Injury done to the innocent Queen; and broke open the Priſon where ſhe was, with her Children, and carried her to *Wales*. They ſent to King *Arviragus*, ſhewing him how unjuſt it was to put away or impriſon his lawful Wife, and out of meer Luſt to marry another, while ſhe was alive who was Mother of his Children. *Arviragus* took no notice of their Meſſage, but threatned them with Puniſhment for their Rebellion againſt the *Roman* Power: But the Nobles were ſo far from being afraid of his Threats, that they ſent to the Lords of *Carliſle*, *Kendal* and *Durham*, complaining of *Arviragus*; and thoſe Lords joining in their Reſolutions, met the Lords of *Wales* at *Coriminum*, (after call'd *Shrewsbury*,) where they held long Conſultation, how they might redeem their Liberty and ancient Freedom. Mean Time, great Contention aroſe among them, who ſhould be their Captain or General to lead their Army againſt the *Romans*: Whereupon *Comus*, a Nobleman of *Wales*, ſpoke to them ſaying, "Since we are thus aſſembled for the common Good of our People "and Nation, let all Diviſion and Contention be laid aſide, and let Ambition ceaſe; and ſince we are all of equal Power and Authority, it is there- "fore moſt needful, that we ſhould ſend an Orator to *Caratacus*, King of

Comus his Advice to the *Britons*.

" *Scots*, who is now much offended at the Abuſe of his Siſter *Woda*, by *Ar-*
" *viragus* her Husband: As he is an Enemy to the *Romans*, he will be deſirous
" to revenge the Injuries done to his Siſter; and take Part with his Nephew
" her Son, whom the *Romans* intend to defraud of the Crown. We ought
" to entreat *Caratacus* to take Poſſeſſion of the Government of the *Britons*,
" 'till his Nephew be of perfect Age; and in the mean Time to come and
" join us, who are ready to obey him as our General". The Meſſenger was diſpatch'd, and accordingly prevail'd with *Caratacus* to revenge his Siſter's Injuries: And in the Spring of the Year, the Kings of *Scotland* and the *Picts*, join'd the *Britons* with an Army of 60000 valiant Men; againſt whom *Plancius* and *Arviragus* marched with a numerous Army; and when they met a moſt deſperate Battle was fought with uncertain Victory, 'till Night ſeparated both Armies. *Plancius* ſeeing the great Loſs of his Army, retir'd to *London*, and *Caratacus*, who was choſen General of the Confederate Army, ſtay'd at *York*.

Caratacus joins the *Britons* with 60000 *Scots* and *Picts*.

Plancius ſent an Orator to *Caratacus*, repreſenting the Injuſtice done by him, in aſſiſting the *Britons* againſt the *Roman* Government; that he could not be ignorant how merciful *Claudius* was to him and his Confederates the *Picts*, who when he might have invaded and ſubdued them, he contented himſelf with the Conqueſt of the Iſles of *Orkney*, which were Enemies to the *Scots*: In the mean Time, deſir'd *Caratacus* to repair the Injuries done by him, otherwiſe he ſhould be reputed an Enemy to the *Roman* Empire.

Caratacus anſwer'd the Meſſenger, that what he then did was to defend the Cauſe of his Nephew, and revenge the Injuries done his Siſter: But as for upbraiding him with Ingratitude for the Mercy of *Claudius*, he anſwer'd, That at that Time *Claudius* well knew, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were join'd in Arms to defend themſelves, aud were reſolv'd to die in Defence of their Liberty, rather than ſubmit to him, or any Foreign Power; and that if *Claudius* had any Aſſurance of Victory, he had not hazarded his Fleet and Army to go againſt a weak and defenceleſs People, ſuch as the *Orkadians*; and deſir'd *Plancius* to redreſs the Wrongs done the *Britons*, and to depart the Iſle with his Army.

Arviragus hearing the Reſolution of *Caratacus*, deſerted *Plancius*, left his *Roman* Lady, and went over to the *Britons* at *Shrewsbury*, where he was kindly receiv'd: And after due Confeſſion of his Faults, and Injuſtice done to his lawful Queen and her Children, he was reconcil'd to her; and the *Roman* Lady *Geniſſa* being left with Child by him, took ſuch Grief, that ſhe died ſoon after with her Child.

Plancius ſeeing the *Britons* could not be truſted, ſent Letters to *Claudius*, repreſenting their Rebellion, and how they were Arm'd againſt him. *Claudius* having receiv'd the Letters, ſent *Veſpaſian* with an Army of *Romans* into *Britain*, and call'd *Plancius* to ſhew him the Situation of Affairs in that Place, where he had ſo long reſided. *Arviragus* rais'd all the *Britons* that could carry Arms, to the Number of 65000 Men, and was join'd at *York* by the *Scots* and *Picts* with 60000 Men. There follow'd a bloody Battle near *York*, where the *Britons*, *Scots*, and *Picts* fought with incomparable Valour and Reſolution; but at laſt, by the Policy of *Veſpaſian*, (who reſerv'd freſh Legions to the laſt) the Confederate Kings were over-power'd, and the *Romans* obtain'd the Victory. *Arviragus* ſeeing ſo many noble Captains ſlain, would have kill'd himſelf, but was hinder'd by his Friends. *Caratacus* ſav'd a ſmall Number of his People, and return'd to *Brigance*, to fortify his Kingdom againſt the *Romans*, if they ſhould invade it. The King of the *Picts*, named *Illithara*, was ſlain in this Battle; and *Arviragus*, with the remaining *Britons*, ſurrender'd to the Mercy of *Veſpaſian*, who treated them with unexpected Mercy and Humanity: Mean Time, he appointed *Plancius* to govern the *Britons* by Laws made for their better Obedience to the *Roman* Power.

Veſpaſian ſent into *Britain*.

His Victory over the Confederates

Veſpaſian ſtay'd at *York* 'till the next Year, and went againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, and entring the *Mers* and *Berwick*, paſs'd to *Camleon*, which he took: And having Notice, that *Caratacus* had rais'd an Army of *Scots*, *Veſpaſian* ſtay'd at *Camleon*, and ſent *Plancius* againſt him with his Army of *Romans*; and when

when both Armies met, they fought from the dawning of Day 'till Night. The *Romans* obtain'd the Victory, but with great Loss of their Army. *Vespasian* hearing of the Victory, went to *Carrick*, a Town in the South of *Scotland*; and having Notice, that *Caratacus* was raising another Army, sent to him Messengers; shewing, That it was in vain for him to hazard another Battle, since he was so often overcome by the *Roman* Army: But if he would submit to *Cæsar*, as all other Nations had done, he should be reputed a Friend to the *Roman* Empire, and be defended from all other Enemies. *Caratacus*, who could not abide the Thoughts of Submission, was enrag'd at this Message, and return'd for Answer: That he would never submit to the *Romans*, nor any Power, while Life remain'd, and that as the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been always a free Kingdom to his Predecessors, and was then as free to him as the *Romans* were to *Cæsar*; therefore he thought no Prince or People was worthy of Lives, who would not venture them for their Liberty; and that he was resolv'd to end his Life in Defence of his Realm and Subjects.

Vespasian enters *Scotland*, and sends to *Caratacus*, desiring him to submit to the *Roman* Empire.

Caratacus's Answer.

'Tis said, that *Vespasian* very much admir'd the invincible Courage and constant Resolution of *Caratacus*, who would not submit when all the People of the Isle were subdued besides himself; and that he alone would fight against the *Romans*, who had before overcome the Three Kings in Battle. *Vespasian* finding the Passage into *Scotland* difficult, took Ships, and design'd to take the Isle of *Man*, with other Isles of *Scotland*, and then to land their Army on the Continent: But while he was in the Isle of *Man* he had Letters, shewing, That the People of *Wales* and the Isle of *Wight* had revolted, which made him suspect that they were assisted from *France*, which People also intended to rebel: Upon this Account, he went and suppress'd those Insurrections; and being by *Claudius* call'd home to *Rome*, he left *Plancius* with the Army against the *Scots*. Soon after, *Caratacus* met the *Roman* Army, and gave them Battle, wherein the *Scots* fought most valiantly for their Liberty: The Victory was, at last, uncertain; only the *Romans*, by their extraordinary Conduct, kept better Order, and had the Spoil of the Field of Battle.

King *Caratacus* drew off his Army to *Dunstaffage*, and the *Romans* retir'd with their Army to the *Picts* Country, which they had before subdued. *Plancius* fell into a violent Sickness, of which he died (the Second Year after the last Battle) at *Camleon*, and his Body was burnt to Ashes, after the Custom of the *Romans*, and put in an Urn, which was plac'd in the Temple of *Claudius*, which *Vespasian* had built on the River *Carron*. This Custom was introduc'd, and much used among the *Scots* and *Picts* for many Years after; and many of those Urns, containing the Ashes of dead Heroes, have been found in several Places in *Scotland*, of late Years.

Plancius being dead, *Ostorius Scapula* was sent by *Claudius Cæsar* in his stead: Whereupon the *Britons* again had some Hopes to recover their Liberty, because *Ostorius* was a Stranger to that Country; therefore they rais'd Insurrections, which were soon suppress'd, by the Conduct and Valour of *Ostorius*, who was a very great General, nothing inferior to any of the former *Roman* Generals in the Isle of *Britain*.

Ostorius went with his Army towards *Scotland*, and invaded the Lands of *Carrick*, *Kyle*, and *Cunningham*, and plunder'd the Inhabitants; whereat *Caratacus* was enrag'd: And being impatient to be reveng'd of the Injuries, he resolv'd once more to try his Fortune in a Battle against the *Romans*; and gather'd all the *Scots* to the Number of 40000 Men, and drew them up in Battle Array, with their Backs to a deep River, that they could not flee, but fight while they could stand. *Ostorius* was surpriz'd to find such a great Number of the *Scots* in one Army; therefore made a Speech to his Soldiers, exhorting them to consider that they were *Romans*, and could not be afraid of their Enemies, but ought to fight with Courage to obtain Victory, or die in the Field. Both Armies join'd suddenly, and fought with so much Cruelty and Fierceness, that the like had scarce been seen in the World before that Day; but the *Scots* being almost all slain or wounded, the Victory fell to the *Romans*, to the great Glory of *Ostorius*, who mightily admir'd the Valour of the *Scots*, and lamented the

Death of ſo many brave Men, beſides the Loſs of his own Officers and Soldiers, among whom there was great Slaughter. *Caratacus* being ſore wounded, was carried off and convey'd to *Dunſtaffage*, where he was ſome Time with his Step-Mother *Cartamunda*, the Daughter of a *Britiſh* Knight; who was married to *Cadalla*, after the Deceaſe of *Europea*, the Mother of *Caratacus*, and Siſter of King *Metellanus*, before mention'd.

Caratacus exhorts the *Scots* not to ſubmit to the *Romans*;

Caratacus exhorted the remaining *Scots* to make their eſcape to the Mountains and Iſles, that they might not be ſubdu'd by the *Romans*, until he was recover'd of his Wounds; and accordingly they fortified themſelves in the Iſles, Mountains, and remote Parts of the Kingdom. While the King lay hid with his Step-Mother, ſhe thought there was no Hopes of recovering the Realm from the *Roman* Power, and envied that the *Scots* ſhould not be in the ſame Condition as her native Country People, the *Britons*; therefore ſent private Intelligence to *Oſtorius*, ſhewing where he was, and in what Condition. Whereupon a ſtrong Party came ſecretly upon the King, and carried him to *Oſtorius*, who ſeeing him, went to meet him, and took him by the Hand, ſaying to him, "O moſt valiant Prince, tho' good Fortune be not on thy Side, yet thy "great Valour and many Virtues cannot forſake thee; therefore bear thy Mis- "fortunes with Patience, and be aſſured of good Terms from the *Emperor* "and *Roman* Power, who have ſubdued ſo many Nations, and led mighty "Kings in Triumph". *Caratacus* anſwer'd, "I will ſuffer what God permits "with Patience, but am careleſs of my Life, ſince I cannot employ it in De- "fence of my Country, as I have always done while I had Power: And al- "though it is now by the Treachery of my Step-Mother that I am betray'd "into your Hands, and not overcome and taken Priſoner by the Force of "your Arms; yet I ſubmit to your Pleaſure as a Priſoner: But, in Conſide- "ration of my Miſchance, I may expect that my diſtreſs'd People will find "Favour from ſo great a Captain".

he is betray'd by *Cartamunda*:

his Anſwer to *Oſtorius*.

Oſtorius carried the King to the *Roman* Tents, where he was no leſs reſpected than admir'd by the Nobles and Soldiers. Soon after, *Caratacus* was carried through *Italy* to *Rome*, where the Fame of his great Actions got him no leſs Reſpect than he had in the *Roman* Camp. He was brought to the Emperor, in whoſe Preſence he appear'd with Manly Courage and Majeſty; and ſaid in his hearing, That although he appear'd then as a Priſoner, yet it was only by Treachery that he was in their Power; therefore was willing to lay down his Life, which he did not deſire to enjoy, longer than he could defend the Laws and Liberty of his Kingdom and People: That he was well aſſur'd, the *Scots* then living would never ſubmit to the *Roman* Power, but would die in their own Defence in the Iſles and inacceſſible Places they had then fortify'd; and as for his own Life (which he could more eaſily reſign than keep in Priſon) it would be no honourable Action to *Cæſar* to take it when betray'd into his Power: Whereas if *Ceſar* would reſtore him to his Realm, to take his Fate with his People, or enjoy his Freedom, as his Predeceſſors had done; he would always be a Friend to *Cæſar*, and acknowledge the Noble and Generous Action by his future Gratitude. *Cæſar* having conſulted his Senators, gave *Caratacus* his free Liberty to return and enjoy his Kingdom without any Tribute, only promiſing never to aſſiſt either *Britons* or *Picts* againſt the *Roman* Power.

he is carried to *Rome*,

and ſet at Liberty by *Cæſar*.

The People of *Scotland*, who had retir'd and liv'd as before mention'd, upon the Return of their King were mightily overjoy'd; and return'd to their Poſſeſſions, which were given up to them by the *Romans*, at the Emperor's Command. *Caratacus* liv'd many Years peaceably, enjoying his own Laws and the Liberty of his Subjects, free from any Servitude or Subjection; and died in the 21ſt Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*. In his Reign liv'd the learn'd Men, *Perſius*, *Juvenal*, and *Seneca*.

CORBREDUS.

CORBREDUS I. *The* 19 *King of* Scotland.

CORBREDUS, the Brother of *Caratacus*, ſucceeded in the Year of the World, 4026; after the Birth of our Saviour, 48 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 386. He was a good King, and a Lover of Juſtice, and in every thing like his Brother. He made a Progreſs over the Kingdom, and repair'd the Places which were deſtroy'd by the *Romans*. In the Beginning of his Reign, the *Picts* having created a new King, had great Hopes to recover their Lands and Liberty from the *Romans*, and in ſeveral Skirmiſhes ſlew many of them. *Oſtorius* hearing of their Attempt, went ſuddenly againſt them, with an Army, and fought till the Darkneſs of the Night ſeperated them. In this Battle *Oſtorius* was wounded, and loſt many of his Army; as alſo many of the *Picts* were ſlain: But they were ſo encourag'd by this Repulſe, that they made daily Incurſions on the *Romans*, with great Slaughter. In ſeveral Skirmiſhes the *Picts* had ſuch Advantage of the *Romans*, that many People came to their Aſſiſtance, and weaken'd the *Romans*; ſo that *Oſtorius* ſent to *Claudius* for Aſſiſtance of new Forces, to puniſh the *Picts*: And accordingly two Legions were ſent over, which went againſt the *Picts*: But both the Captains of thoſe Legions were ſlain by Ambuſhments of the *Picts*, and their Legions put to Flight. *Oſtorius* receiv'd many Wounds, whereof he died ſoon after, and was ſucceeded in his Command by *Manlius Valens*, as General of the *Romans* in *Britain*. He rais'd an Army, and went againſt the *Picts*, who met him and gave him Battle: And when the *Picts* were almoſt routed, there came 4000 Men from *Kendal* to their Aſſiſtance; who falling freſh upon the *Romans*, put them to Flight. In this Battle were ſlain 3000 *Romans*, and not above 2000 *Picts*. *Claudius* hearing the Loſs of this Battle, ſent *Aulus Didius*, with two Legions, to revenge the Injuries done by the *Picts*. *Aulus* coming into *Britain*, and finding the *Romans* very much diſpirited, reproach'd them for their Sloth and Want of that true *Roman* Courage which the former Armies had teſtify'd on all Occaſions. The *Romans* being enrag'd at this Reproof, ſwore they would be reveng'd on the *Picts*, or die in fair Battle; and gather'd all their Strength againſt the *Picts*: Who, hearing of their Preparations, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Corbredus* King of *Scots*; ſhewing him, That *Didius* was come over with freſh Legions, not only againſt Them, but was reſolv'd to ſubdue the whole Iſle; and that if the *Picts* were once routed, they would alſo invade *Scotland*. Therefore he deſir'd *Corbredus* to ſend Aſſiſtance to withſtand the *Romans*, and prevent their proceeding any further to ſubdue either Nation. *Corbredus* return'd Anſwer, That he did not doubt *Didius*'s Deſigns of coming into *Albion*, were to ſubdue the whole Iſle, if he could: But as he was then at Peace with the *Romans*, and *Caratacus* having promis'd not to invade nor fight againſt the *Romans*, unleſs they firſt invade his Kingdom, he could not violate his Promiſe; but in the mean time he would have an Army in Readineſs, and fall upon the *Romans*, if they enter'd his Kingdom.

The *Picts* ſend an Ambaſſador to *Corbredus*.

Corbredus's Anſwer.

Corbredus gather'd an Army, and encamp'd in *Brigance*, to defend his Kingdom: But when *Didius* had Notice thereof, he ſent to *Corbredus*, commanding him to disband his Army; which if he refus'd, he would hold him as an Enemy to *Cæſar*, and one who had renounc'd his Confederacy. *Corbredus* anſwer'd, That he was only in his own Kingdom, where he might keep what Army he thought fit; and that he would not invade, nor fight againſt the *Romans*, unleſs they firſt invaded his Kingdom.

Aulus Didius his Meſſage to *Corbredus*,

his Anſwer.

Didius ſent his Lieutenant *Cæſius Naſica*, with an Army to invade *Brigance*; whereupon *Corbredus* gather'd his Army to withſtand them, and went to *Epiack* to conſult his Nobles, and having given Orders to *Venuſius* (the Husband of *Cartamunda*, who had betray'd *Caratacus*) he left him to defend that Town; but he was, by the ſaid *Cartamunda*'s Deceit, put in Priſon, that he might not aſſiſt the King. *Corbredus* having Notice thereof, return'd to *Epiack*, and having ſet *Venuſius* at Liberty, caus'd the wicked *Cartamunda* to be buried or immur'd alive; and went ſpeedily with his Army againſt *Cæſius Naſica*,

Cartamunda's Deceit,

her Death.

Corbredus's Victory over *Cæsius Nasica*.

and routed him, together with his *Roman* Legions. The King of the *Picts* being overjoy'd at this Victory obtain'd by *Corbredus*, joyn'd him with his Army, and were attack'd by Break of Day by all the *Roman* Army; againſt whom the confederate Kings fought moſt valiantly, till the Darkneſs of the Night parted them. Great Slaughter being committed on both ſides, the *Romans* retir'd ſpeedily to their Tents, and *Didius* went into *Britain*; where finding the People had rais'd many Inſurrections, he ſent a Meſſage to *Cæſius Naſica*, his Lieutenant, to make Peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, upon any tolerable Terms. The confederate Kings of *Scots* and *Picts*, having loſt many Men in this Battle, were willing to have Peace; which was agreed between them on theſe Terms: That the *Romans* ſhould never invade the *Scots* nor *Picts* in any time coming; and that they ſhould quit both the Kingdoms of the *Scots* and *Picts*, to be freely poſſeſs'd and govern'd by them, according to their own Laws; the *Scots* and *Picts* being oblig'd never to invade the *Romans* in their Conqueſt in *Britain*, nor ſhould ever aſſiſt or ſupport any other People againſt the *Romans*. This Peace laſted while *Didius* continu'd to command the *Romans* in *Britain*; which was about Six Years. He died in *London*, and was ſucceeded in his Command by *Veraneus*, who was ſent to *Britain* by the Emperor *Nero*.

The *Romans* make Peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*.

Veraneus being very deſirous of ſome Opportunity to ſhew himſelf a great General, like his Predeceſſors, provok'd the *Scots*, by ſending ſmall Parties (as if without his Knowledge) to drive away their Cattle; whereby ſeveral Skirmiſhes happen'd, wherein the *Romans* had not much Advantage. In the Midſt of theſe Incurſions *Veraneus* fell ſick, and died; and was ſucceeded by *Suetonius*, who confirm'd the Peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, and paſt into the Iſle of *Man*, where he ſubdu'd the Inhabitants, who had rebell'd ſome time ago. This Iſle belong'd to the *Scots* for many Years; but the Expence of defending it ſo far exceeded the Profit of it, that the Kings did not think it worth contending for. When *Suetonius* had ſubdu'd the Iſle of *Man*, he having Orders to return to *France*, which had rebell'd, took Ship and left *Britain*; whereupon the *Britons* began to revolt, in Hopes to recover their Liberty. What firſt moved the *Britons* at this Time againſt the *Roman*, was, that *Woda*, the Wife of *Arviragus*, had two Daughters left by her ſaid Huſband, the King; who both were Deflower'd by the *Roman* Officers, and their Mother *Woda*, moſt barbarouſly abus'd, for complaining of the Injuries done to her Daughters. The *Picts*, ſtill mindful of the Injuries done by the *Romans*, were glad of this Opportunity to joyn the *Britons*, to be reveng'd, and recover *Camleon* from the *Romans*, in which they ſtill kept a Garriſon; whereupon they ſlew the *Romans* in the City, and all Parts of their Kingdom, till there was none left. *Petilius Cerealis*, Lieutenant to *Suetonius*, came with a Legion againſt the *Picts*, but was driven back: And when they came to *Berwick* for Shelter, and lodg'd in a Temple, the People of that Country gather'd together, and ſlew them; but the Lieutenant eſcap'd, and went to *Catus* the *Roman* Reſident in *Britain*, who reſided in *Kent*. But the Troubles increaſing every Day in *Britain*, *Catus* went over to *France*, for a Supply of *Romans*, and return'd ſoon after, with an Army.

Woda ſends to her Brother *Corbredus* for Aſſiſtance

Woda being abus'd, as before mention'd, ſent a Meſſenger to her Brother *Corbredus*, complaining of the Injuries done herſelf and Daughters, by the *Romans*; deſiring him to revenge her Cauſe, as ſhe, his only Siſter, was thus ſhamefully abus'd, and brought to ſuch Miſery: And as the *Britons*, being ſore oppreſs'd, were ready to venture their Lives to recover their Liberty, this would be a good Opportunity for *Corbredus* to joyn with them, and do her and her Children Juſtice. *Corbredus* was much afflicted to hear the piteous Complaint of his Siſter: He therefore ſent a Herald to *Catus* the *Roman* General, deſiring he would give his Siſter *Woda*, and her Daughters, Satisfaction of thoſe *Romans* who had abus'd them; which, if he fail'd to do, he ſhould be oblig'd to redreſs her Wrongs to the utmoſt of his Power. *Catus* ridicul'd his Meſſage ſo much, that his Anſwer was to upbraid the King of *Scots*, for meddling with the Affairs of the *Romans*, who were above taking Notice of his Siſter or Daughters,

Daughters, but might uſe them as other Women, at their Pleaſure. *Corbredus* being vext at this Inſolence, made a new League with the *Picts*, and rais'd a ſtrong Army of fencible Men; and the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Man* alſo joyn'd with them againſt the *Romans*. And it is mention'd, that at this time a Number of Strange People, call'd *Murrays*, with their Captain, named *Roderick*, came into *Scotland*; having fled from the Oppreſſion of the *Romans*, (as 'tis reported, from *Moravia* in *Germany*, from which they took their Sirnames) and ſetting to Sea, offer'd to land in *France*; but, being hinder'd, came to the Coaſt of *Scotland*, and landed in the *Forth*. They were kindly receiv'd by the *Scots* and *Picts*, at their Landing: And as they were glad to have Opportunity to fight againſt the *Romans*, they deſir'd the Confederate Kings to let them engage in the Front of their Army, to ſhew the Hatred they bore the *Romans*; and that, if they could ſhew their Courage in the Battle, and rout the *Roman* Army, they might live among the *Scots* and *Picts*, and have Wives to increaſe under one Name and People with them: But if they did not acquit themſelves like Men of Courage, and Enemies to the *Romans*, they deſir'd the *Scots* and *Picts* might kill or baniſh them, as unworthy to live. The confederate Kings accepted their Offers, and aſſur'd them of their Deſires, if they ſucceeded; and march'd their Army to joyn *Woda*, Queen of the *Britons*, who had gather'd a formidable Army. And alſo a great Number of Ladies were arm'd, with their Queen; being reſolv'd to fight, and revenge themſelves on the *Romans*, for the many Abuſes done by them to the *Britiſh* Ladies. *Catus* having Notice of the Armies coming againſt him, gather'd all the Strength of the *Romans*, and march'd againſt the Confederates; and when they met, a moſt cruel and deſperate Battle was fought, wherein the *Romans* were routed, and purſu'd with great Slaughter: Their General, *Catus*, being wounded, fled into *France*. In this Battle fell near 6000 *Romans*, and 3000 of the Confederates.

The *Murrays* firſt coming into *Scotland*.

The *Britiſh* Ladies joyn the Army with *Woda* their Queen.

Their Victory over the *Romans*.

The *Romans* being almoſt deſtroy'd in the Iſle of *Britain*, the *Britons* were in Hopes to recover their Liberty: But *Suetonius* came ſpeedily upon them with two freſh Legions, and routed the *Britons*: And particularly in a Battle, where the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Murrays* were join'd with them; but obtain'd the Victory with ſuch Loſs of his Army, that he could not purſue the Confederates. In this Battle fell many *Scots* and *Picts*; as alſo many of the *Murrays*, with their brave Captain *Roderick*: *Woda* ſeeing the Battle loſt, kill'd her ſelf, that ſhe might not fall into the Hands of the Enemy: Her Two Daughters, being taken, were brought Captives to *Suetonius*; who, hearing the great Abuſe done them, as they were Kings Daughters, he was enrag'd at the Perſons who had deflower'd them, and promis'd them Satisfaction. The eldeſt was raviſh'd by a *Roman* Nobleman, nam'd *Marius*, who ſtill lov'd her, and the more to appeaſe the Wrath of *Suetonius*, and repair the Injuries done the Princeſs, married her; and was after King of the *Britons*, in Right of that Princeſs, who was the Daughter of the late King *Arviragus*. This *Marius* dwelt in *Kendal*, and call'd the Name of that Country after himſelf, *Weſt-Maria*, now *Weſtmoreland*.

The Confederates routed by *Suetonius*.

Woda kills herſelf.

Corbredus return'd to *Scotland*, with his Army, and rewarded the *Murrays* with the Lands lying between the Rivers *Neſs* and *Spey*, from them call'd *Murray-Land*, now the Shire of *Murray*. The *Murrays* being a valiant peaceable People, found great Favour with the *Scots*, and married Wives of their Daughters, and increas'd and liv'd as one People with them. *Corbredus* liv'd peaceably the reſt of his Days, and was well belov'd by all his Subjects and Neighbours. He died in the 18 Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*. The King left Three Sons, named *Corbredus*, *Tulcane* and *Brekus* (the eldeſt, *Corbredus*, was nurs'd and kept a long Time by the valiant Queen *Woda*, and was Sirnam'd *Galdus*): But they being young, and unfit for the Government, the Nobles gave the Crown to *Dardanus*, the Siſter's Son of *Metellanus*. In this Reign was the Holy Apoſtle St. *Paul* beheaded at *Rome*, by the Command of the wicked Emperor *Nero*.

The *Murrays* rewarded for their Valour.

DARDANUS. *The* 20 *King of* Scotland.

DARDANUS, the Siſter's Son of *Metellanus*, ſucceeded *Corbredus* in the Government, in the Year of the World, 4044; after the Incarnation of JESUS CHRIST, 66 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 404. He was well belov'd by *Corbredus*, in whoſe Reign he had behav'd himſelf as became his Birth and Quality, which recommended him much to the Nobility, who expected he would prove a good Prince, and govern with Juſtice: But he gave himſelf up to the Company of lewd Perſons, who encourag'd him in all vicious Practices, ſuch as defiling virtuous Ladies, and killing their Husbands and Relations, when they complain'd of the Abuſe done by them. In the Fourth Year of his Reign, the Nobles complain'd of his Cruelty to *Corbredus Galdus*, the lawful Heir of the Crown, who was then of perfect Age. *Galdus* went with a Party, demanding his Crown, and Juſtice for the Slaughter of his innocent Subjects. He alſo accus'd *Dardanus* of having deſign'd to kill himſelf and his two Brethren, when they were kept in the Iſle of *Man*, (which the *Scots* had again recover'd, and given to Wiſe and Learned Men, for the Education of the Children of the King and Nobles) which was prov'd by his Servant *Carmonack*, who had confeis'd the Deſign to *Galdus*.

Dardanus's wicked Reign

Dardanus, hearing this Accuſation of *Galdus*, would have kill'd himſelf; but was prevented by his wicked Companions, and adviſ'd to try his Fate in a Battle, which he did, and was overthrown, with his Party. He being ſlain, his Head cut off and brought to *Galdus*, and the chief Miniſters of his Cruelty were ſentenc'd to be hang'd. He reign'd 4 Years, and was buried, with the Kings, in *Dunſtaffage*, being of the Blood Royal.

his Death.

CORBREDUS II. *The* 21 *King of* Scotland.

CORBREDUS II. Sirnamed *Galdus*, Son of *Corbredus* I. ſucceeded and was crown'd King, in the Year of the World, 4048; after the Incarnation of CHRIST, 70 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 408. He was a moſt virtuous and valiant King, like his Father, and abominated all wicked Perſons, and vicious Practices: He rewarded all thoſe who had ſuffer'd by the cruel Oppreſſion of *Dardanus*, and puniſh'd ſuch of his wicked Aſſociates as were found in the Realm: He always conſulted his Wiſe Nobles, of greateſt Age and Experience, in all weighty Matters of Government: He made a Progreſs over the Kingdom, and made many good Acts for the Welfare and Safety of his common People; thereby gaining the entire Good-Will of all his Subjects.

In the Reign of *Dardanus*, the *Roman* General, *Suetonius*, was recall'd; and *Petronius Turpilianus* ſent in his ſtead: But finding Difficulty to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of the *Britons*, he gave up his Command to *Trebellius Maximus*, who was weary of the Command, and gave it up to *Victius Velanus*; who gain'd more Authority over the *Britons*, by Kindneſs and Good-Will, than he could by Force.

In the Beginning of the Reign of *Galdus*, *Veſpaſian* ſent over *Petilius Cerealis*, with an Army to *Britain*; and he enter'd *Scotland*, as far as *Epiack*, and plunder'd the Country. The *Scots* were offended at the *Britons*, that they had not given Notice to them of the coming of the *Romans* to invade them: However, *Galdus* rais'd an Army, and met the *Romans*, and fought a deſperate Battle, where the *Romans* were, at firſt, near routed; but having reſerv'd freſh Legions, came upon the *Scots* (who till then were victorious) and routed them: The *Roman* General having obſerv'd *Galdus* to fight in the Front of his Army, renew'd the Battle with more Fury, in Hopes to take him Priſoner, or kill him; but the King ſeeing his Army routed, retir'd, and gather'd

gather'd the Remnant of his Army to renew the Battle; but being wounded, and having ſuſtain'd ſo great Loſs, could not attack the *Romans*, who were much broken, and retir'd to *Epiack*, where they ſtay'd that Year; having all *Brigance* in their Poſſeſſion.

Corbredus Galdus is wounded, and his Army routed.

Petilius being encourag'd by this Victory, intended to invade the other Parts of *Scotland:* But the *Scots* had determin'd in Council not to hazard all in the Chance of a Battle, but rather endeavour to weary and break the *Romans* by Skirmiſhes; which they did ſeveral Times, to the great Loſs of both Parties. In the mean Time, *Voadicia*, the ſecond Daughter of *Woda*, (who had been baniſh'd by *Marianus*, her Brother-in-law) aſſembled a great Army of *Britons*, and the Men of *Brigance*, with the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Man*; being reſolv'd to revenge her Cauſe on the *Romans*. They march'd in the Night, unknown to the *Romans*, and came upon them in their Tents, and ſlew many of the moſt valiant Captains of their Army, with great Numbers of their Soldiers; and had utterly deſtroy'd their Army, had not the General *Petilius* been alarm'd, and prepar'd great Lights made of Pitch and Roſin; whereby he diſcover'd the Enemy, and repuls'd them; tho' being afraid of more Danger, they defended themſelves in their Tents, and did not purſue the Flight. Next Day, *Voadicia* went to *Epiack*, and burnt in it the whole *Roman* Garriſon. Soon after, *Petilius* purſu'd and routed *Voadicia*'s Party, and took her Priſoner: Whereupon ſhe kill'd her ſelf, that they might not have the Revenge to execute her, as ſhe knew they intended. *Petilius* hearing of an Inſurrection in the Iſle of *Wight*, and alſo how the *Britons* had rebell'd, and driven away *Marianus* the King, he went to ſuppreſs them; which he did, but with much Difficulty. He died the next Year; and after his Death, *Julius Frontinus* was ſent into *Britain* with Two Legions, and reſtor'd *Marianus* to the Kingdom of the *Britons*. He intended to ſubdue the whole Iſle to the *Roman* Power; and encourag'd his Soldiers with that Hopes, promiſing them great Rewards when they ſhould become poſſeſs'd of the whole Iſle. He paſs'd over Part of the *Picts* Country, without doing any Injury; and ſent an Herald to them, deſiring they might join with the *Romans* againſt the *Scots*; and that they ſhould be ſafe from all Trouble or Invaſion, and live peaceably, as Friends to the Emperor: But the *Picts* return'd Anſwer, That they were join'd in a League with the *Scots*, and could not break their Faith to that People who had recover'd to them their Liberty from the *Romans*; declaring without any Fear, that they were reſolv'd to defend the *Scots*, and join with them againſt the *Romans*, and all other Enemies. *Julius* being vext at this Anſwer, ſent ſeveral Parties to invade the *Scots* and *Picts:* But *Galdus* not being recover'd of his Wounds which he receiv'd in the laſt Battle, could not move to raiſe an Army; and therefore ſent Parties to divert the *Romans*, and to weary them if poſſible. There happen'd ſeveral Skirmiſhes, wherein many of both Parties were ſlain; but moſt of the *Scots*; ſo that *Julius* invaded the Kingdom ſo far as *Kyle* and *Cunningham*; where he was overtaken with a violent Flux and Fever, and deſpairing of Life, return'd to *Rome* for Recovery of his Health, and was ſucceeded in his Command by *Julius Agricola*.

Voadicia, the Second Daughter of *Woda*, raiſes an Army of *Britons*.

They enter the *Roman* Camp by Night, and ſlay many of them.

Voadicia burns the *Roman* Garriſon in *Epiack*.

She is taken Priſoner, and kills her ſelf.

Before the coming over of *Agricola*, the Men of *Annandale* had ſlain great Numbers of the *Romans* in *Brigance*, and by their Victory perſwaded the *Picts* and *Brigandes* to join againſt the *Romans*. *Agricola* having Notice of this Attempt, march'd with his Army, and over-run the *Picts* Country and *Brigance*, until he came to *Camleon*, where the *Picts* and *Scots* met him with an Army, but were routed. The King of *Picts*, named *Carantius*, retir'd into the Country of *Fife*, beyond *Forth*; and *Agricola* paſt with his Army thro' *Annandale*, and other Parts of *Scotland*, where he was often aſſaulted by the *Scots* in Skirmiſhes, but they could not venture to give him Battle. He Winter'd his Army in *Brigance*, and next Year paſt to *Stirling*, where he found a Place of great Strength, with the Remains of a Fort or Caſtle; which he repair'd, and made a ſtrong Caſtle, and alſo built a ſtrong Bridge, to bring his Army over the great River *Forth*. The *Picts* came in the Night, with Intent to break down this Bridge, to hinder *Agricola*'s Army from paſſing over: But Intelli-

Julius Agricola comes into *Britain*.

His Victory over the *Scots* and *Picts*.

He comes to *Stirling*, and builds a Bridge over the River *Forth*.

gence being given to *Agricola*, he met the *Picts*, and gave them Battle, and put them to Flight. The King of *Picts* being diſcourag'd by this Loſs, retir'd beyond the River *Tay*, to (the Place now call'd) *Dundee*, where was a ſtrong Caſtle; and there conſulted with his Nobles: Some were for ſubmitting to the *Romans*, but others advis'd the King to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Galdus*, King of *Scots*, (whoſe Kingdom the *Romans* had alſo invaded) to join with them, in Hopes to overcome the *Romans*. This Advice was approv'd, and the Ambaſſador was immediately ſent to *Galdus*, who was well recover'd of his Wounds. He receiv'd the *Picts* Meſſage joyfully, and prepar'd an Army to join them. In the mean Time, *Agricola* prepar'd Ships to invade the *Scots* by Sea and Land; and having paſs'd to the Ports of *Argyle*, and the adjacent Parts, he took many of the Inhabitants Priſoners; but was aſſaulted by a Party of the *Silurians*, who ſlew many of the *Romans*, but, at laſt, were routed and purſu'd to a ſtrong Caſtle, call'd then *Auld-Cleugh*, ſince *Dunbritton*, and now *Dunbarton*. In this Caſtle was a ſtrong Garriſon of the *Scots*, with Store of Arms, and they defended themſelves againſt the *Romans*.

The King being recover'd of his Wounds, joins the *Picts* with an Army.

Agricola found ſuch Difficulty in paſſing that Country, and finding the *Scots* ſo reſolute as to attack his Army with ſmall Parties, and fight againſt them; he return'd with his Ships to his Camp in *Brigance*.

Galdus had gather'd his Army to *Athole*, where he waited for the *Picts* to join him; but as they were marching over the *Granbian* Mountains (which run from *Dee* to *Dunbarton*) ſome unhappy Quarrel happen'd, ſo that they divided into Two Factions, and fought among themſelves. When their King ſaw them engag'd, he run without his Armour among the Tumult, and was ſlain by Accident; which when the Army knew, they fought moſt furiouſly, ſo that many of both Sides fell, to the great Deſtruction of the reſt, who, at laſt, return'd home, lamenting the Loſs of their King, and the unhappy Accident. This unfortunate Fate of the King of *Picts*, and his Army, being made known to *Galdus*, he ſent to know the Cauſe of their Diviſions, which when made known to him, he ſent ſome of his Nobles, with good Advice to them; entreating them to lay aſide all Quarrels among themſelves, and conſider, that as the Enemies of their Lives and Liberty were then at their Doors, it would be far more prudent and honourable to hazard their Lives to preſerve their Liberty, than to employ their Valour in ſuch barbarous and inhumane Murder among themſelves, in killing their own Friends and Relations. This Advice of *Galdus* had ſuch good Effect, that the *Picts* were reconcil'd to one another, and own'd *Garnardus* for their King, inſtead of his Father *Carantius*, who was ſlain as before mention'd. The *Picts* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Norway* and *Denmark* for Support, and *Galdus* ſent to *Ireland* for Aſſiſtance againſt the *Romans*; and divided his Army with ſuch Conduct, that they ſlew many of the *Romans* in Skirmiſhes, and ſtop'd their Army from proceeding any further into *Scotland* that Year. The Winter being very tempeſtuous, the *Romans* could not leave their Camp; and the next Year *Galdus*, with the King of *Picts*, met at *Athole*, and aſſembled their Armies, and many *Iriſh*-men came to their Aid, with which they went againſt *Agricola*, who had been for ſome Time contriving how to defeat the *Scots* and *Picts* by dividing his Army; ſo that when they gave him Battle, and had (with the Strength of their Army) almoſt routed the *Romans*, he then brought his freſh Legions upon them, which they could not long withſtand, and by that Means, put them to Flight: But the *Romans* were ſo broken, that they could not purſue them, and retir'd to their Camp. The Confederate Kings defended themſelves, by frequent Incurſions, all the next Year, but would not hazard a Battle 'till the coming of the *Danes*, which they expected to aſſiſt the *Picts*.

The *Scots* and *Picts* having almoſt defeated the *Romans*, are routed by Policy.

Agricola having repair'd his Navy, ſet to Sea with a Fleet, to ſurvey all the Kingdom of the *Scots* and *Picts*; and attempted to land in ſeveral Places, but was ſtoutly repuls'd by the *Scots*. He paſt through all the Iſles, 'till he came to the *Orknays*, and ſail'd through the *Pentland-Firth*, which divideth the Iſles of *Orkney* from the Continent of *Scotland*. It being a moſt turbulent and dangerous Sea, the *Romans* hir'd Fiſher-men to Pilot them over the moſt dange-

Agricola ſets to Sea with his Fleet

He attempts to land, but is repuls'd by the *Scots*.

rous

rous Parts; but ſuch was the in-bred Hatred of thoſe Country People to the *Romans*, that they led them into Places of greateſt Danger, to drown them, thinking their own Lives well loſt in ſuch Revenge on the *Romans*. When the Fleet came into this dangerous Sea, they found ſuch Whirlpools and Rocks, that no Art could ſave them, ſo that moſt of the Ships were ſunk to the Bottom. Their Fleet being thus wreck'd, they return'd with the few Ships they had ſav'd, and found the Confederate Kings preparing an Army: Whereupon *Agricola* rais'd all the Strength of the *Romans* and *Britons*, and went againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*. The *Danes* had ſent 10000 Men, with *Gildo*, a valiant Captain, to aſſiſt the *Picts*: They had quarter'd in *Forfair* all the Time after their Landing, and were kindly entertain'd by the *Picts*, hoping, by their Aſſiſtance, to make ſuch a ſtrong Army with the *Scots*, that they did not doubt of Victory; and when they join'd *Corbredus Galdus*, he divided the whole Army into Three Brigades, to attack the *Romans*. *Agricola* alſo divided his Army into Three Squadrons; and the Kings of *Scots* and *Picts* attack'd Two of the *Roman* Squadrons, and fought all the Day and Night; and had almoſt cut them off, (not thinking the *Romans* had any more to engage) when the freſh Squadron came upon them, and turn'd their Victory to Loſs. Both Armies retir'd, with Deſign to renew the Battle next Year, it being then near Winter. *Agricola* again repair'd his Navy, and ſet to Sea, deſtroying ſeveral Sea-Port Towns of the *Scots* and *Picts*: He alſo burnt the *Daniſh* Ships, which had carried over the before-mention'd 10,000 Men, *Gildo*, their Captain being ſlain in the Battle, and moſt of the Men. The *Roman* Fleet return'd with great Spoil; and *Agricola* was planting Garriſons in the Towns of the *Scots* and *Picts*, as far as *Forth*, when, in the midſt of his Proſperity, he was ſent for to *Rome* by the Emperor *Domitian*, who envy'd his great Valour and Succeſs; having pretended to ſend him to the Government of *Syria*, which was vacant by the Deceaſe of *Antilus Ruffus*: But when *Agricola* came to *Rome*, he was poiſon'd by Command of *Domitian*, who ſent in his Stead, *Gevenus Trebilius*, to *Britain*. The *Romans* being ſtill encamp'd in *Scotland*, were poſſeſs'd of many Garriſon Towns; but ſoon after the Landing of *Gevenus Trebilius*, there aroſe great Diviſions among them, by the Contention of *Trebilianus*, the Couſin of *Agricola*; who hearing of the Death of his Couſin, took the Command upon him by Conſent of the Army, and withſtood the Authority of *Trebilius*. The *Scots* and *Picts* watch'd this Opportunity, and being encourag'd firſt by Skirmiſhes, ventur'd to fight the *Romans* in a pitch'd Battle; where the *Scots* obtain'd a compleat Victory, and by degrees drove the *Romans* entirely out of *Scotland*, and recover'd all the Forts, Garriſons, and Goods taken by them from the *Scots* and *Picts*. *Corbredus Galdus* exhorted his People to uſe this Victory with Moderation, and not to be proud and extravagant in their good Fortune; but to reward all thoſe that had ſuffer'd in the long continued Wars, and to reſtore every one his own Poſſeſſion, and to be vigilant and valiant in their own Defence againſt the *Romans*, who they knew would take all Opportunities to invade them, whenever they could renew their Strength. The King having rewarded his Subjects for their Loſſes ſuſtain'd in the War, he paſs'd over the whole Nation, and ſettled all the Inhabitants in their former Poſſeſſions, and compos'd all Differences between his Subjects and the *Picts*.

The *Scots* and *Picts* give Battle to the *Romans*, and are routed.

Agricola call'd home to *Rome* by the Emperor *Domitian*. Is poiſon'd.

Diviſions among the *Romans*.

They are overcome in Battle by the *Scots* and *Picts*, and entirely driven out of *Scotland*.

The *Romans* being ſo much weaken'd by the laſt Battle, that they had not full 20000 Men in *Britain*, they were afraid of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and ſent an Ambaſſador to make Peace with them. *Corbredus Galdus*, who ſtudied more to defend his own Country than to invade his Neighbours, agreed to be at Peace with the *Romans*, upon theſe Conditions, That they ſhould reſtore all the Goods taken by them formerly from the *Scots* and *Picts*, and never invade either *Scots* or *Picts* in Time coming; which Conditions the *Romans* agreed to, and Peace was concluded, and Reſtitution made. After this Peace the King liv'd peaceably in *Epiack* many Years, and the Country about it was call'd (from the King's Name) *Galdia*, afterwards *Galloway*. He reign'd 35 Years, and was a moſt valiant, virtuous, and humble Prince: At laſt, after great Glory and Endearments of all his Subjects and Neighbours, he died at

Galloway ſo firſt call'd.

Epiack, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*, where there was a moſt ſumptuous Monument erected, whereon the moſt memorable Actions of his Life was engrav'd, and many Pillars ſet about his Sepulchre. *Cornelius Tacitus*, in his Hiſtory of the Life of *Agricola*, makes mention of ſeveral Battles fought by *Corbredus Galdus* againſt the *Romans*.

LUGTACUS. *The* 22 *King of* Scotland.

LUGTACUS, the Son of *Corbredus Galdus*, ſucceeded in the Year of the World, 4083; after the Incarnation of CHRIST, 105 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 413 Years. He was an unhappy Prince, who gave himſelf ſo much to his Luſt and Pleaſure, that he encourag'd all wicked and vicious young Men, to whom he gave the Power of the Government, and hated all the ſage Counſellors who had reprov'd his Wickedneſs; calling them old Dotards and Fools; and at the ſame Time would call his wicked Companions, and thoſe who flatter'd and encourag'd his Debauchery, his moſt dear Friends and Counſellors. When the Nobles complain'd of his Wickedneſs, he (inſtead of mending his Life) grew more vicious and cruel, putting many of his Subjects to Death without any Cauſe. He defil'd many noble Ladies, and proſtituted them to his wicked Companions; whereat many of the Nobles, whoſe Daughters had been thus abus'd, could not endure this Tyranny, but Arm'd themſelves, and came to demand thoſe wicked Men, who had adviſ'd the King to commit ſuch vile Actions, that they might be puniſh'd by Law: The King call'd them to Council, where they adviſ'd him to join with them, and cut off thoſe Rebels, as they term'd them, and puniſh the Ringleaders of the Rebellion; For thoſe inhumane Wretches knew they could not expect any Favour if they were taken. *Lugtacus* took their Advice, and went with his lewd Crew againſt the Nobles, who would have ſpar'd the King's Life: But ſuch was his Hatred to the Nobles, and unhappy Fate, that he was ſlain with many of his evil Counſellors, and the reſt were executed. The Nobles took up the King's Body, and had it honourably buried at *Dunſtaffage*; but the Bodies of his lewd Party they left to be devour'd by Beaſts and Birds of Prey. He reign'd only Three Years.

MOGALDUS. *The* 23 *King of* Scotland.

MOGALDUS, the Grandſon of *Corbredus* II, (Sir-Nam'd *Galdus*) by his Daughter, ſucceeded to the Government in the Year of the World, 4086; of our Saviour, 108; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 416. He ſtudied much to imitate his Grandfather *Corbredus Galdus*, and repair'd much of the Injuries done by his Uncle *Lugtacus*. In the Beginning of his Reign, the *Romans* forgetting the Peace lately made, begun to invade the *Picts*, and ſome Parts of *Scotland*: Whereupon *Mogaldus* ſent an Herald to the *Romans*, complaining of the Breach of the Peace, but was anſwer'd with Deriſion and Contempt; which enrag'd *Mogaldus*, ſo that he rais'd an Army, and being join'd by the *Picts*, went to the Sepulchre of *Galdus*, with many Prieſts, or Druids, invoking the Gods, and the Ghoſt of his Grandſire *Corbredus Galdus*, to puniſh the *Romans* for their Infidelity: And after having made an Oration to his Army, putting them in mind of the Victory obtain'd by their Valour and ſingular Courage under his Grandſire; and that it would be more honourable to die in the Field of Battle than live Slaves to the *Romans*, the whole Army declar'd their Reſolution, and requeſted the Druids, or Prieſts, to pray for their good Fortune in Battle. *Lucius Antonius*, the *Roman* General,

General, ſtay'd at *York*; and the Confederate Kings enter'd *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, and waſted all the Country; and the Inhabitants fled to *York*, to *Lucius*, complaining of the *Scots* and *Picts*. *Lucius* gather'd a great Army, and was met by the *Scots* and *Picts*. They join'd in Battle, and fought moſt deſperately on both Sides a whole Day 'till near Night: When the *Romans* were much diſorder'd, and their General being wounded by an Arrow, fled from the Field, and was follow'd by his Army in great Confuſion; it being dark Night, the Confederates kept the Field, and when it was Light next Day, they found the Enemies fled, and divided the Spoil of the Field among their Soldiers. That Day, a Party of the *Romans* came to view the Field, but were all ſlain by the *Scots*, for they would not be taken Priſoners.

The *Scots* and *Picts* obtain Victory over the *Romans*.

Lucius ſeeing his Army ſo much broken, ſent Notice to the Emperor *Adrian* of the weak Condition of the *Romans*, deſiring ſpeedy Support, otherwiſe they would be entirely beat out of *Albion*: Upon this Account, *Adrian* came over to *Britain* with a ſtrong Army, and proceeded to *York*, where he ſtay'd to provide his Army with Two Months Proviſions, intending to invade the *Scots* and *Picts*; but when he came to the River *Tine*, he found the Country all waſted, whereupon he enquir'd what Sort of People the Inhabitants of *Scotland* were? Anſwer was made to him, That they were hardy People of undaunted Courage, and could lie in the Fields under the greateſt Cold, enduring more Fatigue than any other People. *Adrian* hearing this Account of them, thought it needleſs to invade them, judging it impoſſible to conquer them, ſince all former Attempts had been in vain; therefore he determin'd to raiſe a ſtrong Wall and Trench from the Eaſt to the Weſt Seas (which runs from *Tinmouth* to *Eskmouth*, in *Solway* firth) all along the Border of the *Roman* Conqueſt in *Britain*. This Wall was call'd *Adrian's Wall*, and is, to this Day, the March or Boundary between *England* and *Scotland*, as by the Remains of is to be ſeen.

The Emperor *Adrian* comes into *Britain*.

Adrian's Wall.

Adrian return'd home with *Lucius Antonius*, who was infirm by the Wounds receiv'd in the Battle lately fought againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, and *Victorine* ſucceeded him in the Government or Command in *Britain*. The *Scots* and *Picts* built many ſtrong Caſtles near this Wall of *Adrian*, and liv'd many Years in Peace: King *Mogaldus* being at Peace, was much given to Vice towards the End of his Reign, and became moſt hateful to his People.

While the King continu'd in his vicious Courſe of Life, a Conſpiracy was form'd againſt him, and he fled with ſome lewd Perſons into a Wood, where he was found dead, and deſerted by his wicked Companions. He reign'd 26 Years, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*. 'Tis believ'd, that thoſe wicked Perſons ſlew the King, expecting thereby to get Favour from the Nobles; but fearing Puniſhment, they fled and left his Body.

In this Reign liv'd many learn'd Authors, ſuch as *Plinius Secundus*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Ptolomeus*, (who corrected and enlarg'd the before mention'd Coſmography of *Ptolomy*) *Suetonius Tranquillus*, the Poet *Juvenal*, &c.

CONARUS. *The* 24 *King of* Scotland.

CONARUS, the Son of *Mogaldus*, ſucceeded his Father in the Year of the World, 4112; after the Incarnation of CHRIST, 134 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 442. In the Beginning of the Reign of *Conarus*, the *Romans* came over the Wall of *Adrian*, and made many Inroads and Incurſions in the Borders of *Scotland*; but *Conarus* rais'd an Army, and went againſt them, and drove them over the Wall, and repair'd it. The *Scots* liv'd in Peace for ſeveral Years after this: But *Conarus* being much addicted to intemperate Living and Covetouſneſs, was encourag'd by evil Counſellors to lay a new Tax on his Subjects, to oppreſs them. The Nobles hearing of the King's

Deſigns, ſent a Meſſenger to him, ſhewing, That they were ſurpriz'd to hear that he deſir'd new Taxes to be laid on his Subjects, when his Grandſire, *Corbredus Galdus*, had ſo long defended the Nation with great Trouble and Expence, yet was contented in all his Wars with the ſame Revenue which he then had, when the Kingdom was at Peace. *Conarus* was ſo enrag'd at the Nobles, that he threaten'd their Lives, and gather'd a Number of the moſt infamous Men in the Nation, with Deſign to puniſh them for denying his Demands. The Nobles aſſembled, and conſulted what was moſt proper to be done in their own Defence, and for the Welfare of the Subjects: They could not endure the Thoughts of putting the King to Death: Therefore they concluded to take him by Force from his wicked Counſellors, and put a ſtrong Guard over his Perſon, to reſtrain him from committing any violent Actions; and appointed *Argadus* to act as Governor of the People. This *Argadus* was very humble and juſt in his Government at firſt, but ſoon after he entertain'd Hopes of being made King, and grew inſolent, whereupon the reſt of the Nobles aſſembled, and told him, That he was only truſted with the Government during their Pleaſure, or at furtheſt, until ſuch Time as the King might be reform'd from his wicked Courſes of Life: And that altho' the King ſhould die, He could have no Hopes to get the Crown; for they could not violate the ſolemn Oaths of their ancient Predeceſſors, to make any one their King, but the lawful Heir being next of the Blood Royal, and in default of his Age, the next Relation of the ſame Blood had Right to govern 'till the Heir came of Age. *Argadus* hearing this Reproof was very penitent, and executed Juſtice with great Applauſe of the Subjects: But when *Conarus* had been Long confin'd from the wicked People who led him into evil Courſes, he ſent to the Nobles, acknowledging the Errors and evil Practices of his paſt Life, and was again reſtor'd to his Kingly Government and Dignity, which he manag'd with Diſcretion and Juſtice; and died the 14th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*. He was ſucceeded by *Ethodius*, the Siſter's Son of *Mogaldus*.

Conarus's wicked Deſigns.

He is confin'd under a Guard.

Upon his Repentance, he is reſtor'd to the Government.

His Death.

ETHODIUSS. *The* 25 *King of* Scotland.

ETHODIUSS, the Siſter's Son of *Mogaldus*, was crown'd King in the Year of the World, 4126; after the coming of CHRIST, 148 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 456. He was a virtuous and valiant Prince, and took great Delight in executing Juſtice among his Subjects. He made the before nam'd *Argadus* his Lieutenant, and paſs'd into the Iſles, where many *Iriſh*-men had landed, and committed great Slaughter and Inſolence: The King routed them in a Skirmiſh, and put many of the *Iriſh* Robbers to Death, and return'd to the Continent, which he found diſturb'd by Parties of the *Romans*, who had broken down ſeveral Places of *Adrian*'s Wall, and plunder'd the People living near it.

The *Iriſh* commit Murder and Robbery in the *Scots* Iſles.

They are routed and ſlain by the King.

Ethodius ſent an Herald to *Victorine*, deſiring Redreſs to be made to his Subjects, otherwiſe he would recover their Goods by Force of Battle. *Victorine* return'd Anſwer, That the *Romans* had only reveng'd the former Plunders of the *Scots* in what they had done, and would not make any Redreſs. *Ethodius* vex'd at this Anſwer, ſent to the King of *Picts* to join with him, which he readily did, and with their Army march'd to *Adrian*'s Wall, broke it down, and went in to the *Romans* Lands; but the *Romans* march'd in the Night, paſſing the *Scots* Tents, went over the Wall to draw the Confederates to their own Country, and to give them Battle. They return'd after the *Romans*, and the next Day fought a ſharp Battle, 'till Night divided both Armies; but the *Scots* ſeeing the Field deſerted by the Enemy, the next Day got all the Spoil and Plunder of the Field: The *Romans* retreated over the Wall, and repair'd it, and the Confederate Kings return'd home with their Armies, and planted

planted Garriſons in the Borders near the Wall. *Victorine* ſeeing his Army ſo broken, ſent to the Emperor, ſhewing the Loſs they had; but the Emperor ſuſpecting *Victorine*'s bad Conduct, depriv'd him of his Authority, and ſent *Calphurnius Agricola* (Nephew to *Julius Agricola)* in his Stead. *Calphurnius*, at his coming into *Britain*, aſſembled the *Roman* Army at *York*, and march'd to *Adrian*'s Wall, with Purpoſe to invade the *Scots* and *Picts*, but finding they had made the Country waſte except their Forts and Garriſons, he was contented to keep ſafe what the *Romans* had in Poſſeſſion, without any Hazard by new Wars. He caus'd the Wall to be repair'd, and greatly fortify'd, by cleaning the Trench, and making it deeper for the Defence of the Wall. At that Time, the People of the Iſle of *Wight* rebell'd againſt the *Romans*, whereupon *Calphurnius* went to ſuppreſs them, and ſoon after return'd to *Rome*, and was ſucceeded by *P. Trebellius*, a *Roman* Captain. He was very much in Favour with *Lucius*, King of the *Britons*, but was a moſt cruel and covetous Oppreſſor of the People, which made him ſo hateful to both *Romans* and *Britons*, that his Life was in Danger, had not *Lucius* taken his Part. The *Picts* ſeeing the *Britons* and *Romans* thus divided, thought That a good Opportunity to revenge their Injuries, and ſent to the *Scots*, who join'd them, and went over *Adrian*'s Wall, putting the Inhabitants to Flight. *Trebellius* having Notice, gather'd his Army, and gave them Battle; but the *Scots* and *Picts* obtain'd the Victory, tho' with great Loſs of their Army. Upon this Defeat of the *Romans*, the *Britons* rebell'd againſt *Trebellius*, and made one *Caldorus*, a valiant Knight of the *Picts*, their Captain; but they were routed by *Trebellius*, and *Caldorus* eſcap'd to *Pentland*. In this Battle many Noblemen of the *Britons* diſguis'd themſelves like common Men, but finding themſelves in Danger, diſcover'd what they were, expecting Safety by being made Priſoners; but *Trebellius* caus'd them all to be hang'd on Gibbets. This Cruelty made *Trebellius* moſt odious to the *Britons*, who, to be reveng'd, took as many *Romans*, and hang'd them upon the ſame Gibbets.

The *Scots* and *Picts* obtain Victory over the *Romans*.

Trebellius fearing great Trouble, ſent to the Emperor, ſhewing the Loſs of the Battle againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*; as alſo the Inſolence of the *Britons*, how they had rebell'd. The Emperor ſent over a valiant Captain, nam'd *Pertinax*, with an Army, who ſuppreſs'd the *Britons*, and was about to invade the *Scots* and *Picts*, when he had notice that the Emperor *Commodus* was ſlain, thereupon he return'd to *Rome*, and was choſen Emperor; and after his Coronation ſent *Trebellius* again to *Britain*, who govern'd the *Romans* and *Britons* with better Conduct than formerly he did.

The *Iriſhmen* entice the Iſlanders to rebel.

At that Time *Ethodius* had notice that the *Iriſhmen* had entic'd ſome of the Inhabitants of the Iſles to rebel againſt his Government; whereupon he ſent *Argadus* with a Party to ſuppreſs them: But they lay in Ambuſh, and when *Argadus* was landed, they ſurrounded him, and kill'd him with moſt of his Party. *Ethodius* being much afflicted for the Death of *Argadus*, and vext at the Inſolence of the *Iriſhmen* and the Rebel Iſlanders, went againſt them with an Army and Fleet of Ships, and by good Conduct ſuppreſt them, and took the chief Perſons and executed them according to the Law. King *Ethodius* liv'd many Years in peace and Felicity, without any Diſturbance from his Subjects or Neighbours. He was a great Lover of Juſtice, and put all the good Laws of his Predeceſſors in practice; eſpecially that of Hunting, in which he took great Pleaſure, as it was ſo very healthful Exerciſe, and proper Remedy againſt Idleneſs and Luxury, which *Ethodius* hated. He delighted in hunting of Deer and Hares, and ordain'd, That no Hare ſhould be kill'd in the Seat with either Poles, Clubs, Arrows, Darts, Nets or any other Inſtrument; or any other Way, but by fair Hunting with Hounds; and he alſo ordain'd, That no big-belly'd Hynd or young Fawn ſhould be kill'd or hunted; and appointed the proper Seaſons for Hunting. He likewiſe delighted in other Exerciſes and innocent Pleaſures, ſuch as Muſick; and had ſeveral expert Muſicians of all Sorts, among whom was an *Iriſh* Harper, who pleas'd the King with that Inſtrument, ſo that he was often admitted into the King's Bed-chamber, and play'd him to Sleep; and at laſt murder'd the good

They are taken and puniſhed by the King.

King *Ethodius* murder'd by an *Iriſh* Harper.

King; and being apprehended, he gloried in the Action, that he had ſuch an Opportunity to revenge the Death of his Relations, who were executed in the Iſles. He was drawn aſunder by wild Horſes, which were ty'd to each of his Limbs, and then ſet looſe over rough ſtony Ground, and by running every one different Ways, put the Body to exceeding great Torture: This End had the unhappy Wretch who murder'd the beſt of Kings, in the 33 Year of his Reign, and was burried in *Dunſtaffage*. The Son of *Ethodius* being of tender Age, could not take the Government on him, and *Satrael* his Brother ſuceeded.

He is drawn aſunder by wild Horſes.

SATRAEL. *The* 26 *King of* Scotland.

SATRAEL, the Brother of *Ethodius*, ſucceeded in the Government, in the Year of the World 4159; after the coming of CHRIST, 181; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 479. He was a moſt cruel Tyrant, and endeavour'd to deſtroy the Children of *Ethodius*. The Nobles declar'd their Diſpleaſure, and rais'd Tumults: But he could not go forth to ſuppreſs them, knowing he was odious to all the People. He was ſlain in the Night by one of his own wicked Courtiers, who was executed for the Deed. He reign'd 4 Years, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*.

DONALDUS. I. *The* 27 *King of* Scotland.

DONALDUS I. the Brother of *Ethodius* and *Satrael*, ſucceeded in the Government, in the Year of the World, 4163; after the coming of CHRIST, 185 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 483. He was a moſt virtuous and valiant Prince, who delighted in every thing which could advance the Welfare and Proſperity of the People. He made a Progreſs over the whole Kingdom, and plac'd Judges where he found Need. He did Juſtice to all Men without Reſpect of Party or Perſons, and puniſh'd all Crimes according to the Enormity of the Offence. He viſited the Nobles in their own Caſtles, and was well belov'd by them.

Lucius King of *Britons* being dead, the *Romans* would not ſuffer any of his Blood to ſucceed him. *Fulgentius* being the next Heir, aſſembled the Nobles of the *Britons*, and complain'd of the Injuſtice done to him; alſo ſhewing how their Ladies were abus'd by the *Romans*, deſiring they would redreſs thoſe Injuries. The *Britons* appointed a Day to meet him with an Army; and he ſent an Ambaſſador to King *Donaldus*, entreating him and the King of the *Picts* to join with him; which they promis'd to do, on the Day appointed. The *Britons* broke down a Part of *Adrian*'s Wall to let the *Scots* and *Picts* paſs over, and they came and join'd the *Britons*, and paſs'd to *York*, and laid Siege to it: Whereupon the *Roman* Captains fled out of that City ſo far as *Kent*. The Confederates continu'd to make Incurſions on the *Romans* in all Places, with great Slaughter; but the Winter coming on, with great Storms, they were oblig'd to diſperſe and return home. *Trebellius* ſent Notice to the Emperor *Severus* of the Rebellion of the *Britons*, and the Invaſions of *Scots* and *Picts*: Whereupon *Severus* came into *Britain*, with his two Sons *Anthonius* and *Getus*, he being old and afflicted with the Gout, was carried in a Horſe Litter, and gave Directions to his Sons to manage all Affairs; he having brought over with him a great Army, with Deſign to ſubdue all the Iſle. *Fulgentius* ſent an Orator to him, to excuſe what he had done, but was evil treated by *Severus*, who would not hear any Excuſe for their Rebellion. *Fulgentius* ſent to the *Scots* and *Picts*, who joined him, and gave Battle to *Severus*'s Army; where the *Scots* and *Picts* fought moſt valiantly, but were routed at laſt

The Emperor *Severus* comes into *Britain*.

laſt, and fled over *Adrian*'s Wall. *Severus* having loſt many Men in this Battle, return'd to *York*, and put many of the *Britons* to Death, to puniſh their Rebellion. Next Year *Severus* came over *Adrian*'s Wall with his Army, invading *Scotland* ſo far as *Forth*; where he ſtay'd ſome time, expecting to ſubdue the *Scots* and *Picts*: But they made ſuch ſtout Defence, that *Severus* was forc'd to retire beyond *Adrian's* Wall; and finding himſelf infirm and ſick, he return'd home with his Son *Getus* the youngeſt, and left *Antonius* to govern in *Britain*. *Severus* built a Wall between the Firths of *Forth* and *Clyde*, as a Mound to the *Roman* Empire, where *Agricola* before had intended to build a Wall. Here venerable *Bede* is miſtaken in mentioning this Wall, where he calls it *Adrian*'s Wall, it being near 80 Miles diſtant from the Wall of *Adrian*. Where *Severus*'s Wall was built, it is viſible in ſome Parts to this Day: Stones with ancient Inſcriptions on them have been found lately in this place, and the Country People have us'd them in Building; by which it appears it was a Stone Wall (not, as *Bede* and other Authors call it, a Trench) and that it was a ſtately Pile of *Roman* Building, theſe Words of *Ælius Spartianus* do ſhew the Grandeur of the Structure: *He* (meaning *Severus*) *ſtrengthen'd* Britain *with a Wall, drawn croſs or thwart the Iſland from Sea to Sea, which is the greateſt Ornament of his Empire*. Near the Wall of *Severus* is to be ſeen, in *Stirlingſhire*, two Hillocks or Mounts, call'd by the Ancients *Duni-pacis*, *i. e.* Mountains or Emblems of Peace or Reconciliation, which was then concluded between the *Romans* and *Scots*. About two Miles diſtant from the *Duni-pacis*, there is to be ſeen the Remains of an ancient Building, commonly call'd by the People *Arthur*'s Oven: It is built in Form of a Pyramid. This is ſaid to be the Temple of *Claudius*, built by *Veſpaſian*.

He builds a Wall from *Forth* to *Clyde* call'd *Severus*'s Wall.

Severus ſoon after died, and *Antonius* ſlew his Brother *Getus*, that he might have no Competitors for the whole Empire. In *Severus*'s Time the Chriſtian Faith flouriſh'd over the World. And *Donaldus* our King of *Scotland*, ſent to *St. Victorius* (the 15 Pope after the holy Apoſtle St. *Peter*, the firſt Biſhop of *Rome*) deſiring religious Men to come to *Scotland*, to inſtruct him and his People in the Chriſtian Faith. Thus the Chriſtian Faith was firſt receiv'd in *Scotland*; which the King, Queen, and many of the Nobility and Commons embrac'd with true Zeal: Yet the old Heathen Idolatry could not be wholly extirpated for ſome Ages after. King *Donald* was the firſt King of the *Scots* who coin'd Gold and Silver: And had it all coin'd with a Croſs imprinted on one Side, and his own Face on the reverſe. Before this Time there was little Coin in *Britain*, except what the *Romans* had brought with them. Of their Coin in many Places have been found of late Years. In *Fife* near *Leven*, *A.C.* 1519. a Braſs Veſſel, with *Roman* Coin, was found under Ground, on ſome of which was the double Face of *Janus*; others with a Ship; others with *Mercury*, *Mars* and *Venus*; others with *Romulus* and *Remus* ſucking the Wolf, and on the Reverſe *S. P. Q. R.* ſignifying, *Senatus Populuſque Romanus*, *i.e.* The Senate and People of *Rome*. A Marble Veſſel was found in the Shire of *Murray*, in the Year of CHRIST, 1460, where was great Treaſure of Gold and Silver Coin of the *Romans*, with ſome of the above Inſcriptions and Impreſſions; alſo on ſome Pieces was imprinted a Gooſe fighting with Adders. This might have probably been hidden by the *Murrays* in the Time of the *Roman* Wars in *Scotland*. King *Donaldus* having reign'd peaceably 21 Years, reſign'd the Crown to *Ethodius*, the Son of his eldeſt Brother *Ethodius* I. He died ſoon after, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*.

Chriſtian Faith firſt receiv'd in *Scotland*.

King *Donald* coins Gold and Silver, with the Print of the Croſs, and his own Face on the Reverſe.

ETHODIUS II. *The* 28 *King of* Scotland.

ETHODIUS II. the Son of *Ethodius* I. ſucceeded, in the Year of the World, 4184; in the Year of CHRIST, 206; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 504. A Prince of a more eaſy and ſoft Diſpoſition than was

fit to govern ſuch a Warlike People: But he was not guilty of any notorious Vice or Wickedneſs, which made the People ſhew all Reverence and Reſpect to him, due to their lawful King. He appointed Judges over the Nation, whoſe Equity, Juſtice and Moderation did ſo regulate Matters, that *Scotland* was never in a more happy and quiet State than it was in his Reign; there being Peace at home and abroad. He was ſlain by Accident, in a Tumult of the Officers of his Guard, the 16 Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*.

ATHIRCO *The* 29 *King of* Scotland.

Athirco his vicious Reign

His Death.

ATHIRCO ſucceeded his Father *Ethodius* II. in the Year of the World, 4200; after the coming of CHRIST, 222 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 520. In the Beginning of his Reign he won the Love of his People, by his courteous and bountiful Demeanor. He exceeded moſt Men of his Time in many manly Exerciſes, ſuch as Riding, ſhooting Arrows, and throwing the Dart: But by leaving off Exerciſes and following his Luſt, he daily loſt the Favour of his Subjects; and at laſt a Conſpiracy was form'd againſt him by one *Nathalocus* a Nobleman, whoſe only Daughter the King had deflowr'd, and after proſtituted her to his vicious Companions. This *Nathalocus* complain'd to all his Friends, and many of the other Nobles; and with a ſtrong Party went to *Dunſtaffage*, where the King hearing of his coming, march'd with his corrupted Courtiers againſt him; but finding his Party deſerted him, he took off his Coat and Armour, and fled in Diſguiſe to a Fiſher-Boat, and went into the Iſles. But he was alſo put to flight there, by *Nathalocus*'s Party; and ſeeing his lewd Companions did forſake him, being fearful to fall into the Hands of *Nathalocus*, he ſlew himſelf, after he had reign'd 12 Years. *Dorus*, the Brother of *Athirco*, fearing the Rage of *Nathalocus*, fled unto the *Picts*, with the three Sons of *Athirco*, nam'd *Findocus*, *Carantius* and *Donaldus*; and were receiv'd with all Reſpect, due to their Birth. *Nathalocus* finding the Royal Family were fled, he hir'd Ruffians to go unto the *Picts* and kill *Dorus*. Thoſe Ruffians went, and finding a Nobleman agree with the Deſcription they had of *Dorus*, they ſlew him, and brought back Notice to *Nathalocus* that *Dorus* was kill'd. He then ſet his Invention to work how to get the Crown to himſelf; and conven'd the Nobles to a ſecure Place, where he appointed a ſtrong Party to wait his Command. He addreſs'd the Nobles with all the Flattery he could invent, deſiring them to give him the Government: And when he found many appear againſt him, he let them know his Power, and compell'd them after that Manner to ſwear to him, merely to ſave their Lives; and thus he uſurp'd the Crown.

NATHALOCUS. *The* 30 *King of* Scotland.

Nathalocus uſurps the Crown.

NATHALOCUS thinking himſelf ſecure by the ſuppos'd Death of *Dorus*, uſurp'd the Crown, in the 4212 Year of the World; the 234 after the Coming of CHRIST; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 532. This wicked Uſurper was reſolv'd to make the beſt Advantage he could of his unjuſt Poſſeſſion; and exercis'd all Manner of Cruelty and Treachery on the Subjects, who were thus compell'd to ſwear to him: And as they regarded their Oaths, therefore ſuffer'd him to live, till the Juſtice of Almighty God puniſh'd his Guilt. He found by Letters, (which he intercepted

cepted by a Woman carrying them to the Noblemen) that *Dorus* and the Sons of *Athirco* were living with the *Picts*. He firſt put to Death thoſe Noblemen to whom the Letters were directed, and then hir'd other Ruffians to kill *Dorus* and his Nephews. The Nobles ſeeing his Cruelty, rais'd an Army, and were reſolv'd to have his Life, and ſave the Royal Family. He finding himſelf in Danger, ſent one of his familiar Servants to conſult Soothſayers concerning his Fate; and an old Wizard told his Servant, That the King ſhould be ſoon kill'd; and not by his Enemies, but by his own Domeſticks. The Servant being deſirous to know, preſs'd the Wizard to diſcover the Perſon. He anſwer'd, *'Tis ev'n thy ſelf, Man.* Whereupon the Servant curs'd the Wizard, and proteſted his Fidelity to the Uſurper his Maſter. But yet when he conſider'd that it would be made known to his Maſter by another, and he might be in Danger; and alſo how grateful it would be to the Nobles, he reſolv'd to kill him; and when he return'd, he deſir'd private Acceſs to deliver his Anſwer, and ſtabbing him with a Dagger, ſaid, *This is thy Anſwer.* When his Death was made known, the Nobles call'd home their lawful King, and his Uncle and Brethren from Exile. *Nathalocus* kept the Crown Eleven Years.

He ſends to know his Fate from Soothſayers.

His Death.

FINDOCHUS *The* 31 *King of* Scotland.

FINDOCHUS, the Son of *Athirco* ſucceeded, and was crown'd King, in the Year of the World, 4223; after the coming of CHRIST, 245 Years; and of the Monarchy of the Kings of *Scotland*, 543. He was a good, virtuous, and valiant Prince, and was endu'd with many extraordinary Gifts of Nature; being beautiful and tall of Stature, and in the Flower of his Age, when he ſucceeded to the Crown. He was the more acceptable to his People, becauſe they had ſuffer'd under the Uſurper *Nathalocus*, all the Opreſſions and Afflictions that People may expect under a Tyrannical Uſurper.

Findochus repair'd the Injuries done by *Nathalocus* to the Nobles, and executed Juſtice equally and impartially among his Subjects: But while the Nation was thus at Peace, one *Donald* of the Iſles rais'd an Inſurrection in the Iſles, and came over with an Army to the Continent, pretending to revenge the Death of his Couſin *Nathalocus*: But the King rais'd an Army, and overthrew him in Battle; and he flying to his Ships, was drown'd in a ſmall Boat. His Party being afterwards aſſiſted by *Iriſh*-men, made *Donald*, the Son of the aforeſaid *Donald*, their Captain, and rais'd all their Friends, wherewith they invaded the Country; but were routed by the King's Army, and their Captain *Donald* fled into *Ireland*, where he ſtay'd 'till he had made Intereſt to obtain the King's Pardon, and gave all poſſible Aſſurance of Fidelity; but did not ceaſe to contrive by Treachery what he could not effect by Force. The Means he contriv'd was to hire Two Ruffians, who went to the King, and complain'd of the Wrongs done to them, by him the ſaid *Donald*, and pretended Relation to the Royal Blood. Thoſe Villains ſucceeded in their wicked Deſigns, and were admitted into the King's familiar Acquaintance, and finding Means to delude *Carantius*, the King's Brother, who was a facile ambitious Man, and fit for their wicked Purpoſes; they communicated their Deſign to him, as a proper Means to get him the Crown, to which he liſten'd and conniv'd. Thoſe Traitors being on a Day at Hunting with the King, ſeeing all the Company run up with Speed to ſee a wild Bear, of monſt'rous Bulk; while the King ſate on a Moat, one of the Traitors ſtab'd him in his Back, ſo that he died inſtantly; they being taken, and put to Torture, confeſs'd all, and *Carantius* fled to the *Roman* Camp. Thus fell the beſt of Kings by the Hands of Traitors, in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*.

The King is ſtab'd by Traitors.

DONALDUS II. *The* 32 *King of* Scotland.

DONALDUS II, the Third Brother of *Findochus*, ſucceeded in the Year of the World, 4233; after the coming of CHRIST, 255 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 553. He was a good and pious Prince, and was very much afflicted at the Death of his Brother the King, and puniſh'd his Murderers with ſevere Tortures. In the mean Time, Word was brought him, That *Donald*, the Contriver of the Murder of *Findochus*, was enter'd *Murray* with a ſtrong Army, not as a Rebel, but as a King. The King being ſurpriz'd before he could get his Army ready, could not avoid fighting the Rebels; and having but ſome Nobles, and a ſmall Party, did fight with incomparable Valour, but were over-power'd by the Enemy, and the King taken Priſoner, with Thirty of the Prime Nobility. The King being mortally wounded, died ſoon after, in the Firſt Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*.

DONALDUS III. *The* 33 *King of* Scotland.

DONALDUS, of the Iſles, uſurp'd the Crown in the Year of the World, 4234; after the coming of CHRIST, 256 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 554. He took the Name of King, and the Crown, by forcing thoſe Nobles he had taken Priſoners to ſubmit to his Pleaſure, threatning to kill every one that deny'd his Authority. He diſarm'd all the Subjects, but his own Servants and Aſſiſtants, and caus'd many of the Nobles to be put to Death violently, without any Cauſe. Thoſe Miſeries continu'd long: But *Carthilinthus*, the Son of *Findochus*, was ſent, as by Providence, to revenge his Father's Murder; for he was bred up privately with his Foſter-Father, and by his Care and Induſtry, kept private, and was thought to be dead. When he came of Age he exceeded moſt Men of his Time in Readineſs of Wit, and Strength of Judgment. He conceal'd his Name, and got in Favour at Court, where he ſtay'd, and finding Matters ſucceed to his Deſire, he communicated his Deſigns to his Foſter-Father, and having got a ſmall Party, he ſlew *Donald* the Uſurper, and fled with his Party to a convenient Place; and ſent to the Nobles, to certify who he was, and what he had done to revenge the Death of his Father, and the Oppreſſion of his Subjects. All the Subjects applauded the Deed, and unanimouſly conſented to have *Carthilinthus* crown'd King. Thus was the Uſurper juſtly rewarded by the lawful King, after he had kept the Throne Twelve Years.

Carthilinthus, Son of King *Findochus*, kept by his Foſter-Father privately.

Slays the Uſurper.

Is crown'd King.

CARTHILINTHUS. *The* 34 *King of* Scotland.

CARTHILINTHUS, the Son of *Findochus*, ſucceeded to the Crown, in the Year of the World, 4246; after the coming of CHRIST, 268 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 566. In the Beginning of his Reign, he caus'd the Perſons who had aſſiſted the Uſurper to be put to Death, or puniſh'd according to their Guilt. He afterwards made a Progreſs over the Kingdom, to adminiſter Juſtice, and repair the Places ruin'd by the Uſurper; and having eſtabliſh'd Peace at Home and Abroad, he ſpent much of his Time in Hunting, according to the Cuſtom of the Nation. At this Time ſeveral young Noblemen of the *Picts* came to the Court of *Scotland*; and were entertain'd by the King with more Familiarity, than any of that Nation had been by

by any of his Predeceſſors: But this Familiarity had like to have prov'd very deſtructive to the Nation; for ſome of the *Picts* having ſtolen a Dog which the King had a particular Fancy for, the Keeper having diſcover'd the Place where the Dog was kept, and endeavouring to bring him back again, he was ſlain by the *Picts*: Upon which Account many Quarrels happen'd between the *Scots* and *Picts*; and at length ſuch ſharp Combats were fought ſo often by ſmall Parties, whereby the Strife encreas'd ſo, that a moſt cruel War broke out between the Two Nations, inſomuch, that the Kings of the *Scots* and *Picts* found great Difficulty to bring the People to any Terms of Peace: But at laſt they agreed, conſidering the Danger they expos'd themſelves to by ſuch Diviſions and Slaughter, to their common Enemies the *Romans* and *Britons*, who might take that Opportunity to invade and ſubdue them. In the mean Time, *Carantius*, the Brother of *Findochus*, came into *Scotland*, and was receiv'd into Favour with his Nephew the King: He having fled upon Suſpicion (as before mention'd) and been, 'till then, in *Italy*; where he was employ'd in the *Roman* Wars by *Diocleſian* the Emperor, and behav'd himſelf ſo valiantly, that he was ſent by the Emperor to defend *Normandy* and *Picardy* from the *Saxons*, and other Pirates; and having acquir'd great Glory and Riches, he return'd into *Britain* with many Soldiers and great Treaſure, and ſettled in *Weſtmoreland*; and coming into *Scotland* at the Time of the Broils between the *Scots* and *Picts*, both the Kings and People were reconcil'd by his Mediation, and the former League was renew'd between them. At this Time *Carantius* having obtain'd Aſſiſtance of the King his Nephew, as alſo of the *Picts*, he went with an Army, and fought *Quintus Baſianus*, the *Roman* General, and overcame and ſlew him in Battle, with many of the moſt valiant *Romans* then in *Britain*. He paſs'd to *London* with his Army, where he was receiv'd with great Reſpect, and took Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Britain*. The *Romans* made many Attempts againſt him, but by his Skill in Military Affairs, he defeated all their Deſigns.

Wars between the *Scots* and *Picts*.

Carantius returns to *Scotland*,

he reconciles the Two Nations,

he overcomes the *Romans* in Battle,

and gets the Crown of *Britain*.

He made Peace with the Kings of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and continu'd ſeveral Years in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Britain*; but was kill'd by one of his intimate Companions, nam'd *Alectus*, a *Roman* Captain, and the Crown return'd to the *Romans*. About this Time, the Emperor *Diocleſian* perſecuted the *Chriſtians* in all Parts of his Dominions with great Cruelty; and 'tis reported that above 16000 Men and Women ſuffer'd Martyrdom in his Reign: But he was at laſt overtaken with the Judgment of GOD for his Cruelty; for he went mad at *Salonas*, drank Poiſon, and died of lingring Pains and miſerable Torture. He was ſucceeded by the Emperor *Conſtantine*, Father to *Conſtantine*, call'd *the Great*, the firſt Chriſtian Emperor. *Carthilinthus*, the King, liv'd many Years in great Felicity, and was a moſt zealous Profeſſor and Defender of the *Chriſtian* Faith. He reign'd Twenty Four Years, and died at *Dunſtaffage*, where he was buried with his Royal Anceſtors.

He is ſlain by *Alectus*.

FINCORMACHUS. *The 35 King of* Scotland.

FINCORMACHUS, the Son of *Donaldus* II. and Couſin to *Carthilinthus*, ſucceeded in the Year of the World, 4270; after the coming of CHRIST, 292 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 590. In the Beginning of his Reign, *Caius Herculius*, the *Roman* Commander in *Britain*, oppreſs'd the *Britons* with extreme Cruelty, which caus'd them to rebel againſt him, and make *Octavius*, Prince of *Wales*, their Captain, and give Battle to *Herculius*, who was ſlain, and his Army routed by *Octavius*. The Emperor ſent over a noble Captain, nam'd *Traherus*, with ſeveral Legions, who routed *Octavius*, and he fled into *Scotland* for Safety, and was reſpectfully receiv'd by King *Fincormachus*. *Traherus* ſent an Herald to *Fincormachus*, to ſend *Octavius*

Octavius flees into *Scotland* for Shelter.

tavius bound to him; but the King return'd him Anſwer, That it would be a moſt diſhonourable Action to injure, in any Reſpect, a Stranger, who came to him in Diſtreſs, and far more to give up a Prince who fled to him for Refuge; and added, if *Traherus* did invade his Kingdom, he would oppoſe him with all his Strength. *Traherus* came forward with his Army, and *Fincormachus* aſſiſted *Octavius*, and overthrew the *Romans* in a Battle, and purſu'd *Traherus* 'till he could find no Safety in *Britain*, and fled into *France*. *Octavius* having got Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Britain*, by the ſpecial Aſſiſtance of *Fincormachus*, he confirm'd to him and his Poſterity (being Kings of *Scotland*) the Lands of *Weſtmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*: But *Octavius* ſoon after gather'd an Army, and diſpoſſeſs'd the *Scots* of thoſe Lands; whereupon the King *Fincormachus* gather'd an Army, and routed *Octavius*, and purſu'd him ſo far as *York*. *Traherus* hearing of the War between the *Britons* and *Scots*, came over with Two Legions, and rais'd an Army in *Britain*, with which he overcame *Octavius*, and purſu'd him to the Mouth of the *Humber*, where he found a Ship, and eſcap'd into *Norway*. *Traherus* reſtor'd the Crown of *Britain* to the *Romans*, and oppreſs'd the *Britons* with ſuch Cruelty that they rais'd a new Rebellion, and ſlew *Traherus*. *Octavius* hearing of the Death of *Traherus*, return'd into *Britain*, and ſent Meſſengers to *Fincormachus*, with a moſt humble and penitent Acknowledgment of his Crimes, in re-taking the before mention'd Lands; and made Proteſtations, that if King *Fincormachus* would again aſſiſt him, he would confirm the ſaid Lands of *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Northumberland*, to the Kingdom of *Scotland* for ever. Whereupon, *Fincormachus* gave Aſſiſtance to *Octavius*, who again recover'd the Crown of *Britain*, and confirm'd Peace with the Kings of *Scots* and *Picts*. *Fincormachus* having eſtabliſh'd his Kingdom in Tranquility, he ſtudied to propagate the Doctrine of CHRIST throughout the ſame, and to root out all the Relicts of Heathen Idolatry. He receiv'd and protected many religious Chriſtians who had fled into *Scotland* from the Perſecution of the Emperor *Diocleſian*; among which ſundry eminent for Piety, Learning, and Integrity of Life, made their Abode in *Scotland*, where they led ſolitary Lives, with ſuch an univerſal Opinion of their Sanctity, that when they died, their Cells were chang'd into Temples: From hence aroſe afterwards the Cuſtom among the ancient *Scots* to call Temples, *Cells*. Theſe Religious Men or Monks were call'd *Culdees*; which Name and Order continu'd many Years in *Scotland*.

King *Fincormachus* gives *Octavius* Aſſiſtance, and recovers the Crown.

The Lands of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmorland*, firſt given to the *Scots*.

Religious Men in *Scotland* call'd *Culdees*.

Fincormachus liv'd many Years in Peace and Felicity, and departed this Life in the 47th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*. He left Two Sons, *Eugenius* and *Ethodius*, but they were not of Age to take the Government; whereupon great Contention aroſe between the Three Brothers Sons of *Carthilinthus*: Their Names were *Romachus*, *Fethelmachus*, and *Anguſianus*, or *Æneanus*. *Romachus*'s Plea was, That his Father was the eldeſt Son, and had the only Right, but *Anguſianus* had by far more the Favour of the People, and alſo the other Competitor gave him his Vote to ſucceed: By this the Kingdom was divided into Factions, and both Parties took the Field, and fought a Battle, wherein *Anguſianus* was overcome, and fled into the Iſles, and from thence to *Ireland*, with his Couſin *Fethelmachus*, and *Romachus* obtain'd the Government by that Victory.

ROMACHUS. *The 36 King of* Scotland.

ROMACHUS ſucceeded in the Government, in the Year of the World, 4297; after the coming of CHRIST, 339 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 637. He was the more unacceptable to the People, that he had confided more in the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the *Picts*, (of which Blood he was by his Mother) than the *Scots*; having liv'd much among them, and was

was almoſt a Stranger to the Conſtitution of the Kingdom when he got the Government: And remembring how the *Scots* preferr'd *Anguſianus*'s Claim to his, he exercis'd great Cruelty over the Subjects, putting many Noblemen to Death without any juſt Cauſe. In the third Year of his Reign, the Nobles took Arms againſt him, and came upon him before he could get an Army together, and he venturing to defend himſelf, was ſlain, with many of his Party, of which there were more *Picts* than *Scots*. *Anguſianus* was call'd home, and by general Conſent of the Nobles, had the Government given him; for the Sons of *Fincormachus* being ſtill too young to take the Government, were kept in the Iſle of *Man* with religious and wiſe Preceptors. At this Time the *Britons* having liv'd free from the *Roman* Power under *Octavius*, were by the coming over of *Maximus* (a *Roman* Captain ſent by the Emperor *Conſtantine*) overcome in Battle; whereat *Octavius* took ſuch Grief that he died ſoon after, and his Son *Octavius* fled unto the Iſle of *Man*, and liv'd unknown, with the *Scots* Princes *Eugenius* and *Ethodius*.

Romanus is ſlain in Battle.

ANGUSIANUS. *The* 37 *King of* Scotland.

ANGUSIANUS, Brother's Son to *Carthilinthus*, ſucceeded in the Year of the World, 4300; after the coming of CHRIST, 342; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 640. In the Beginning of his Reign, they who were the Miniſters of Cruelty and Oppreſſion under *Romachus*, fled unto the *Picts*, and ſtirr'd up *Nectanus* their King, to revenge the Death of *Romachus* his Couſin. *Anguſianus*, who was a good Prince and Lover of Peace, deſir'd that they might continue in Amity; conſidering the *Romans* or *Britons* only waited an Opportunity to deſtroy them both. But the *Picts* truſting to their own Strength, would not take Notice of the Entreaty of *Anguſianus*; who finding them inclin'd to invade his Kingdom, gather'd his Army and met the *Picts*, where they fought a ſharp Battle, and the *Picts* were routed and put to Flight. *Nectanus* fled to *Camleon*, and having levied a new Army, came againſt the *Scots*, and was met by them, and fought a ſecond Battle, more bloody and cruel than the firſt, with uncertain Victory, for the King of the *Scots* was ſlain, which diſcourag'd his Army much; but there were more ſlain of the *Picts*, tho' they pretended to the Victory; yet having loſt their King, they were ſo broken, that they ſent to the *Scots* deſiring Peace, exclaiming againſt thoſe who had occaſion'd the War: Peace was concluded between both Nations; and *Fethelmachus* was made King. The Body of *Anguſianus* was honourably buried in *Dunſtaffage*. He reign'd three Years.

Anguſianus ſlain in Battle by the *Picts*.

FETHELMACHUS. *The* 38 *King of* Scotland.

FETHELMACHUS, the third Nephew of *Carthilinthus* ſucceeded, in the Year of the World, 4303; after the coming of CHRIST, 345; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 643. He was a good and valiant Prince, and govern'd the People with Juſtice and Equity. In the 3 Year of his Reign, the *Picts* began to raiſe new Diſturbance, notwithſtanding their late Treaty of Peace. The King rais'd an Army of *Scots*, and went againſt the *Picts*, and overcame them in Battle, and ſlew their King, with moſt of his Army. After that one *Herguſtus*, a crafty Man, having got the Command of the *Picts*; he contriv'd the Death of the King of *Scots* by Treachery, and hir'd two *Picts*, who were expert in throwing Darts, (in which Exerciſe the King of *Scots* delighted much) to get into ſuch Familiarity at the *Scots* Court, that they might watch an Opportunity to kill the King. *Fethelmachus*

being in *Carrick*, after great Fatigue gave himself much to Solitude, and when he went to Bed, order'd a Minstrel to play soft Tunes in his Bed-chamber, to set him to sleep. The two *Picts* brib'd an Harper to admit them into the Bed-chamber, and when all was retir'd, they two went to the Bed, and murder'd the King, by cutting his Throat: But (as the just Judgment of GOD never lets Murder escape) the King's Guards hearing his dying Groans, came upon the Murderers, and apprehended them: They confess'd their Deeds, and were tormented to Death. The King was buried in *Dunstaffage*. He reign'd three Years. In this King's Reign it is said, that St. *Reuel* or *Regulus*, a *Grecian* Monk, born in *Achaia*, and Abbot of *Patras*, was sent by the Emperor *Constantine* to visit the Relicks of the holy Apostle St. *Andrew*, and was warn'd by a Vision from Heaven, to take the Right-Arm and other Members of the holy Apostle's Body, and to carry it into *Albion*: And accordingly St. *Regulus* came through the *Mediterranian* Seas, and landed in the River *Tay* in *Scotland*, and buried the Arm in that Place, where, at his Request, *Hergustus* King of the *Picts* built a Church, and dedicated it to St. *Andrew*; which is the Cathedral Church of the Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Primate of *Scotland*. After *Fethelmachus* (who reign'd three Years) was slain, *Eugenius*, the Son of *Fincormachus*, was crown'd King of *Scotland*.

Fethelmachus murder'd by Two *Picts*.

The Cathedral Church of St. *Andrew*'s first built, *A. C.* 346.

EUGENIUS I. *The* 39 *King of* Scotland.

EUGENIUS, the Son of *Fincormachus* succeeded, in the Year of the World, 4306; after the coming of CHRIST, 348 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 646. About the Beginning of his Reign, *Maximus* the *Roman* General in *Britain*, being in great Hopes to conquer the whole Isle, studied how to destroy the *Scots*; and to that End apply'd to the *Picts*, proposing many Advantages to them, if they would join with the *Romans* against the *Scots*; that they should have the Lands of the *Scots* to be divided among them: The *Picts* being catch'd with that Bait, and allur'd by many tempting, vain Promises, they join'd Forces with the *Romans*, and came with a great Army against the *Scots*. *Euginus* being surpriz'd before he could get his Army together, was oblig'd to encounter the *Romans*, *Britons* and *Picts* with his Guards and a few of the Nobles, with their Attendants; and met them at the River *Cree* in *Galloway*, and there fought with incredible Courage and Valour against their numerous Army, with a small Party: But being overpower'd with the Multitude of the Enemy, he retir'd with his Party; and being join'd with the rest of his Army, attack'd the Enemy, and made great Slaughter amongst them; and they retir'd to *Britain*. In the mean Time, *Eugenius* reveng'd himself on the *Picts*, by slaying many of them, and laying their Country waste. *Maximus* finding the *Picts* were enrag'd against the *Scots*, took that Opportunity to join them again, with a numerous Army of *Britons* and *Romans*, and march'd into *Scotland*, so far as the River *Down* in *Galloway*. *Eugenius* being resolv'd to venture all in a Battle, rais'd all the fencible Men of the Nation, and put the Women and Children in a Condition to fly, if they lost the Battle; and 'tis alledg'd, that many Women were in Arms, with their Fathers and Husbands. The *Scots* Army advanc'd against the Enemy, and *Maximus* caus'd the *Picts* and *Britons* to engage the *Scots*; but they were, by the resolute Valour and Force of the *Scots*, put to Flight, 'till *Maximus*, with his *Roman* Army, fell upon the *Scots*, who tho' they were near weary with the former Engagement, yet fought with incredible Courage and Resolution, so that they never gave Ground, 'till the King, with most Part of the Army, were slain in the Field. Thus the brave Nobles and People of our Nation shew'd their undaunted Courage, Loyalty, and Love to their Country;

The *Picts* join the *Romans* against the *Scots*.

The *Scots* obtain Victory over the *Romans* and *Picts*.

Eugenius is slain and his Army routed.

Country; eſteeming it more honourable to partake in their King and Country's Fate; than ſubmit to any foreign Enemies.

Maximus obtaining this Victory, and ſeeing the great Deſtruction of the *Scots*, who had ſo valiantly defended themſelves againſt ſo great Force, was very much mov'd with Compaſſion for the Loſs of ſuch brave People. But the *Picts* finding his Clemency like to fruſtrate their Hopes, told him, That the Iſle of *Britain* would never be ſecure to the *Romans* whilſt any of the *Scots* remain'd in it; that they were a People who would never ſubmit to any Power but to that of their own Kings, ſo that the Wars would never be ended 'till the whole Nation of *Scots* was extinct. *Maximus* reply'd many Things in Oppoſition to their Severity, ſaying, That it was the common Cuſtom of the *Romans*, when they overcame any Nation, to be ſo far from extirpating or deſtroying the Natives of the Country, that they made them *Denizons*, or naturaliz'd free Subjects, of the Cities under their Power; that tho' the *Romans* had conquer'd almoſt all the World, yet never had any Nation or People been wholly deſtroy'd or extirpated by them. 'Twas not ſo much his Love or Compaſſion to the *Scots* that made him ſave them, as it was Fear of letting the *Picts* become too powerful by the Deſtruction of the *Scots*; for the *Picts* were a ſubtile cruel People, and very ambitious of Power.

The remaining *Scots* fled into the Iſles, and the remote Parts of the Kingdom, to ſhelter themſelves. 'Tis ſaid, That many Women, after this Battle, attended *Cartanda*, the Queen of *Scotland*, and went to the Graves of King *Eugenius* and the Nobles, and wept over them, and perform'd particular Prayers and Devotions for the Souls of their dead Husbands; but the *Picts* diſturb'd them in their Devotions, and abus'd many of the Ladies. The Queen being Daughter to a Prince of *Wales*, ſhe went in deep Diſtreſs with her Kinſmen of the *Britons*, and complain'd to *Maximus* of the Injuries done by the *Picts*: *Maximus* receiv'd the diſtreſs'd Queen with all Reſpect due to her Dignity, and promis'd to protect her and the other Ladies from the Inſolence of the *Picts*, and ordain'd, That the Queen ſhould have the Town of *Carrick* to live in, without any Diſturbance; but the *Picts* remonſtrated to *Maximus*, that their Enemies Complaints were heard againſt them, who had ventur'd their Lives to ſerve the *Romans*, and preſs'd him to deſtroy all Men and Women of that Nation: Yet notwithſtanding all their Malice, the Queen, with many Ladies, and other Women, had Poſſeſſions given them to continue their Reſidence in *Scotland* during their Lives; and they continu'd their Devotion at the Graves of their Husbands and Parents who fell in the Battle.

The People of *Scotland* being ſcatter'd, ſome in the Iſles and remote Parts of the Kingdom, and ſome in *Orkney* and *Denmark*; ſome in *Ireland*, and other Countries. *Ethodius*, the Brother of *Eugenius*, took Shipping with *Fergus*, the King's Son, and his Son *Erthus*, with many Nobles, committing themſelves to the Favour of the Wind and Sea, and arriv'd in *Denmark*, then call'd *Scandia*, where they were well receiv'd and entertain'd. Tho' the *Romans* and *Picts* profeſs'd the *Chriſtian* Faith, yet they moſt barbarouſly abus'd the Prieſts and Monks, who (in thoſe Days) were held in great Eſteem in *Scotland*. Many of thoſe afflicted Eccleſiaſticks went into the Iſles, eſpecially into *Icolmkill* where they built a large Monaſtry, with many Cells or Grotto's under Ground, to ſhelter themſelves in caſe they were purſu'd by Enemies. In this Place they liv'd, and afterwards it became the Reſidence of many religious Perſons, which continu'd for many Years; and in their Abbey was the Burying-place of many ſucceeding Kings of *Scotland*.

Fergus the young King, carried into *Denmark*.

Icolmkill firſt built by religious Men, for a Shelter from the *Romans* and *Picts*.

The *Scots*, who were thus reſident in the Iſles and remote Parts of *Scotland*, being aſſiſted by ſome *Iriſh-men*, gather'd an Army, and came againſt the *Romans* and *Picts*, having ſlain many of the *Picts*, they were met by *Maximus*, who routed them, and they fled to their former Places of Shelter, and never would ſubmit to the *Romans*.

This great Victory obtain'd by the *Romans* over the *Scots*, whereby they had Poſſeſſion of the moſt Part of the whole Nation, has given Occaſion to ſeveral Authors, eſpecially of the *Iriſh*, to deny that the *Scots* enter'd *Albion*

'till the Reſtoration of *Fergus* II. after this great Conqueſt of the *Romans*: But 'tis clear by the foregoing Hiſtory, that the before mention'd Kings, to the Number of Thirty Nine, had reign'd in *Scotland* before *Fergus* II. return'd, during the Space of 735 Years.

The *Picts* got Poſſeſſions of a great Part of the Lands of *Scotland*; but *Maximus* had made them greater Promiſes than he deſign'd to perform to them, and then let them find that he had Power over them, and oppreſs'd, or rather, juſtly puniſh'd them, by exacting grievous Taxes and Servitude. Afterwards *Maximus* was ſo much in Favour with the People, that he found a ſtrong Party, and ſlew *Gratian* the Emperor; and was ſoon after himſelf ſlain by *Theodoſius*, who was after made Emperor.

Victorine ſucceeded *Maximus* in the Command in *Britain*; and *Octavius*, the Son of the before-mention'd *Octavius* came into *Britain*, and had the Crown under Vaſſalage to the *Romans*. *Herguſtus* King of the *Picts*, ſeeing his People oppreſs'd by the *Romans*, repented of the Injury he had done the *Scots* his good Neighbours, and became very melancholy, and after ſome Days Retirement kill'd himſelf. *Victorine* having Notice of his Death, ordain'd that none of the *Picts* Blood ſhould wear their Crown, nor bear any Command, but as Servants and Vaſſals to the *Romans*. The *Picts* being thus oppreſs'd, were reſolv'd to rebel againſt the *Romans*, and they made *Durſtus*, the Son of *Herguſtus* their King, and fortify'd the Town of *Camleon*. *Victorine* came up to it with an Army, lay'd Siege to it, and forc'd them to ſurrender. He took their King *Durſtus*, and ſent him Priſoner to *Rome*; and commanded that the principal Perſons in the Rebellion ſhould be whipt with ſharp Rods through the City of *Camleon*; and that the *Picts* ſhould pay yearly into the *Roman* Treaſure, the third Part of all their Profits and Fruits growing in their Lands, with the fourth Part of all their Cattle. And being baniſh'd from the beſt Part of their Country, beyond the River *Forth*, *Victorine* commanded that they ſhould build a ſtrong Wall from *Abercorn* to *Dunbritton*, where the Wall of *Severus* before was; and that no *Pict* ſhould be found on the South Side of that Wall upon Pain of Death. 'Twas then they call'd to Mind the Plenty and Proſperity they enjoy'd, while they liv'd in Amity and Peace with their ancient faithful Neighbours the *Scots*. They now look'd upon themſelves to be the conquer'd People; for the *Scots* had never ſubmitted, but had fled, and fortify'd the Iſles, and were in far better Condition in every Reſpect, than They were: They had hopes to return and get Poſſeſſion of their Kingdom, having done nothing but what was brave and honourable: But for them, (the *Picts*) they deſerv'd the Hatred and Reproach of all Nations. The Monks alſo reproach'd them bitterly, crying out, *That* GOD *had juſtly puniſh'd Them, who had ſo cruelly perſecuted his Miniſters, and violated their Faith to their faithful Friends and beſt Neighbours.* Then their Conſciences being touch'd with a juſt Senſe of their Perfidiouſneſs and Cruelty, they conſider'd that the only Way to recover their Liberty (as well as to appeaſe the Wrath of GOD) would be to reconcile themſelves to the *Scots*; and to that End they ſent private Meſſages to *Fergus* the *Scots* King, who they underſtood was in great Eſteem at the Court of *Scandia* or *Denmark*.

Herguſtus King of *Picts* kills himſelf.

The *Picts* are made to pay Tax to the *Romans*.

The *Monks* reproach the *Picts* for Treachery & Barbarity.

When *Ethodius* the Brother of *Eugenius*, with his Son *Erthus* were baniſh'd from *Scotland*, they landed in *Scandra* or *Denmark*, and were introduc'd to the King, who being inform'd who they were, and by what adverſe Fortune they were driven thither, he admitted them into his familiar Acquaintance. At that Time *Erthus* the Son of *Ethodius* was married to a Lady, nam'd *Rocha*, Daughter of *Roricus*, firſt Prince of the Blood Royal of *Denmark*; and by her had a Son, nam'd *Fergus*, who coming to Age, delighted much in Military Exerciſes. And at the Time when the Northern United Forces join'd againſt the *Roman* Power, ſome of them fell upon *Hungary*, and ſome upon *Gallia*. *Fergus* then took an Opportunity to ſhew his manly Courage and Bravery againſt the *Romans*, and join'd the King of the *Goths*, whoſe Name was *Alarick*, went with his Army to beſiege *Rome*, and *Fergus* accompany'd him, and in that Expedition obtain'd great Glory and Applauſe; as he then not

Fergus IId's Birth.

He joins the *Goths* againſt the *Romans*.

not only aſſiſted as a Confederate, but likewiſe as an injur'd Prince, who ſhould revenge the Slaughter of his Predeceſſor, and Ruin of his Country, which had been waſted, and then poſſeſs'd by the *Romans*. The City of *Rome* was defended by the *Romans* until they were reduc'd to the utmoſt Extremity of Want, and were at laſt forc'd to ſurrender, and the City plunder'd. Thus were the *Romans* overcome and driven out of *Rome*, about 1164 Years after it was firſt built by *Romulus*.

Rome beſieg'd, taken, & plunder'd.

It is ſaid that *Fergus* had for his Share of the Spoil many Jewels, and ſeveral other Things, among which was a Cheſt of Books, which, after he was reſtor'd, he ſent to the Monaſtry of *Icolmkill*, to be kept with the other Chronicles of *Scotland*. My Author, *Hector Boetius*, here ſays, That *Æneas Silvius*, Legate from Pope *Euginus* IV. to King *James* I. of *Scoland*, intended to have gone into the Iſle, to ſearch thoſe Books for ſome of the Works of *Titus Livius*, which were deſtroy'd in the Wars of *Italy*; but that his Journey was interrupted by the King's Death: And *Hector Boetius* ſays, That he himſelf hearing of theſe Books at the Time of his writing his Hiſtory, had five Books ſent him to *Aberdeen*, by Mr. *John Campbell* the King's Treaſurer, *A. C.* 1525. That when he ſaw them, there were only the middle Parts of them remaining, and were in old *Roman* Characters, but ſeem'd to him to be rather the Works of *Saluſtius* than *Titus Livius*. With thoſe Books were brought the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, written by *Verimundus*, Archdeacon of St. *Andrew*'s, who wrote the Chronicles of the Kings of *Scotland*, to the Reign of King *Malcolm* III. ſirnam'd *Kiannore*; which Hiſtory, with the Authority of the learn'd Biſhop *William Elphingſton*, *Hector Boetius* declares to have follow'd in his Hiſtory.

Verimundus, Archdeacon of St. *Andrew*'s, his Hiſtory of *Scotland*.

When the *Romans* were engag'd on all Sides, they call'd over their Legions from *Britain*, whereupon the *Picts* ſent Meſſengers to *Fergus* (who was then return'd to the Court of *Denmark*) with moſt penitent Acknowledgments of their former Tranſgreſſions againſt the ancient Alliance, ſo long continu'd between their Anceſtors, which had ſo long preſerv'd both Nations from the Power of foreign Enemies: Therefore, as they had been guilty of ſo great a Crime, as to deceive their faithful Friends and Neighbours, and join with their Enemies againſt them, they did acknowledge, the Oppreſſion of the *Romans* and *Britons* was no more than a moſt juſt Reward for their Deceit: But that then they were reſolv'd to free themſelves from the Servitude of the *Romans* and *Britons*, and would return to their ancient Friendſhip and Alliance with their faithful Neighbours the *Scots*: And made ſolemn Proteſtations to renew the Alliance upon the former Conditions with them.

At this Time *Fergus* ſent truſty Friends to the *Scots* in *Scotland* and the Iſles, and all other Places where they were baniſh'd, to know how they were diſpos'd. Thoſe Meſſengers found, That all the *Scots* were inclin'd to venture their Lives to recover their Country, and to reſtore *Fergus*, whom they acknowledg'd to be their lawful King: And at the ſame Time the *Picts* (who were grievouſly oppreſs'd by the *Romans*) had ſent to the *Scots*, deſiring to be reconcil'd to them, and offer'd their Aſſiſtance to recover their Kingdom, and importun'd them to call home their King from Exile. The *Scots* gave no Anſwer to the *Picts* firſt Meſſage, but ſent Notice to *Fergus* of the Offers made by them: Mean Time the *Picts* ſent a ſecond Time, entreating the *Scots* to return to their Poſſeſſions, which they would give up to them, and alſo aſſiſt them to recover what Part of their Lands were then poſſeſs'd by the *Romans* and *Britons*. *Fergus* having Notice thereof, communicated his Intentions to the King of *Denmark*, who gave him Aſſiſtance of Men and Shipping, wherewith he ſet to Sea, and landed in the Firth of *Murray*, and was immediately join'd by all the *Scots* from the Iſles and remote Parts of the Country, as alſo from other Nations where they had ſojourn'd. They receiv'd *Fergus* with all poſſible demonſtrations of Joy, and declar'd him Their King; which being known abroad, brought many Forreigners (who had known his Bravery in the before-mention'd Wars) to give him their Aſſiſtance to recover his Kingdom. The *Picts* alſo were glad of the Opportunity to join the *Scots*, to extirpate

Fergus II. lands in *Murray* Firth;

is join'd by many Foreigners.

tirpate the *Roman* Power out of *Britain*. The Time of *Fergus* II. Reſtoration is ſaid to have been 45 Years after the Death of *Eugenius* his great Grandfather; or as ſome Authors ſay, that *Fergus* was the Son of King *Eugenius*, and that the Son of *Erthus*, by the *Daniſh* Lady, was *Graham*, whoſe Daughter King *Fergus* was married to, and had three Sons nam'd *Eugenius*, *Dongardus*, and *Conſtantinus*: But we find by moſt Authors, that *Graham* was the Son of a *Scots* Nobleman, who accompanied *Ethodius* into *Denmark*, and married a Lady of the Blood Royal of *Denmark*, who was Mother to *Graham*, and that *Fergus* was married to his Daughter before his Return to *Scotland*.

Graham, the Progenitor of that ancient Surname, his Birth.

I think it proper here to obſerve, That ſeveral Authors have taken Opportunity to deny, that the *Scots* enter'd *Albion* before this Time; and ſome of them are led into that Miſtake by venerable *Bede*, who was a *Saxon*, and very much a Stranger to the former Part of the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, he having never had Acceſs to the Chronicles or ancient Records of that Nation; therefore 'tis to be ſuppos'd that he only had diſtant Information of what he wrote with Relation to the Affairs of *Scotland*. And ſince the Time of *Fergus* IId's Return, with many memorable Tranſactions of the Affairs of *Scotland*, are ſo very particularly mention'd by ſeveral creditable Authors, it ſeems very malicious in thoſe who ſtill inſiſt upon that denial, of the Antiquity of *Scotland*. For ſeveral Authors mention the Time of *Fergus*'s Return, eſpecially *Marianus Scotus* and *Funicius* agree to the Time, only that the Former will have it 43, the later 44 Years after the Death of *Eugenius*. And by the Black Book of *Paſly* we find that the Time agrees with other good Authorities; ſo that 'tis plain, this was a Second *Fergus*, and the 40 King of *Scotland*, and not the firſt *Fergus* who came from *Ireland*. Then in the Preceeding Part of this Hiſtory the Time is condeſcended on when the *Scots* defended their Kingdom againſt the *Roman* Emperors and Generals allow'd to be in *Britain*; and that they acknowledge that the Emperor *Adrian* was there, and built a Wall or Trench (as ſome call it) to defend that Part of the Country which was ſubject to his Power, from the People who poſſeſs'd the other Part of the Iſle: Therefore we may preſume, that they were another People, and then unconquer'd by the *Romans*: For it is not to be ſuppos'd, that the Emperor *Adrian* would divide a Nation, were they one People, and ſubject to his Dominion. Further, 'tis allow'd that the Emperor *Severus* was in *Britain*, and that he alſo built a Wall; yet as that is not mention'd in any foreign Hiſtory, the Enemies of our Antiquity deny it, without any ſufficient Authority to diſprove it: But ſince *Cornelius Tacitus* in his Life of *Agricola*, has mention'd the *Scots* under the Denomination of *Caledonians*, and his Account of our King, nam'd *Corbredus Galdus* (whom he calls *Galgacus*) agrees with ſeveral Paſſages of his Life, mention'd in the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, we may expect that the Diſtance of Time may plead Excuſe for the ſmall Difference between the two Words *Galdus* and *Galgacus*; and that the *Caledonians* mention'd by *Cornelius Tacitus*, were the *Scots* and not *Britons* nor *Picts*, as is alledg'd by ſome Authors. And *Galdus* was the 21 King of *Scotland*, who was by the Conſent of the revolting *Britons* and *Picts* made General of their Armies, with whom he then join'd his *Scots* Army, and fought againſt *Julius Agricola*, as mention'd in the Hiſtory of his Reign, which was above 300 Years before the Return of *Fergus* II.

A Council of *Scotland*, writ by the Monks of the Abby of *Paſly*, call'd Black, from the Colour of its Cover.

End of the SECOND *Book.*

BOOK III.

The History of the Kings, from Fergus II. *to* Keneth II. *(surnam'd* The Great*) the* 69 *King; who overthrew the* Picts *in several Battles, and at last expell'd them out of* Albion, *and join'd their Kingdom to the Crown of* Scotland, A. C. 838.

FERGUS II. *The* 40 *King of* Scotland.

FERGUS II. the Son of *Erthus*, and great Grandson to the late King *Eugenius* I. was restor'd to the Crown of *Scotland*, according to the most exact Accounts, in the Year of the World, 4374; after the Incarnation of our SAVIOUR, 404; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 594. Upon his landing, the *Scots* return'd from the several Countries where they had liv'd in Exile, and met their King with the utmost Joy: They carry'd him to *Argyle*, and crown'd him in the fatal Marble Chair, and at the same Time, renew'd the former Oaths of Allegiance and Obedience to him as their lawful King; and made solemn Protestations, That they never would obey nor submit to any one as their King, but him and his Posterity. After the Solemnity of the Coronation was over, the King proceeded to demolish the Fortifications made by the *Romans* in several Parts of his Kingdom: And having recover'd his Kingdom, he determin'd to prepare for an Expedition against the Enemy, so soon as the Season would permit; and to that End appointed *Graham* (whose Daughter was Queen) to command the Army as his Lieutenant-General.

The *Scots* renew their former Oaths to King *Fergus* II.

In the mean Time, *Victorine* the *Roman* General, hearing of the Preparations of the *Scots*, and that the *Picts* were reconcil'd and join'd with them in Alliance, he sent a Herald to the *Picts* with large Promises of Liberty and rich Rewards, if they would break off the Alliance with the *Scots*, and again join the *Romans* as Confederate Friends, and not upon any Pretence of Vassalage or Obedience: But the *Picts* having the late pernicious Consequences of the *Roman* Confederacy too fresh in their Minds, made no Answer to the Message of *Victorine*; who, when he found the Affront, resolv'd to be reveng'd; and came with an Army of 50000 *Romans* and *Britons* into the Lands of the *Scots* and *Picts*: But both the Confederate Kings met him with their Army at the River *Carron*, where they fought a bloody Battle with equal Slaughter, and uncertain Victory, but were divided by a vehement Shower of Snow and Hail, which was so thick that they could not see nor know one another. The *Romans* were so broken in this Battle, that *Victorine* retir'd with the Remnant of his Army into *Kent*; and the Kings of the *Scots* and *Picts* dismiss'd their Armies and return'd home; resolving to prepare for their Defence, in Case the *Romans* should offer to invade them. *Victorine* sent a strong Party to rebuild the Wall of *Abercorn*, and to possess all the Lands belonging to the *Picts* and *Scots* on the South Side thereof: But *Graham* came upon the Party, and slew many of them, and pursu'd the rest into *York*; and as he return'd, demolish'd the Wall of *Abercorn*.

The *Scots* and *Picts* give Battle to the *Romans*, and are separated by a Shower of Hail.

Abercorn Wall demolish'd by *Graham*.

There happen'd several Skirmishes betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts* against the *Romans*: For *Fergus* considering the Danger of hazarding all in a Battle, he

endeavour'd to weary rhe *Romans*, and ſlew many of them by frequent Skirmiſhes.

At that Time *Victorine* took the Crown of *Britons* by Force, without the Emperor's Permiſſion, and turn'd out *Dioneth*, Son of *Octavius:* Whereupon the Emperor *Honorius* ſent a Captain, nam'd *Heraclius*, who came into *Britain*, and ſent *Victorine* bound to *Rome*, where he was put to Death for his Inſolence, in uſurping the Crown of *Britons* without the Emperor's Authority. *Hiraclius* return'd to *Rome*, and *Placidus*, another *Roman* Captain, ſucceeded in the Command in *Britain*.

Fergus ſeeing the *Romans* ſtill poſſeſs'd of ſo much of his Kingdom, gather'd an Army, and ſent Notice to the *Picts* to join with him, to drive the *Romans* entirely out of the Nation. Both the Armies paſt throw *Galloway*, and all the Countries between the two Walls of *Severus* and *Adrian*, and drove the *Romans* before them; till *Placidus* having Notice of their Approach, went againſt them with 50000 Men, and met them in *Pentland*, where they fought a moſt deſperate Battle, and the *Romans* were totally defeated: *Placidus* narrowly eſcap'd to *York*, where *Fergus* with the King of *Picts* purſu'd him, and intended to beſiege the City, but their Army being fatigu'd, they return'd home. *Placidus* ſeeing the *Scots* and *Picts* ſo victorious and reſolute, and as the *Remans* were at that Time engag'd in the Wars abroad, he ſent an Ambaſſador to the Confederate Kings to make Peace with them; which was concluded on theſe Conditions, "That the *Romaus* ſhould depart beyond "*Adrian*'s Wall; and alſo give up all the Lands of *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland* "and *Northumberland* to the King of *Scotland*, to be poſſeſs'd by him, and "his Poſterity for ever: And that they ſhould never invade either *Scots* or "*Picts*, in any Time coming.

The *Romans* are routed by the *Scots* and *Picts* at *Pentland*.

The Kingdom being in Peace and Quietneſs, King *Fergus* ſtudied all Means to govern his People with Juſtice and Equity; and promoted Religion with great Inſtuſtry. He repair'd all the Churches or Temples which were ruin'd in the Time of his Exile, and built many new Churches, and appointed Benefices to ſeveral Prieſts and religious Men to attend Divine Service. He brought all the Monks, that were baniſh'd, again into the Realm; and entertain'd them with great Reverence and Reſpect. In the Iſle of *Icolmkill*, where the baniſhed Monks had begun a little Monaſtery, the King built a beautiful Abby; and ordain'd, that for the Future it ſhould be the Burying-place of the Kings of *Scotland*. He alſo ordain'd a Revenue or Living to Monks and religious Men, thereof to perform yearly Obſequies for the Souls of the Dead. He gave himſelf much to the Study of civil and military Government, and fortify'd all the Strengths of *Scotland*, eſpecially in thoſe Places bordering upon the *Britons* and *Romans*.

The Abby of *Icolmkill* repair'd and enlarg'd by King *Fergus* II. who appointed it to be the Burying-place of the Kings.

Placidius being dead, the Emperor *Theodoſius* made *Caſtius* Commander in his ſtead. *Dioneth*, the Son of *Octavius* and Prince of *Wales*, married the Siſter of King *Fergus*, and made Claim to the Crown of *Britons*, and deſir'd Aſſiſtance of *Fergus:* But, tho' he was unwilling to invade the *Romans*, againſt the Conditions of the late Peace, yet he ſoon found Reaſon to arm againſt them; for they invaded the *Scots* and *Picts*, and drove the *Scots* out of the Lands of *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland* and *Northumberland*. *Fergus*, with the King of the *Picts*, raiſed an Army, and *Dioneth* raiſed the *Welſhmen*, and gave Battle to *Caſtius*, who was ſlain, and the Army routed. But *Maximianus* came over unexpected with a numerous Army, and fell upon the *Scots*, *Picts* and *Welſhmen*, who gave them Battle; and tho' the Confederates had been much broken with the Battle immediately before, yet they fought that freſh Army with great Courage and Reſolution; and had obtain'd the Victory, had not *Fergus* the King been ſlain in the Battle, with *Durſtus* King of *Picts*; and alſo *Dioneth* Prince of *Wales*, was wounded, and made his Eſcape in a Ship to Wales.

The *Romans* are routed, and *Caſtius* ſlain by the *Scots* & *Picts*.

Fergus ſlain in Battle by the *Romans*.

In this King's Reign were many learn'd and holy Men in the World, as *Claudian* the Poet, *Apollinarius* who confuted the Hereſy of *Prophirus*, *Martin*, Biſhop of *Turin* in *France*, and St. *Ninian*, who was the firſt Biſhop of *Glaſgow*,

gow, where he built a Church, and dedicated it to St. *Martin*, who was his Uncle. In this Time liv'd St. *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of *Millan*, who converted St. *Auguſtine* to the *Chriſtian* Faith: This *Auguſtine* founded the Order of *Canons Regular*, of which Order were many religious Men in the World, and are ſtill. Alſo at this Time liv'd St. *Cirilius*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and St. *Jerome*, the Pope, who tranſlated the Holy Bible from *Hebrew* into *Latin*, with many other Books.

St. *Ninian*, the firſt Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.

Fergus reign'd in *Scotland* 16 Years, and after this Battle, where he was ſlain, his Body was honourably interr'd, with great Lamentations of his Subjects, in the Monaſtry of *Icolmkill*. He left Three Sons, *Eugenius*, *Dongardus*, and *Conſtantinus*.

EUGENIUS. II. *The* 41 *King of* Scotland.

EUGENIUS II. the Son of *Fergus* II. was crown'd King in the Marble Chair in the Year of the World, 4390; after the coming of CHRIST, 420 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 710. In the Beginning of his Reign, *Maximianus* being encourag'd by the late Battle, and the Death of King *Fergus*, he had Hopes to bring the whole Iſle under Subjection, and paſs'd with his Army over ſeveral Parts of the South Countries of the *Scots* and *Picts*, oppreſſing the People with great Cruelty. This *Maximianus*, to ſtrengthen his Intereſt among the *Britons*, married *Othilia*, Daughter to the beforemention'd *Dioneth*, Prince of *Wales*; for the ſaid *Dioneth* had no Iſſue but Two Daughters by the Siſter of the late *Fergus*, King of *Scotland*. And *Maximianus* finding the *Roman* Intereſt very weak, and ſeveral Nations rebel'd againſt them; he, in like manner, took Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Britain*, which he had in his Power, and gave the next Power to himſelf to *Dioneth* his Father-in-Law.

At this Time *Africk* was conquer'd from the *Roman* Power, and one *Bonifacius* made King thereof; and the *Franks* enter'd *Gallia*, and conquer'd the Lands of *Orleance* and *Paris*, and other Places, which were call'd after that *France*, from the *Franks*. *Maximianus* went over to *Britany* with his Legions, leaving *Dioneth* to govern in *Britain*, and took the ſtrong Town of *Redoun*, the Chief City of *Britany*, with many other Towns, and overcame *Sulpitius*, the *Roman* General under *Valentine* the Emperor. Soon after, the People of *Britany*, at the Deſire of *Etius*, Captain of *France*, revolted from *Maximianus*; and ſlew all his Soldiers in their Towns: Upon which he return'd, and with a ſharp Siege retook all their Towns, and ſlew and baniſh'd all the Natives of the Country; and came over to *Britain*, and brought over Men and Women of the *Britons* to inhabit *Britany*, and made one *Conanus* their Captain or Governor. This *Britany* was formerly call'd *Armorica*, and by theſe *Britons* it was after call'd *Britany*: Since that Time, the Inhabitants of that Province of *France* ſtill retain a Dialect of their Speech, agreeing with the old *Welſh* or *Britiſh* Language.

France ſo firſt call'd.

Eugenius ſeeing the *Romans* divided, and what Forces they had in *Britain*, join'd with the *Britons*: He reſolv'd to drive the *Britons* and *Romans* out of all his Lands, and ſent an Herald to the King of *Picts* to join him, which he gladly did, for all the Lands of *Pentland*, and their Countries, to the Wall of *Adrian*, was under the *Britons*. *Eugenius* gather'd his Army to *Caledon Wood*, and exhorted them to remember the warlike Actions of their Fore-Fathers, and ſhew'd them the Weakneſs of the *Roman* Power by the Loſs of the greateſt Part of their Conqueſt; that then it would be ſhameful to ſubmit to their Yoke, when they had ſo long withſtood them in their greateſt Power. The *Britons* hearing the Preparations of the *Scots* and *Picts*, they ſent over to *Valentine* the Emperor, who was willing to keep the *Britons* under his Empire, and he readily ſent them over the brave Captain *Gallia Revenus* with ſeveral

Legions. The *Scots* and *Picts*, before his coming, had purſu'd the *Britons* out of *Albion* over *Adrian*'s Wall near to *York*, but upon the coming of *Gallio* with the great Army, they return'd to get their Army in readineſs, and *Gallio* follow'd them ſo far as the Wall of *Abercorn*, and fearing they might be ſuddenly call'd over from *Britain*, he caus'd the Wall of *Abercorn* to be ſtrongly rebuilt with ſtrong Stone-work, about Seven Cubits in Breadth, and exceeding high, with Watch-Towers to alarm the People in caſe of Danger, to put Fires in the Tops of them, and all thoſe that did not come to defend it were puniſhable by Death.

Abercorn Wall rebuilt.

Gallio return'd by Command of the Emperor to *France*, and the confederate Kings of *Scots* and *Picts* having got their Armies ready, the valiant *Graham*, with a Party of *Scots* paſs'd to the Wall of *Abercorn*; and with Inſtruments and crafty Workmen he broke thro' the Wall, and ſlew many of the *Britons* in the Watch Towers; and the Two Armies of the *Scots* and *Picts* coming up, ſlew and baniſh'd all the *Britons* from the Wall to the River *Humber*: After this, they, by Proclamation, commanded that their People ſhould take Poſſeſſion of all the Lands and Goods between *Abercorn* and *Adrian*'s Wall. The *Britons* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Etius*, Captain of the *Roman* Army in *France*, deſiring Support againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*; but knowing the undaunted Courage and Valour of the *Scots* and *Picts*, he gave no Anſwer to their Meſſage. The *Britons* fearing the *Scots* and *Picts* would invade their Country when they were deſtitute of Support, they conſulted what was to be done; whereupon *Conanus*, a Prince of *Wales*, who was the next Heir deſcended by the right Line of the *Britiſh* Kings, ſolicited the *Britons* to make Peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*; but ſome of the Nobles of the *Britons*, who hated this *Conanus* and his Council, advis'd the *Britons* to prepare all their Strength againſt a certain prefix'd Day, to invade the *Scots* and *Picts*, and recover what Lands they formerly had poſſeſs'd. *Conanus* hearing this Advice, roſe up, and was going from among the Council when he ſaid, *I proteſt, and take the Eternal* GOD *to Witneſs, I will not conſent nor aſſiſt in any Invaſion of the* Scots *and* Picts, *to bring their Strength againſt this Nation to deſtroy it:* He had not well ended theſe Words, when thoſe *Britons*, who advis'd the Invaſion, ſtood up, pulling forth their Swords, and ſaid to *Conanus*, *Thy Authority ſhall not ſtop our Deſigns*, and run him thro' the Body, ſo that he died inſtantly: Upon which, the Friends of *Conanus* ſlew thoſe Nobles, and they divided into Two Parties, and fought deſperately, 'till many of them were ſlain by this Diviſion among themſelves, which made them unable to invade the *Picts* and *Scots* as they intended.

Graham breaks down the Wall, and ſlays the People in their Watch Tower.

The Kings of *Scots* and *Picts* hearing of this Diviſion, advanc'd with their Armies, and came ſo far as *Adrian*'s Wall, which they demoliſh'd, and recover'd the Lands of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, and drove the *Britons* to the *South* Parts of the Nation; whereupon the *Britons* conſulted at *London*, and concluded to ſend an Herald to the *Scots* and *Picts* to make Peace, offering them freely the Lands lying between *Tine* and *Humber*, and to pay them ſeveral Sums of Money for the Expence of their War. The *Scots* and *Picts* accepted of the Offers, and return'd home, and demoliſh'd *Adrian*'s Wall, and alſo that of *Abercorn*, which the valiant *Graham* had demoliſh'd, and was call'd afterwards, *Graham's Dyke*. From this *Graham* deſcended the moſt ancient and noble Sir-Name of *Graham*; an illuſtrious Name in *Scotland*, and in the North of *England*.

Abercorn Wall call'd *Graham's Dyke*.

The *Britons* only made this Peace with the *Scots* and *Picts* to have Time to get Support from other Countries, and ſent an Epiſtle to *Etius* again, complaining, that the *Romans* had left them expos'd to Ruin, by withdrawing their Armies from them; and importun'd *Etius* to ſend them over Aſſiſtance. *Etius* knowing the Weakneſs of the *Roman* Power, and his own Danger in *France*, ſent them Anſwer, That the *Roman* Armies were then all employ'd, but when they had brought thoſe rebellious Nations to Subjection, the *Britons* might expect Succour, that an Army would be ſent to them, and that the *Scots* and *Picts* ſhould be condignly puniſh'd for their Inſolence: But then deſir'd

they

they might make the beſt Defence they could, with Hopes of better Fortune. This Meſſage of the *Britons* being made known to the Confederate Kings, they ſent Notice to the *Britons*, That ſince they violated their Bands of Peace, they were reſolv'd to purſue them with the utmoſt Severity, to puniſh their perfidious and treacherous Deceit.

The *Scots* and *Picts* came with an Army againſt the *Britons*, who alſo prepar'd another to withſtand them; ſo that they both join'd Battle, and fought with great Courage and Cruelty, 'till at laſt, the Nobles, and moſt of the *Britiſh* Army were ſlain in the Field, and the reſt fled into Woods, and Places of Shelter. In this Battle, according to *Boetius*, and other Authors, fell 15000 *Britons*, and 4000 *Scots* and *Picts*.

15000 *Britons* ſlain in Battle by the *Scots* and *Picts*.

The *Britons* fearing their utter Deſtruction by the *Scots* and *Picts*, ſent to them, to entreat Peace on any Conditions they pleas'd. The *Scots* King *Eugenius* had Compaſſion on the *Britons*, ſeeing they had fought with ſuch Valour for their Liberty: And hearing the lamentable Cries of their Wives and Children, he made Peace with them, upon theſe Conditions, That they ſhould never receive the *Romans*, nor any other People, into Confederacy with them, againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*; nor ſhould ever make Peace or War with any People without the Advice and Conſent of the *Scots* and *Picts*: That all the *Britons*, with their Wives and Children, ſhould depart all the Lands lying by North the *Humber*; and that the ſame ſhould perpetually remain in the Poſſeſſion of the Kings of *Scotland*: And laſtly, That the *Britons* ſhould pay 40000 Pounds of Silver to the Confederate Army, and 20000 of Yearly Tribute to the Confederate Kings; and give an Hundred Men, as Hoſtages for the Performance of theſe Conditions; which Hoſtages muſt not be of Age above Thirty Years, nor under Eighteen. Thus the *Britons*, who had been from the firſt Invaſion of *Julius Cæſar*, 496 Years ſubject to the *Roman* Power, were freed from that Yoke, and made Tributary to the *Scots* and *Picts*, by the abovemention'd Conditions. *Hector Boetius*, in his Book ſays here, That he has collected the preceding Hiſtory from *Verimundus*, *Eutropius* *Paulus Diaconus*, *Bede*, &c.

The Conditions of Peace between the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Britons*.

The Iſle of *Britain* being now at Peace, and in great Quietneſs, *Eugenius* ſpent his Time in repairing the Places ruin'd by the *Romans* and *Britons*, and took great Delight in inſtituting good Laws, and executing Juſtice. He divided ſeveral Lands among his Subjects, to reward their Loyalty, and encourag'd the Monks and Teachers of the *Chriſtian* Religion: And that they ſhould not be burthenſome to the poorer Sort of People, he ordain'd, That they ſhould have an annual Subſiſtance out of the Fruits of the Earth; which was the firſt Inſtitution of Tithes pay'd to the Clergy in *Scotland*.

The King ordains the Tithes of Fruit, for Subſiſtance to the Clergy.

In the Reign of *Eugenius*, many learn'd and religious Men flouriſh'd in the World, as *Anſelmus*, *Philippus*, and *Hillarius*. Pope *Celeſtine* ſent over *Palladius* to *Scotland*, to ſuppreſs the Hereſy of *Pelagius*, which, at that Time, was ſpread over many Countries. This *Palladius* ('tis ſaid) was the firſt Biſhop in *Scotland*, and by him other Biſhops were ordain'd: 'Till then the Churches were govern'd by Monks and Prieſts call'd *Culdee's*. *Palladius* reform'd the *Scots* and *Picts* from many of the Heathen Superſtitions; for which he was call'd *The Apoſtle of the* Scots. He died many Years after in *Fordon*, a Town of *Merns*, where his Body was held in great Eſteem by many Miracles; and it was, by *William Chivis*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's*, brought to that Cathedral Church, and put in a Silver Cover or Coffin, with ſolemn Reverence. *Palladius* made St. *Serff* a Biſhop, and ſent him to the *Orknays*, to plant the *Chriſtian* Faith among the Inhabitants: He alſo gave the Sacrament to *Trevenus*, and made him the chief Biſhop of the *Picts*.

Palladius, the firſt Biſhop in *Scotland*.

About this Time, Pope *Celeſtine* ſent St. *Patrick* into *Ireland*, to preach the *Chriſtian* Faith in that Nation, and to defend them from the Hereſy of *Pelagius*. St. *Patrick* was the firſt Biſhop of *Ireland*, and converted the whole Nation to the *Chriſtian* Faith. At this Time many dreadful Wonders were ſeen in the Iſle of *Britain*, ſuch as Showers of Blood at *York*, and prodigious Thunder and Lightning. The common People would needs interpret theſe Prodigies

to preſage ſome fatal Events; but the Biſhop and Prieſts reprov'd their Superſtition; deſiring them to ſerve GOD, and commit the Events of all Things to His merciful Providence. At this Time the Dominions formerly ſubject to the Emperors of *Rome*, were divided among other People: As for Inſtance the *Franks*, who made a King nam'd *Vharamund*, conquer'd all the Lands betwixt the River *Rhine* and the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, which was to divide *France* from the Kingdoms of *Spain:* The *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Hunns* alſo made great Conqueſts; which *Hunns* living with the *Gari*, a People of that Country, were call'd *Hungari*, from whom that Country took the Name of *Hungary*.

The *Britons*, who had liv'd ſome Time in Peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, paying their Tributes yearly, begun to rebel, by the Advice of *Conanus*, the Son of *Conanus*, ſlain in the laſt Battle. This *Conanus* prevail'd on the common People to raiſe an Army: But the Nobles of the *Britons* remembring their Conditions and Hoſtages, would not liſten to the common People, to join with them. There came alſo a Meſſage from the *Picts* and *Scots*, who had heard of the Deſigns of the *Britons*, reminding them how their Hoſtages were in their Hands: Yet this could not appeaſe the reſtleſs People, who raiſed ſuch Diſturbance, that they fought among themſelves, and ſlew one another, to a great Number. The *Scots* ſent their Heralds to know the Diſpoſitions of the *Britons*, and charg'd them with their Deſigns: But the Nobles of the *Britons* renew'd their Promiſes, to perform the former Conditions; and that they would not hold any Council or Conſultation without the Knowledge of the Confederate Kings.

The *Britons* enjoying Peace for ſeveral Years, gave themſelves to vicious and luxurious living, by which ſuch great Mortality happen'd among them, that the Living was ſcarce ſufficient to bury the Dead. By this Mortality they were ſo weaken'd, that they never recover'd their Strength, but were after ſubdu'd by the *Saxons*; who ſoon poſſeſs'd their beſt Lands, and drove the *Britons* into the remote Parts of the Country, ſuch as *Wales*.

The *Scots* ſeeing the heavy Judgments fallen upon the *Britons* by their Luxury and prophane Living, gave themſelves to true Devotion and Thankfulneſs to GOD, for their own great Felicity; and pray'd daily to the Bleſſed Trinity, to preſerve them from the like dreadful Mortality and Deſolation. While *Scotland* was thus in Peace and Proſperity, the moſt pious and valiant King *Eugenius* died, in the 31ſt Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill* with great Solemnity. He found the Kingdom in great Affliction, by the Loſs of a Battle, and Death of his Father the King; but left it not only free of Trouble from Enemies, but alſo in Poſſeſſion of all the Lands ever poſſeſs'd by their Anceſtors; and the *Romans* diſpoſſeſs'd of all *Britain*; and the *Britons* under Tribute to his Kingdom. He had no Heirs of his own Body, but was happy in two Brethren, nam'd *Dongardus* and *Conſtantine*.

King *Eugenius* his Death.

DONGARDUS. *The* 42 *King of* Scotland.

DONGARDUS, the Brother of *Eugenius* II. ſucceeded in the Year of the World 4421; after the coming of CHRIST 451 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 741. *Dongardus* ſtudied to imitate his Brother *Eugenius* in Piety and Peace; and went over the Realm placing prudent Men in ſundry Places to execute Juſtice. He repair'd all the Fortifications of his Kingdom, to be in ready Defence againſt any Attempt of Enemies; and train'd the People to the Exerciſe of their Arms in Time of Peace. He endow'd the Churches with ſeveral Revenues and Privileges, as, That every Church ſhould be a Sanctuary to any Perſon committing a Crime: The primitive Deſign whereof was, that the Criminals, having the Privilege of the Church for their Safety of Life, might be, by being there, the more frequent and fervent in their Devotions and Prayers to GOD, for Pardon of the Crime and

The good Deſign of making Churches Sanctuaries for Criminals

and Reformation of their Lives. He had *Palladius* in great Reverence, and dedicated Lands to his Church. The *Britons* ſeeing their Kingdom laid waſte by Peſtilence and Famine, were very penitent, and continued daily in their Devotions and Prayer to GOD to pardon their Offences, and to preſerve their Lives from the Grievances of afflicting Death, which rag'd among them ſo long. Thus, by their Devotion and temperate Living, they appeas'd the Wrath of GOD, and were in Felicity; but could not live in Peace while they ſaw themſelves Tributary to the *Scots* and *Picts*. *Conanus* again made an Oration to the *Britons*, to move them to fight for their Liberty; but they knowing their own Weakneſs, and the Strength of the *Scots* and *Picts*, would not venture to give Battle without Support: Therefore they concluded to ſend *Conanus* and *Guiteline* Biſhop of *London*, to *Androne* King of *Britany* in *France*, to implore his Aid; for this *Androne* was but 4 Degrees of Blood from *Conanus*, and the next to the Crown of *Britain*, after the Death of the ſaid *Conanus*: And it happen'd, that *Conanus* dying in his Voyage from *Britain* to *Britany*, *Guiteline* carried him on Shore, and after burying him he went to *Androne*, ſhewing him the Cauſe of his coming, and the Death of *Conanus*, who was the only Perſon betwixt him and the Crown of *Britain*. He then rehears'd the Progreſs of Miſery befalling the *Britons* from Time to Time, eſpecially their preſent miſerable Condition under the *Scots* and *Picts*; and that the Crown deſcending to him by *Conanus*'s Death, he ought to relieve his Kingdom. *Androne* hearing the Calamities of his Relations, told *Guiteline*, That he being of great Age, was not fit to undertake War, but that he would ſend his Son *Conſtantine* over with an Army to try his Fortune. *Conſtantine* came over to *Britain* with *Guiteline*; and being joyfully receiv'd by the *Britons*, was own'd for their King. He rais'd all the fencible Men, with his own Army, to the Number of 60000, and march'd with them to the *Humber*, to recover their Lands, and to invade and deſtroy the *Scots* and *Picts*.

Dongardus hearing of their Approach, rais'd his Army very ſpeedily, with the *Picts*, and march'd to meet the *Britons*. They met near the *Humber*, and fought a Battle; where the *Britons* fought right valiantly, yet were diſcomfited and put to Flight by the Valour of the *Scots* and *Picts*. But the Loſs of the *Scots* was ſo great, that they lamented in their Victory; for the good and valiant King *Dongardus* was ſlain, with 13000 Men of *Scots* and *Picts*; and 17000 *Britons*. The *Scots* were ſo diſcourag'd by the Loſs of the King, that they did not purſue the *Britons*, but return'd home with his Body, and buried it in *Icolmkill*. This King reign'd 5 Years, and loſt his Life in obtaining Victory to his People over their faithleſs Enemies the *Britons*. He left two Sons, nam'd *Congallus* and *Goranus*; but they being under Age, his Brother *Conſtautine* was therefore made King.

The *Scots* obtain Victory over the *Britons*, but King *Dongardus* is ſlain.

CONSTANTINE I. *The* 43 *King of* Scotland.

CONSTANTINE I. the Brother of *Dongardus*, and Son of *Fergus* II. ſucceeded, in the Year of the World 4426, after the coming of CHRIST 456 Years, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 746. He was a ſimple Prince, and moſt unactive of Body and Mind. The *Britons*, after the laſt Battle, were ſo broken, that they had conſulted, and were about to ſend Ambaſſadors to the *Scots* and *Picts*, to renew the former Conditions: But ſeeing *Conſtantine* of ſuch a negligent Diſpoſition, and that he had no Thoughts to proſecute the Victory obtain'd in that Battle, they ſent an Herald to make Peace with him, on Condition, That they ſhould be free from all Tribute and Vaſſalage under the *Scots* and *Picts*: To which *Conſtantine* conſented, without the Advice of his Nobles, and granted ſeveral other Privileges to the *Britons*,

and never conſulted the King of *Picts*, nor his own Nobles. He gave himſelf up to Senſuality and effeminate Diverſions, and ſlighted the Advice and Counſel of the worthy Nobles, who adviſ'd him to revenge his valiant Brother *Dongardus*'s Slaughter. The King of *Picts* alſo complain'd of the negligent Life of *Conſtantine*, and how he had made Peace with the *Britons*, and given up all the Conditions which they were oblig'd to perform by their late Treaty. The Nobles of the *Scots* being thus upbraided by their Neighbours, and abus'd by *Conſtantine*, were reſolv'd to take the Government from him, and crown the lawful Heir, the Son of *Dongardus*. In the mean Time *Conſtantine* the King of the *Britons*, encreas'd his Forces, and ſtrengthen'd his Army daily; which made the *Scots* and *Picts* afraid of his growing Power. However the King of *Picts* us'd a treacherous Plot to deſtroy that valiant and virtuous Prince; for he ſent two *Picts* privately, who got into familiar Acquaintance with the King of *Britain*'s Servants; and waiting an Opportunity, when they found the King alone, they ſtabb'd him. But as Murderers ſeldom eſcape the juſt Puniſhment of Heaven, they were taken, and tormented to Death for the Crime.

About this Time *Conſtantine* had ſeen a young noble Lady, the only Daughter of a Nobleman of the *Iſles*, nam'd *Dugall*, and went in Diſguiſe to carry her away to deflower her: He being accompany'd with a Number of lewd Perſons, laid hold on the Lady to force her away: Whereupon ſhe alarm'd the Servants, and they giving Notice to her Father, he came upon them, and ſlew the King, with ſeveral of his Party. Thus died this *Conſtantine*, after he had reign'd 17 Years, and was buried in *Dunſtaffage*.

CONGALLUS. *The* 44 *King of* Scotland.

CONGALLUS, the Son of *Dongardus*, was crown'd King, in the Marble Chair, in the Year of the World 4443; after the coming of CHRIST 473 Years, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 763. He was a good, pious, and valiant Prince, who repair'd the Negligence of his Uncle *Conſtantine*; and executed Juſtice in all Parts of his Kingdom.

About the Beginning of this Reign, one *Vortigern*, a Nobleman of the *Britons*, us'd all poſſible Arts to get the Crown of *Britain*. He being a very ſubtle deceitful Man, found Means to gain great Favour among the People. He took *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Conſtantine*, the late King of *Britain*, (who was in a religious Houſe, being of a weak Capacity) and made him King; Knowing that he could have great Power, and thereby get Treaſure under him. *Vortigern* made Peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, upon profitable Conditions to them; and caus'd the King of *Britain* to be guarded by 100 Soldiers of *Scots* and *Picts*, for his own Purpoſes. He having got great Treaſure, and a ſtrong Party about the Court, gave a great Reward to two of the Guards to murder the King, upon a certain Night appointed by him; and promis'd he would protect them from all Danger, and give them Preferments. The ſimple Ruffians letting him know the Time, he watch'd, and when he heard them about the Murder, call'd his Attendants, and ruſh'd in haſtily into the King's Bed-chamber, and ſlew the unhappy Wretches (whom he had brib'd) that they might not diſcover his Treaſon. He feign'd great Sorrow for the King's Death, and caus'd apprehend all the *Scots* and *Picts* in or about the Town, and put them to Death, tho' they were innocent of the Murder. By this Treachry and ſubtle Contrivance he obtain'd the Favour and Voices of the People, ſo that he was call'd their Father and Deliverer; having ſo far impos'd on them, as to make them believe, that the *Scots* and *Picts* had contriv'd the Murder of the King, in order to ſubdue the Nation to their Slavery. He made a long Speech, full of Flattery, to the People: And concluded

concluded with his Advice to them, not to make *Ambroſe* the Son of *Conſtantine* King, but ſome Perſon of great Ability and Love to the Common-wealth: Whereupon all the People cry'd aloud, None ſhould be King but *Vortigern*. Thus by Deceit he got the Crown; and when he was made King, he caus'd the Friends and Lineage of *Conſtantine* to be ſlain and baniſh'd. *Ambroſe* and *Uter*, the two Sons of *Conſtantine*, were carry'd into the remote Parts of *Wales*, where they were kept privately by their Foſter-fathers, and after carry'd over to *Brittany*.

Congallus raiſes an Army againſt the *Britons*,

Congallus and the King of *Picts* hearing of the Treachery and Cruelty of *Vortigern* and the *Britons*, rais'd an Army, and enter'd the Lands of the *Britons*, and invaded them with great Severity. The *Britons* hearing of their Invaſion, fled to *Vortigern* to ſupport them: But he knowing how hateful he was to his Enemies, fear'd that if he was overcome in Battle, he could not expect Mercy; and therefore ſent a Meſſenger to *Guiteline* Prince of *Wales*, to raiſe an Army to defend the *Britons* from the Invaſion of the *Scots* and *Picts*: Whereupon *Guiteline* came with an Army againſt them, and when they met, a moſt fierce Battle was fought; where the *Scots* firſt engag'd the *Britons*, and when the *Picts* ſaw the Victory incline to the *Scots*, they went and deſtroy'd all the Tents and Camp of the *Britons*; whereby they were deſtitute of all Shelter, and expos'd to the Enemy, who routed, purſu'd, and kill'd *Guiteline* with 20000 *Britons*; when there were not above 4000 *Scots* and *Picts* loſt in the Battle and Purſuit.

and obtains Victory over them.

The Confederate Kings parted the Spoil of the Field among their valiant Soldiers, and having recover'd all the Places which were formerly poſſeſs'd by them, they return'd home with Joy. *Vortigern* being afflicted at this Loſs, was reſolv'd to leave *Britain*, and go into ſome ſtrange Country: But his Friends adviſed him not to quit the Dignity of a King to live in Exile, without trying his Fortune in a Battle; ſaying that it was more honourable to die in Defence of his Dignity, than leave it without giving ſome Proof of his Valour, as being worthy of a Crown. *Vortigern* was willing to try his Fortune, but could not truſt to the *Britons*, among whom he knew he had many Enemies: Therefore he ſent over Ambaſſadors into *Germany* (then call'd *Almany*) to hire Soldiers and Captains to aſſiſt the *Britons* againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*. There was among the *Saxons* at that Time, a Man (of noble Blood of that Nation) nam'd *Hengiſt*, with his Brother *Orſus*, who hearing the Offers of the *Britiſh* Ambaſſadors, hir'd themſelves with 1000 Men, and came over to *Britain*, and were moſt acceptable to *Vortigern*; and being refreſh'd after their Travel, they march'd North to the *Humber* with ſuch Speed, that the *Scots* and *Picts*, being unprepar'd, were driven out of the Lands lying betwixt *Humber* and *Tyne* Rivers, and ſlew all the People they took Priſoners, without any Mercy. The *Saxons* enter'd *Mers* and *Pentland* with like Cruelty: When the *Picts* had Notice thereof, they arm'd with all Speed, and ſent Notice to *Congallus*, but could not wait for his coming up: They gave Battle to the *Saxons* and *Britons*, and fought with incredible Valour, but were at laſt overpower'd by the Number of their Enemies. *Hengiſt*, who had the Command of the Army from *Vortigern*, having obſerv'd the *Britons* did not fight with that Courage and Reſolution, which the *Picts* and his *Saxons* did; it gave him Hopes, that if he could ſubdue the *Scots* and *Picts*, he could ſoon drive the *Britons* out of their Nation by the Valour of his *Saxon* Troops.

Hengiſt and *Orſus* with 10000 *Saxons* comes over into *Britain*.

Congallus hearing the Loſs of his Confederate King of *Picts*, was much afflicted, and rais'd an Army haſtily, and join'd the *Picts*, and went ſpeedily againſt the *Britons* and *Saxons*, and gave them *Battle*; and the Army of the *Britons* was put to flight by the *Scots*, as alſo one Wing of the *Saxons* by the *Picts*, when a Shower of Snow made ſuch a Cloud of Darkneſs, that they could not ſee the Enemy: But when the Shower was clear'd up, the *Scots* and *Picts* believ'd the Enemies were entirely routed; and run up to purſue their Flight without any Order or Array; which being obſerv'd by *Hengiſt*, he fell upon them with the freſh Body of his Army, and commited great

Slaughter, and put them to Flight before they could recover into any Order. Yet though *Hengiſt* obtain'd Victory by that Accident, he had ſuch Loſs of his Army, that he was oblig'd to retire with them towards *London*, and could not purſue the *Scots* and *Picts*.

The *Scots* and *Picts* ſtill kept their Poſſeſſions of the Lands betwixt *Humber* and *Tyne*; and *Hengiſt* return'd to *York* with his victorious Army, and ſet his Mind to obtain the Crown of *Britain*; and therefore reſolv'd not to proſecute the War againſt the Confederate Kings, but to let them continue Enemies to the *Britons*, that they might be weaken'd by Degrees, and overcome at laſt with the more Eaſe.

Hengiſt left his Army at *York* in their Camp, and went to *London*, where he ſhew'd *Vortigern* with what Hazard he had overcome thoſe *Scots* and *Picts*, who had ſubdu'd and kept the *Britons* in Slavery for ſo many Years; and perſuaded *Vortigern* to ſend a Garriſon of *Britons* to keep the Borders from the Invaſions of the Confederates; and promis'd he would either ſubdue or drive the *Scots* and *Picts* out of *Albion* the next Summer. But many of the *Britons* begun to be jealous of *Hengiſt*, and to ſuſpect his Deſigns, as they after came to paſs: Yet he was in ſuch Authority, that they could not ſpeak their Minds; and *Vortigern*, who had an unjuſt Poſſeſſion, truſted more to *Hengiſt* than the *Britons*, and made him Lieutenant of his Army, with Power to order all Military Affairs as he thought proper. *Hengiſt* ſent 5000 *Britons* to the Border, but being ſoon cut off by the *Scots* and *Picts*, he ſent 10000 more, and they alſo had the Fate of the Former; for the *Scots* and *Picts* rais'd an Army, and ſurrounded them, and ſlew or took every one of them Priſoners; and the *Britiſh* Inhabitants of the North Countries fled to *York*. At this Time landed (by *Hengiſt*'s private Command) 5000 *Saxons*, with their Wives and Children; with whom came over the Wife of *Hengiſt*, nam'd *Hengiſtis*, and his Daughter *Rowena*, a moſt beautiful Virgin; and with them Ten Noblemen of *Saxon* Blood. *Vortigern* was overjoy'd to hear of their coming, but it encreas'd the Jealouſy of the Nobles. *Hengiſt* came to *Vortigern*, and deſir'd a Place of Reſidence for his Wife, and the Wives and Children of the other *Saxons*; which he granted them. They tell a fabulous Story, That *Hengiſt* deſir'd of *Vortigern*, only as much Land in *Yorkſhire*, as a *Saxon* Bull's Hyde would encompaſs; which being granted, he cut the Hyde in very ſmall Thongs, and being ty'd together, they went about a great Space of Ground in that Place, which was called *Towguhan*, where *Hengiſt* built a Caſtle on it; and 'tis ſaid, that That was the firſt Place the *Saxons* ſettled in in *Britain*.

The *Saxon* Women come over to their Husbands in *Britain*.

Hengiſt having ſettled his Wife, and the Families of the *Saxons* in *Yorkſhire*, he prepar'd to invade the Confederate Kings of *Scots* and *Picts*; and getting his Army together, march'd them to the North, and waited for the coming up of *Vortimer*, the Son of *Vortigern*, with the *Britons*: At laſt their Armies join'd and paſs'd over the *Humber*, and the *Scots* and *Picts* came againſt them with an Army, eager to fight the Enemy; but the *Saxons* would not advance to give them Battle, but were reſolv'd to weary the *Scots* and *Picts* with long Stay in the Fields, and pitch'd their Tents under an Hill, which was encompaſs'd with a Moſs or Bogg; but the *Scots* vex'd at this Delay, ſtudied ſome Contrivance to bring them to Battle, and getting about the Hill in the Night, got ſeveral Hundred great Faggots of dry Heath, and put Fire to them, and tumbled them from the Top of the Hill, ſo that they fell all among the Enemies Tents and ſet them on Fire: The *Britons* and *Saxons* being ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, left their Tents, believing that their Enemies were among them, and got in Readineſs on the plain Ground; whereupon the *Scots* put themſelves in Readineſs to fight next Morning by Day-light: Mean Time, *Congallus* exhorted his People to conſider the Valour of their Anceſtors, and how they had defended themſelves from the Force of the *Romans*, and other Powers; and pray'd them never to ſubmit to ſuch Hirelings and Vagabonds as the *Saxons* were. Next Morning when Day appear'd, both Armies join'd in Battle, and fought moſt furiouſly: The *Picts* put the *Britons* to flight, and drove many

many of them into a River, while the *Scots* fought reſolutely with the *Saxons*; but *Hengiſt* had reſerv'd a Part of his Army freſh, which came round the *Scots*, and fell upon their Rear, ſo that they were ſurrounded, yet fought with incredible Courage and Valour, until 4000 of the *Saxons* were ſlain; and had routed their whole Army, but *Congallus*, the King, was wounded, and Night came on them, and parted the Armies. The *Scots* and *Picts* return'd to their Kingdoms, and *Hengiſt* went to *York*, and from thence to *London*, where he was joyfully receiv'd by *Vortigern*, who made him Protector of the Kingdom of *Britons*, and gave him Power to uſe all Towns, Forts, and Military Stores at his Pleaſure. At this Time, *Vortigern* had Notice, that *Ambroſe* and *Utter*, the Sons of *Conſtantine*, were making ſome Preparations in *Britany* to recover the Crown of *Britain*; which News diſturb'd *Vortigern*, and the more becauſe he heard by a Prophecy, that he ſhould be ſlain by *Ambroſe*, whereupon he ſent for *Hengiſt* to conſult him about his Safety from *Ambroſe*; and *Hengiſt*, glad of that Opportunity, told him, That it would be neceſſary to put the *Saxon* Army in all the ſtrong Towns and Forts of that Part of the Kingdom lying next to *France*, and by that Means the Nation would be ſafe from *Ambroſe* and *Utter*'s Invaſion: And as *Hengiſt* ſtudied all Means to deſtroy the *Britons*, and get the Crown and Kingdom to his People; he hir'd a *Saxon* to declare, That he came out of *Pentland*, where he ſaw the Confederate Kings join'd with their Armies; and that a Hundred *Scots* Knights had made an Oath to kill *Hengiſt*. *Vortigern* was aſtoniſh'd at thoſe forg'd Tydings, and demanded of *Hengiſt* what was to be done, whereupon he feign'd to be much afraid alſo; but he had inſtructed two *Saxon* Captains to come to them at that Time, and deſire *Vortigern* to be of good Cheer, for the *Saxons* would be his truſty Friends; and that *Occa*, the Son of *Hengiſt*, would be ready with a new Army of *Saxons*, and deſtroy all the Enemies of the *Britons*. *Vortigern* hearing this, and knowing that he was hated by many Nobles of the *Britons*, he entreated *Hengiſt* to ſend for his Son *Occa*, who came over in few Days with 10000 *Saxons*, and ſent them to take Poſſeſſion of the North Parts of the Kingdom, with their Wives and Children, to defend it from the confederate Kings of *Scots* and *Picts*. *Hengiſt* invited *Vortigern* to his Caſtle of *Towguhan*, to ſee his Wife and Children, where he went with ſome Noblemen of his Friends, and being drunk with Wine, fell in Love with *Rowena*, the Daughter of *Hengiſt*, and married her in few Days after, tho' he was lawfully married before to another Wife; whereupon he gave to *Hengiſt* all the Lands of *Kent*, with all the Caſtles and Garriſons thereof. The *Saxons* went ſoon after, and drove out the Inhabitants thereof, and took Poſſeſſion of it.

Vortigern return'd to *London* with *Rowena*, and turn'd away his lawful Wife, which being made known to *Wodine*, Biſhop of *London*, he went freely to *Vortigern*, the King, and told him how great the Crime was to turn away his lawful Queen, who was a good virtuous Woman, and a good Chriſtian: And that he had, againſt the Law of GOD and Man, married a *Saxon* Woman, who was an Enemy to the Chriſtian Faith; her Father was an Enemy to the Crown of *Britain*, and was certainly reſolv'd to ſubdue it to the *Saxon* Power. *Vortigern* hearing this Reproof of the good Biſhop, acknowledg'd his Crime, and pray'd that GOD would pardon him, and made a moſt penitent Confeſſion of his Crimes: Whereupon *Hengiſt*, who had liſten'd in the next Chamber to all they ſaid, came in full of Fury, and upbraided *Vortigern* for being ſo dejected after his Marriage, and ſlew the Biſhop, and ſeveral other religious Men who reſided with the King: *Hengiſt* alſo ſearch'd for *Vortimer*, the King's Son, to kill him, but he fled and eſcap'd his wicked Deſigns. In the mean Time, *Hengiſt* ſent Letters to *Occa*, his Son, commanding him to forbear any Invaſion of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and ſeek ſome Opportunity to ſlay all the Nobles of the *Britons* in that Part of the Country where he then was, and uſe all Means which might bring the *Britons* under the *Saxon* Power. *Occa* knowing his Father's Mind, took *York*, and all the Places of Strength about it, ſlaying all the Nobles by feign'd Cauſes; and when the reſt complain'd of his Cruelty to *Vortigern*, who demanded the Reaſon why he committed

Hengiſt kills the Biſhop of *London*.

ſuch Barbarity, he anſwer'd, That thoſe Nobles were Enemies to the King becauſe he had entertain'd the *Saxons*, who had ſav'd the King and his Kingdom from the Power of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who had ſubdu'd the *Britons*, and kept them in Subjection ſo many Years; and alledg'd, That thoſe Nobles deſign'd to have ſurrender'd *York*, and many other Strengths, to the *Scots* and *Picts*. The Cruelty of the *Saxons* encreaſing daily againſt the *Britons*, ſo that *Vortigern* ſaw then that they deſign'd to ſubdue his Kingdom, he lamented his Offences for bringing in and encouraging a ſtrange People; nor was he leſs afraid of the *Britons*, knowing how he was hated by them for bringing thoſe Enemies in without their Conſent or Advice.

Hengiſt left *Vortigern*, and went to reſide in *Kent* with the *Saxons*, and caus'd it to be publickly proclaim'd, That all *Britons* ſhould depart that Country, at a Day appointed, upon Pain of Death: The Day being paſs'd, they ſlew all the Nobles and Commons of the *Britons*, and burn'd their Goods, without any Mercy. The *Britons* fled to the Churches for Sanctuary, but were inhumanly murder'd, without Regard to the Place; for the *Saxons* were ſtill unconverted to the Chriſtian Faith, and were encourag'd with Freedom to worſhip their Heathen Idols by *Vortigern*. At their firſt coming into *Britain*, they alſo abus'd the Nuns and religious Women, raviſhing many of them, and driving others out of their Abbies; whereupon, the Nobles of the *Britons* aſſembled at *London*, and upbraided *Vortigern* as the Author of all this Oppreſſion and Cruelty, having put the Enemies of the Realm, and the Faith of CHRIST, in ſuch great Power and Poſſeſſions, and married an Heathen Woman, and abus'd his lawful Wife, who was a good and pious Chriſtian, and of a Royal Deſcent: For which Cauſes and Crimes, they diveſted him of all Power and Authority, and ſent him into *Wales*, to remain Priſoner; and gave the Crown to his Son *Vortimer*.

Vortimer ſends an Ambaſſador to the *Scots* and *Picts*.

Vortimer being made King, intended to be reveng'd on the *Saxons* for their Cruelty, and to drive them out of *Britain*: He ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Kings of *Scots* and *Picts*, ſhewing them, That *Vortigern* his Father had without Advice of the Nobles, brought in, and encourag'd the *Saxons* with Power and Poſſeſſions; which they had employ'd to deſtroy the Realm, and the Chriſtian Religion: For which the *Britons* had depos'd his Father, and made himſelf their King: And that, as he was preparing to give Battle to the *Saxons*, if they would join their Forces with the *Britons* in Confederacy, they ſhould again have all their Poſſeſſions by-north the *Humber*, to remain to their Poſterity in perpetual Property.

Congallus's Anſwer to *Vortimer*.

Congallus anſwer'd the Ambaſſadors, That he was ſorry for the Condition of the *Britons*, but moſt of all for the Danger of the Chriſtian Faith; therefore would not fail to join with the *Britons*, to let the World ſee he would lay aſide all Grudges and Revenges, and hazard All for the Defence of the Catholick Religion. The Ambaſſador had the ſame Anſwer from the King of *Picts*, That he would join the *Scots* to aſſiſt the *Britons*. Bonds of Peace being confirm'd between the Confederates and the *Britons*, the *Scots* and *Picts* gather'd an Army, and invaded *Occa*, who met them with all his *Saxons*; but *Occa* was routed, and the moſt Part of his Army ſlain. He eſcap'd with what remain'd, and fled into the Ship which lay in the *Humber*, and landed in the *Thames*. This Victory being known to *Vortimer*, he rejoic'd, and commanded ſolemn Prayers and Thanks to GOD for his Succeſs, and advanc'd his Army, with the Banner of the Croſs diſplay'd againſt the Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith, and being join'd by the *Scots* and *Picts*, went againſt *Hengiſt* and *Occa* in *Kent*, and routed him in Battle, and put him to Flight; yet they were ſo very merciful to *Hengiſt* and the *Saxons*, that they ſuffer'd them to get Ships and return to their own Country. Thus were the *Saxons* driven out of *Britain*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and the *Scots* again poſſeſs'd the Three Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*. *Rowena*, the Daughter of *Hengiſt*, being taken, was put in the Tower of *London*, becauſe ſhe was with Child by *Vortigern*, where ſhe remain'd Priſoner many Years. In the mean Time, *Vortimer* purg'd all Parts of the Kingdom of the

The *Scots* and *Picts* obtain Victory over the *Saxons*.

Heathen

Heathen Idols, which were ſet up by the *Saxons* in many Churches, and ſent for religious Men to ſeveral Countries. He liv'd in Peace and good Neighbourhood with the *Scots* and *Picts*, but was at laſt poiſon'd by the Contrivance of *Roxana*, the Daughter of *Hengiſt*.

Vortimer being dead, the *Britons* aſſembled and conſulted whether or not *Vortigern* ſhould be taken from Priſon, and reſtor'd to the Crown; or if they ſhould make *Ambroſe*, the Son of *Conſtantine*, the right Heir, their King; but hearing that *Vortigern* had become very penitent, and an Enemy to the *Saxons*, he was moſt proper to govern, becauſe the Sons of *Conſtantine* were young, and unfit to rule, and that they would bring in with them Foreigners, which might prove Enemies to the Nation. *Vortigern* was reſtor'd to the Crown, and remitted all Injuries done to him, and acknowledg'd that his Offences deſerv'd what they had done to him: He rewarded the Nobles who had reſtor'd him, applauding their generous Actions in deſtroying the *Saxons*, and ſent his Ambaſſador to renew the Peace with the Kings of *Scots* and *Picts*, corroborating the Conditions made and agreed on by his Son.

Vortigern living peaceable ſome Time, was ſoon after ſurpriz'd by the Return of *Hengiſt*, and *Octa* his Son, and Three Brethren, with a great Army of *Saxons*, and their Fleet landed in the *Thames* Mouth before *Vortigern* had Notice. Whereupon he ſuddenly arm'd the *Britons*, and went forward to withſtand the *Saxons*. *Hengiſt* knowing the Hatred of the *Britons*, conſider'd that it would be dangerous to hazard a Battle, therefore contriv'd by Deceit what he could not accompliſh by Force; and ſent an Ambaſſador to *Vortigern*, ſhewing, That it was not as an Enemy that he came into *Britain*, but with all the tender Reſpect and Affection for him his Son-in-law, and only wanted to defend the Son of his Daughter by *Roxana*, that he might not be ſlain, ſince *Vortigern* was infirm by Age, and could not expect any other Heirs; therefore his Grand-child had the only Right to ſucceed. He exclaim'd againſt the Murderers of *Vortimer*, ſwearing he would aſſiſt in puniſhing them with the utmoſt of his Power; and ſaid, That he earneſtly deſir'd a Conferrence with *Vortigern*, before what Number of his Nobles he thought proper, and that he ſhould bring only the ſame Number with him, Arm'd or un-arm'd, as *Vortigern* pleas'd to command; for he had Matters of great Importance to communicate to him, concerning the future Peace and Amity of the *Britons* and *Saxons*, and declar'd, if the *Britons* were not willing to give him his former Poſſeſſions in *Kent*, he only deſir'd, that the *Saxons* might have the Goods they left behind them, and they ſhould depart the Kingdom, never to return or diſturb the *Britons* at any Time after.

Long Conſultation was held by *Vortigern* and the Nobles about this Meſſage, and at laſt it was agreed, That *Vortigern* and *Hengiſt* ſhould meet on an Hill call'd *Ambray*, near *Salisbury*, with Thirty Noblemen unarm'd with each, and accordingly *Vortigern* came with Thirty Noblemen, having neither Swords, Daggers, nor any Weapons; but the deceitful *Saxons* brought every One a Dagger hidden in their Sleeves, and when they were in earneſt Communing, *Hengiſt* gave the Signal, and the *Saxons* drew their Daggers, and murder'd all the Nobles of *Vortigern*'s Party, except One, nam'd *Heldalus*, a noble *Briton*, who ſnatch'd a Dagger from a *Saxon*, and ſlew ſeveral *Saxons*, and ſav'd himſelf. By this Treachery *Vortigern* was taken and carried Priſoner to the *Saxon* Army, where he was compell'd to agree, That *Hengiſt*, with the *Saxons*, ſhould take Poſſeſſion of the Lands of the *Britons*, and that *Vortigern*, and all the *Britons*, ſhould retire into the Principality of *Wales*.

The *Britons* are driven out of *Britain* into *Wales*.

Vortigern thus, to ſave his Life, retir'd to *Wales*, and all the *Britons*, with their Wives and Children, were driven out of all their Lands, and paſs'd into *Wales*, where they liv'd many Years after. *Hengiſt* took Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and made himſelf King, and commanded that the Realm, in Time coming, ſhould not be call'd, *The Kingdom of the* Britons, but, *The Kingdom of the* Saxons, and ſo the Realm was call'd *Hengiſtland*, and the People *Hengiſtmen*, and after, by Corruption of Language, they were call'd *Ingliſhmen*, and the Land *Ingland*, or *England*.

England originally ſo call'd.

Hengiſt commanded by Proclamation, That no *Briton* ſhould be found out of *Wales* in 20 Days after, upon Pain of Death: And that none in the Lands poſſeſs'd by *Saxons*, ſhould profeſs the Chriſtian Faith, upon Pain of Death. And, as *Bede* ſays, many reverend Prelates and religious Men were murder'd, and Churches burnt and demoliſh'd; many *Britons* were alſo murder'd, even on the Day aſſign'd, as they were paſſing over the Mountains into *Wales*. Thus the cruel *Saxons* got Poſſeſſion of *England*, and the ancient *Britons* were firſt confin'd into *Wales*. Mean Time *Hengiſt* ſet up the Idols of the Heathens in all the Churches, and ſacrific'd to them. He ſent for great Numbers of ths *Saxons* to reſide in *England*, and planted Garriſons in all Parts of the Borders. *Vortigern* being thus in great Miſery and Shame, remember'd all his Crimes, as the Murder of *Conſtantine* and Uſurpation of the Crown of *Britain*; he began to diſpair of the Merey of GOD, and inclin'd to Propheſies and Aſtrologers to know the Events of future Times: For at that Time liv'd among the *Britons* a Prophet, nam'd *Merline*, (as ſome report, he was begotten by the *Devil* on a lewd *Britiſh* Lady) who was in great Eſteem among the *Britons*. This *Merline* was brought to *Vortigern*, and he deſir'd to know by him, what ſhould become of him and the Son he had by *Roxana*? *Merline* anſwer'd *Vortigern* freely, That he, his Son, and Treaſure ſhould be burnt by *Ambroſe* and *Uter* the Sons of King *Conſtantine*, who was by him murder'd. *Vortigern* upbraided him, and would not have Notice taken of his Prophecy: But it came ſoon to paſs, for *Ambroſe* and *Uter* came out of *Britany* into *Wales* with an Army, to revenge the Death of their Father *Conſtantine*, who was murder'd by the Contrivance of *Vortigern*. When he heard of their coming, he arm'd all his Forces; and was reſolv'd to die in Battle rather than yield to them: And when the two Armies join'd, many of the *Britons* left *Vortigern* and join'd *Ambroſe*, whereby the Victory ſoon inclin'd to him; and *Vortigern* ſeeing them victorious, tore off his Armour, and would fight to be ſlain, but his Army carry'd him off to his Caſtle, to ſave his Life; but the Army of *Ambroſe* beſieg'd it, and when they had been ſome Days at the Siege, they were not willing to ſpend long Time, therefore got Faggots of Wood, Heath, and other combuſtable Stuff, and ſet Fire to the Caſtle, and threw in many of the Fiery Faggots over the Walls, which ſet the Caſtle in a Flame, and burn'd *Vortigern* to Aſhes, with all that remain'd in it, according to the Prediction of *Merline*.

After his Death *Ambroſe* had a numerous Army, and the *Britons* acknowledg'd him their lawful King: And by Advice of the Nobles, he ſent an Ambaſſador to the Kings of *Scots* and *Picts*, imploring their Aid againſt the *Saxons*. *Congallus* anſwer'd the Ambaſſador, That he was ready to aſſiſt *Ambroſe* to reſtore the Chriſtian Faith, and him to his Kingdom: But being then infirm and of great Age, he ſent his Brother *Goranus* his General; who went with *Lothus* King of the *Picts*, and join'd *Ambroſe* with a numerous Army of *Scots* and *Picts*; and they march'd againſt the *Saxons* with diſplay'd Banners. *Hengiſt* being appris'd of their coming, got all the Strength of the *Saxons* into an Army, and met the Confederate Kings at a Place call'd *Mahesbel*, where they fought a moſt deſperate Battle with great Cruelty on both Sides. But the *Scots* and *Picts* fought ſo furiouſly, that they cut down both Wings, and came through to the Rear of the Centre with diſplay'd Banners, and enclos'd the *Saxons* between them and the *Britons*, and ſlew them till few remain'd: *Hengiſt* was the laſt Man that fled, and being ſeen by *Ambroſe*, he purſu'd him and run him through the Body with a Spear, ſo that he died on the Field: *Occa* his Son fled with the remnant of their Army to the next Mountains, but *Ambroſe* purſu'd them in all Parts, till they were deſtroy'd: And when he came to *London*, the *Saxons* there fell upon their Knees, imploring Mercy. So good and merciful was *Ambroſe*, that he ſpar'd their Lives, and gave them Time to leave the Kingdom. Thus the *Saxons* were entirely driven out of all the Realm, except ſome poor Perſons who hir'd themſelves as Labourers and became Chriſtians. *Ambroſe* burn'd all the Heathen Idols of the *Saxons*, and repair'd all the Churches, and gave many rich

The *Saxons* overcome in Battle by the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Britons*.

Hengiſt ſlain by *Ambroſe*.

rich Ornaments to them, with competent Livings to religious Men, and promoted the Chriſtian Faith. He brought his Army to *London*, where he invited the Confederate Princes, *Lothus* King of *Picts*, and *Goranus* Brother to the King of *Scots*, as the Deliverers of the Realm from the *Saxon* Bondage; and made Proviſion for their Army near the City, and rewarded them with Riches. He renew'd the Bonds of Peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, and declar'd that the Lands lying betwixt *Humber* and *Tyne* ſhould remain to them for ever; and that the Alliance might be the ſtronger, *Lothus* King of *Picts* married *Anna* the Siſter of *Ambroſe*, and *Goranus* married *Ada* his other Siſter, they both being Ladies of exceeding great Beauty. The *Scots* and *Picts* return'd home, and liv'd many Years in Peace with the *Britons*.

King *Congallus* having liv'd to a good old Age, died in the 22 Year of his Reign, and was buried in the Abby of *Icolmkill*. In his Reign were many holy Men in the World, among whom was *Remegius* Biſhop of *Rhymes*, who baptiz'd *Clodovicus* the firſt Chriſtian King of *France*: In *Scotland* were *Coleman*, *Medaneus*, and *Modan*, great Preachers of the Chriſtian Doctrine. *Congallus* left three Sons, nam'd *Eugenius*, *Congallus*, and *Kinotellus*, but they being of tender Age, he was ſucceeded by *Goranus* his Brother. King *Congallus*'s Death.

GORANUS. *The* 45 *King of* Scotland.

GORANUS, (by ſome nam'd *Conranus*) the Brother of *Congallus*, ſucceeded in the Government, in the Year of the World 4463; after the Coming of CHRIST 493 Years; and of the Monarchy of *Scotland*, 783. He was a moſt valiant and pious Prince, and a great Lover of Juſtice. He ſent the Sons of *Congallus* to the Iſle of *Man*, to be educated under pious and learn'd Preceptors; and went over the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, and appointed Judges to try all Crimes, and puniſh Offenders. He ordain'd, That the Commons being at any Time oppreſs'd or wrong'd by the Nobles, they ſhould make a Roll of the ſaid Crimes, and deliver it unto an Advocate or Lawer appointed by the King to proſecute the Nobles, in the King's Name and Authority. This was the firſt Inſtitution of the Sovereign's Advocate; which Office and Form is ſtill obſerv'd in *Scotland* to this Day. *Goranus* took grear Delight in Hunting, and kill'd a Hart upon the *Granbian* Hills, of a prodigious Bulk; and when it was open'd, there were found in his Belly a Number of large Adders or Snakes; by which the common People judg'd the Harts Bones and Horn to be a good Remedy againſt the Venom or Biting of a Serpent or Adder.

At this Time *Ambroſe* King of *Britons*, was taken with languiſhing Diſeaſes of Body, and could not be cur'd by the Help of Medicine; alſo his Brother *Uter* Prince of *Wales*, was ſeiz'd with violent Fevers and a vehement Flux. And *Occa* and *Paſſentius*, the Sons of *Hengiſt* hearing of their Conditions, gather'd an Army by the Aid of *Allamany*, and return'd into *Britain*. *Ambroſe* aſſembled the Nobles to conſult what was to be done, and who ſhould command the Army againſt the *Saxons*; and finding the Nobles divided in their Sentiments, he order'd a Horſe Litter to be got ready, and headed his Army; and ſent Notice to the Kings of *Scots* and *Picts*, but could not wait for their coming up: He gave Battle to the *Saxons*, and routed them; but with ſo much Loſs of his Army, that he could not purſue the Victory, and agreed to a Ceſſation of Arms for 4 Months with them, till the coming up of the *Scots* and *Picts*. *Occa* ſent his Brother *Paſſentius*, to bring over more *Saxons*, and in the mean Time contriv'd how to deſtroy *Ambroſe*; which he did, by hiring a *Saxon*, nam'd *Coppa*, to poiſon him. The *Saxon* underſtood the Language of the *Britons*, by which he made them believe him to be a *Briton*; and pretended Knowledge of Medicines for the Diſeaſe which *Ambroſe* was troubl'd with. By this Means he found Oppor-

Ambroſe King of *Britain* poiſon'd by a *Saxon.*

tunity to give the King of *Britain* a Draught of Poiſon; and while he pretended the King was to ſleep, made his Eſcape to the *Saxons*. *Ambroſe* was found dead, and was buried in the Abby of *Stenheng*; which was built by him, in Memory of the Noblemen murder'd there, by the Treachery of *Hengiſt*.

Ambroſe being dead, and *Uter* his Brother was ſo afflicted with long Sickneſs, that he could not defend the *Britons*; ſo that *Occa* found the leſs Difficulty to overcome them. In the mean Time the *Scots* and *Picts* gather'd their Armies, but when they heard of the Death of *Ambroſe*, and that the *Britons* were divided amongſt themſelves, they return'd home with their Armies. *Uter* was made King of *Britain*; and the People came to him into *Wales*, making grievous Complaints, of the Cruelty and Oppreſſion of the *Saxons*.

'Tis reported, that many ſtrange Sights were ſeen in *England* at that Time; as, a Fiery Dragon was ſeen in the Air, with other Fiery Commets; and the River *Thames* run with Blood; as alſo, that in *York* Blood was ſeen in Streams over the Streets: In *Kent*, a Child was heard to laugh aloud in the Mother's Womb: And it is ſaid, that *Merline*, who liv'd and propheſy'd at that Time, interpreted thoſe ſtrange Sights to ſeveral Purpoſes: He having told *Uter*, That the crown'd Fiery Dragon foretold his Victory over the *Saxons*, he therefore took the crown'd Dragon for his Armorial and Enſign.

Uter rais'd an Army, and gave the Command of it to one *Natholiodus*, who went againſt the *Saxons*; but the *Britons* being divided amongſt themſelves, were routed, and oblig'd to make Peace with the *Saxons*, and gave them up the Lands of *Kent*, and all along the Sea near *Cornwall*, and *Uter* and the *Britons* were confin'd to Part of *England* and *Wales*, where they liv'd ſeveral Years. Mean Time the *Saxons* ſet up Heathen Idolatry in *England*, and thereby brought over many from the Chriſtian Faith, ſo that many Articles of Religion was quite laid aſide, and many Prelates and Prieſts fled out of the Nation. Thus *Uter*, who in the Days of *Amlroſe* had been a virtuous and valiant Prince, gave himſelf up to all manner of wicked Courſes; and having made a riotous Feaſt in *London*, he invited the Nobles of the *Britons* and their Wives to the Banquet: He there ſaw the Wife of *Gorlois* Prince of *Cornwall*, and offer'd her Gold and Jewels to conſent to his Luſt; but ſhe refuſing, fled with her Husband into *Cornwall*, whither he went (as ſome ſay in Diſguiſe) and found Means to obtain his Deſire, and got her with Child of *Arthur*, afterwards King of *Britons*. He afterwards ſlew her Huſband to enjoy her; and when *Arthur* came to Age, *Uter* made the *Britons* ſwear on the Holy Evangeliſts, That they would make him King, and obey none but him during his Life-time, after he, the ſaid *Uter* was dead. But *Lothius* King of the *Picts* hearing that *Uter* had ſettled the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Britain* upon his unlawful Son gotten in Adultery, he lay'd Claim to the Succeſſion in the Right of his Sons by the eldeſt Siſter of *Ambroſe* and *Uter*. And when *Lothus* found *Uter* would not hearken to his juſt Pretenſion, he reſolv'd to watch an Opportunity to make his Claim good.

At this Time two *Saxon* Captains, nam'd *Terdix* and *Kinirk*, with a Number of Forces arriv'd in *England*, and were well receiv'd by *Occa*, who had ſent them Notice to come over. But the *Britons* were afraid of their Deſigns, and *Uter* ſent an Herald to *Occa*, deſiring him to return thoſe *Saxons*, becauſe it was againſt the Bands of Peace lately contracted. *Occa* ridicul'd his Meſſage, and ſent Word, That ſince he only wanted to have Occaſion for War by ſuch a Meſſage; he would be ready, and fight till either *Saxons* or *Britons* were utterly deſtroy'd. This Anſwer ſo terrify'd *Uter*, that he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Occa* with large Sums of Gold to continue in Peace. He receiv'd the Gold, and ſent back the Ambaſſador without any Anſwer. The *Britons* ſeeing this Affront, had no Hopes of Peace, therefore prepar'd for War.

Lothus King of *Picts*, knowing of this Diviſion, offer'd himſelf and People to ſupport *Occa*, that he might deſtroy *Uter*, becauſe he had defrauded his Son of the Crown of *Britain*; and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Goranus* to concur in his Deſigns: But *Goranus* refus'd, ſaying, He would neither violate his Faith

Faith with the *Britons*, nor aſſiſt Heathens, who were Enemies to the Chriſtian Faith, againſt a Chriſtian People. Mean Time the *Britons*, knowing the Preparations of the *Picts* and *Saxons*, complain'd to the Church-men; and the holy Biſhops *Germanus* and *Severus* commanded them to aſſemble their Army, and commit themſelves to GOD. The Army being aſſembled on *Eaſter-Sunday*, the Biſhops went to Divine Service: While they continu'd in their Worſhip the *Saxons* and *Picts* Army came up to them; and *Germanus* undertook to lead the advance Body of the Army, and carry'd the diſplay'd Banner of the Croſs in his own Hand, being attended with Prieſts and holy Men. When the two Armies join'd in Battle, the Prieſts cry'd with a loud Voice, ALLELUJAH; and their Voices, with the reſounding Eccho of a rocky Mountain, made ſuch a ſtrange and prodigious Noiſe, that the Enemies were aſtoniſh'd with ſuch exceeding great Fear and Terror, that they could not fight, but fled from before the *Britiſh* Army, which purſu'd them to a River, where they were moſt miſerably drown'd.

Yet notwithſtanding of this miraculous Victory obtain'd by the *Britons*, they gave themſelves to wicked Courſes of Life, which was reprov'd by their Biſhops and Prieſts; but they did not regard their Advice, till *Occa* came upon them with his Army. They arm'd themſelves, and were commanded by *Nathliodus*, and join'd Battle with the *Saxons*, wherein they were routed, and *Nathliodus* was ſlain, as alſo *Occa* with many of the *Saxons*. After *Occa* was ſlain, the *Saxons* made his Son *Occa* their King. This *Occa* remembring that the *Picts* had aſſiſted the *Britons*, reſolv'd to invade them, but fearing the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots* to ſupport the *Picts*, he ſent to *Almany*, and brought over one *Colgern* with a Number of *Saxons*, and ſent him againſt the *Picts*. He invaded the Lands lying between the *Humber* and the *Tyne*, with a powerful Army, and made Peace with the *Britons*. The *Scots* ſeeing the *Picts* invaded, raiſed their Army and join'd the *Picts*, according to their ancient Allegiance: And King *Goranus* exhorted his Army to remember the valiant Deeds of their Anceſtors, and not to be afraid of the Number or Power of the *Saxons*. The Confederate Kings of the *Scots* and *Picts* being join'd, they went againſt the *Saxons* and gave them Battle, but were routed, and return'd into *Galloway*; and the *Saxons* having loſt the beſt Part of their Army, retreated over the *Tyne*. *Occa* made this *Colgern* Prince of *Northumberland*, and fortify'd all the Strengths between the *Humber* and the *Tyne*; and then invaded the *Britons*, and drove them out of *England* into *Wales*. King *Uter* being ſtill ſick of a vehement Flux, was poiſon'd by a *Saxon*, who was hir'd and inſtructed by *Occa*, and gave him a Draught of poiſon'd Drink inſtead of Phyſick for his Diſeaſe.

The Scots and Picts are routed by the Saxons.

About this Time many learn'd Men flouriſh'd, particularly *Boetius* the *Roman* Senator, who was expert in Theology, Philoſophy, and the Mathematicks; as alſo St. *Benedict*, who was the firſt that inſtituted Men of that religious Order. St. *Bridgeta* the holy Virgin, being but 14 Years of Age, dedicated her Virginity and Life to GOD, and was confirm'd by the Biſhop of the Iſle of *Man*: She wore a Leather Belt about her Middle, over a white Habit, (in ancient *Scots* call'd a Kirtle) with a Vail over her Head and Shoulders. She was held in great Reverence and Reſpect in *Scotland*, as alſo in *Ireland*, where ſhe wrought many Miracles. She died in the 10th Year of the Reign of *Gonarus*, and was buried at *Abernethy*, a Town on the River *Tay*: But the *Iriſh* will have it, that ſhe died in *Ireland*, and was buried in *Down*. In Memory of her ſingular Piety and holy Life many Churches are dedicated to her. In *Scotland* alſo was the holy Man *Convallanus*, Abbot of *Icolmkill*, who liv'd a ſanctify'd Life many Years.

Lothus King of the *Picts* hearing of *Uter*'s Death, ſent his Ambaſſadors to the *Britons*, deſiring the Crown to his Son by *Anna* the Daughter of *Conſtantine* and Siſter to *Ambroſe* and *Uter*; but the *Britons* ſlighted his Embaſſy, and gave no Anſwer, but made *Arthur* their King: And *Arthur* gather'd an Army of *Britons*, and fought againſt the *Saxons* about ten Miles from *London*, and routed them with ſuch Slaughter, that they became tributary to the

Arthur made King of Britain.

Britons. After this Victory *Arthur* went with his Army againſt the *Saxons* and *Picts* in *Northumberland*, and fought a Battle againſt them, wherein the *Picts* and *Saxons* were routed, and purſu'd to *York*: Where they fortify'd the City, and *Arthur* laid Siege to it, but *Occa* coming over with a Number of *Saxons*, came upon *Arthur*, and routed his Army, and made him retire to *Wales*; leaving behind him *Howel* Prince of *Britany* with an Army, to withſtand the Enemy till the Winter Seaſon was over; and then *Arthur* return'd to *London* with his Army, and overthrew *Occa* and *Colgern* in ſeveral Battles, and went to *York*, which he took by Stratagem the 3d Day after: For he ſent a *Briton* into the City among the *Saxons*, who was undiſcover'd till he open'd the Gate in the Night for the *Britons*, who took the City and put all the *Saxons* to Death, and ſav'd the Inhabitants. In that Summer he ſo weakn'd the *Saxons*, that his People fear'd no Enemies the next Winter, which made them negligent and ſlothful, and much given to Luxury and riotous Living. The Holy-days of *Chriſtmaſs* was kept by King *Arthur* with great Plenty of Feaſting and Mirth; but inſtead of ſpending the Thirteen Holy-days according to the Inſtitution of the holy Catholick Church, in Devotion to GOD, and in innocent Diverſions; the *Britons* corrupted that Cuſtom into Revelling and riotous Living; more like the Feaſts of the *Gentiles* in Honour of their Idols *Bacchus*, *Flora*, and *Priapus*, than the reverend and joyful Commemoration of the Birth of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, and his holy Apoſtles and Martyrs. The *Britons* were ſo enervated by their Luxury and Luſt, that they could not in ſome Years after obtain the Freedom of their Country from the *Saxons*: But at laſt *Arthur* and *Lothus* King of the *Picts*, came to an Agreement, upon the Conditions that the Son of *Lothus* ſhould ſucceed *Arthur* in the Kingdom of the *Britons*.

Peace being thus concluded betwixt the *Picts* and *Britons*, and *Arthur* ſeeing the *Saxons* ſtill continue in the Worſhip of Idols, defying and reviling the Catholick Faith, he ſent to the Confederate Kings of *Scots* and *Picts*, imploring them to join with him to deſtroy the *Saxons*, who were Enemies to the Chriſtian Faith, out of the Iſle, and to protect the true Religion. *Goranus* the King of *Scotland*, moſt readily offer'd to join with the *Britons* and *Picts*, and they rais'd their Armies and join'd the *Britons*, and invaded the *Saxons*, and brought them to a Battle, where the *Scots* ſlew *Kinrick* a *Saxon* Prince, and *Lothus* ſlew *Colgern* with the moſt Part of their Army. *Occa* was wounded by *Arthur*, and fled into a Ship, with which he return'd into *Almany*; and the reſt of the *Saxons* were ſo broken, that none were permitted to ſtay in the Realm but ſuch as became Servants to the *Britons*, and receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith. The *Almains* or *Germans* ſeeing the *Saxons* return in ſuch a miſerable Condition, ſwore they would be reveng'd on the People who had ſo ſhamefully abus'd them, as they ſaid. Many of the *Saxons* who pretended to receive the Chriſtian Faith, did it only to have Time to wait their better Fortune to be reveng'd of the *Britons*; for many of them were ſlain for retaining the Worſhip of the Idols privately. Soon after there return'd many *Saxons*, and rais'd an Army in *Kent*; and *Arthur* ſent Notice to *Goranus* and *Lothus*, who ſent *Eugenius* the Son of *Congallus*, late King of *Scotlond*, and *Modred* Son to *Lothus* and next Heir of *Arthur*, with 20000 *Scots* and *Picts*, who join'd the *Britons*. Mean Time the *Saxons* contriv'd many deceitful Wiles to betray the Confederates, but none prov'd effectual; and the three Armies gave the *Saxons* Battle, and routed and ſlew every one they could overtake. Thus was the Nation again deliver'd from the *Saxons*, and none left in the Realm, that could be ſeen by the *Britons*. At this Time the Princes of the *Scots* and *Picts* were entertain'd at *London* many Days with great Joy and Affection by *Arthur*, who gave their two Armies much Riches, to reward the great Service they had done, in delivering the *Britons* and their Kingdom from the *Saxons*, whoſe Cruelty had almoſt ruin'd the Nation. After mutual Teſtimonies of great Reſpect and Affection, the Confederate Princes took Leave of King *Arthur*, and return'd with their Armies to *Scotland* and *Pentland*.

Goranus

Goranus, King of *Scotland*, being of great Age, and feeble, made one *Tonſet* Chancellor of the Kingdom: He was a moſt cruel Oppreſſor, and us'd all Manner of Artifices to get great Riches, pretending it was to the King's Treaſury; whereupon the Nobles, who were injur'd by him in many of their Privileges, ſeeing ſome Perſons put to Death, contrary to the Laws of the Nation, aſſembled and conſulted what was to be done with the Chancellor, and concluded to have him puniſh'd by the Law; but in the Time of their Conſultation, he was ſlain by Two Servants of *Donald*, Captain of the *Athol*-men, who had their Maſter's Orders. The King was offended at this Murder of the Chancellor, and was reſolv'd to puniſh *Donald*, but died ſoon after of long Sickneſs, in the Thirty Fifth Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*. *Goranus* his Death.

EUGENIUS III. *The* 46 *King of* Scotland.

EUGENIUS III. the Son of *Congallus*, ſucceeded in the Year of the World 4498, after the coming of CHRIST 528 Years, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 818. *Juſtinian*, the Emperor, liv'd in his Days, who inſtituted many good Laws in *Rome*, and recover'd ſeveral Nations which had been conquer'd from the *Roman* Empire. This King *Eugenius* was a moſt generous and juſt Prince, and reliev'd all indigent Perſons out of the publick Treaſury, and ſat in Judgment often to hear the Grievances of his Subjects, doing them ſpeedy Juſtice when wrong'd by any One; by which Means he got the entire Love of his Subjects. *Arthur*, King of the *Britons*, liv'd at this Time in great Plenty and Felicity, and renew'd the Band of Peace with *Eugenius* and the *Picts*. There are many fabulous Reports of this King *Arthur*, which are not worthy of mention; but 'tis certain, that he was a valiant Prince, of great Strength of Body, as well as perſonal Courage, and delighted much in manly Exerciſes, and exceeded many of his Time in Tournaments and Tilting, which was the Exerciſe of that Age. He had many valiant Knights kept as his Familiars, and that they ſhould not contend for Precedency at Dinner, he had a round or Oval Table, which had no End, becauſe the upper End was uſually eſteem'd the Firſt Seat at Table. The *Britons* made *Arthur* revoke his Alliance with the *Picts*, and ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown, after his own Death, on *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Cadorus*, Prince of *Cornwall*, who was near related to *Arthur*, by his Mother.

At this Time died *Lothus*, King of the *Picts*, and all the Lands lying about *Pentland* to the *Forth*, were call'd from him *Lothian*. After his Death, *Modred* his Son, was made King of the *Picts*, and ſent to *Arthur*, charging him and the Nobles of the *Britons*, with Violation of their Oaths and Promiſes to his Father *Lothus*. The Nobles of the *Britons* anſwer'd, That the Promiſes were only made by *Arthur* to *Lothus*, and that he being dead, the Obligation was void, and that they had ſettled the Succeſſion on a Prince of their own Blood Royal, ſince it was dangerous to bring in a foreign Prince to their Crown; and that they had conſider'd it would bring the *Britons* into Subjection to the *Picts*, to have a King of their Blood to rule over them. Theſe Anſwers enrag'd the King of the *Picts* ſo that he ſwore Revenge on the *Britons* for their Perfidy in defrauding him of his juſt Right. He ſent his Ambaſſador to the King *Eugenius* to ſupport him in his Claim, and they gather'd an Army to invade the *Britons*; King *Arthur* alſo rais'd an Army, and went againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, and when they came within Sight of one another, ſeveral Biſhops of the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Britons* met, and conſulted a Mediation, and went to the ſeveral Armies, ſhewing them, That they ought to live in Peace and Amity amongſt themſelves, and that a cruel War would not only be deſtructive to the Common-Wealths, but alſo would give Opportunity to the

Saxons to invade the Nation with Succeſs. *Eugenius* and *Modred* gave Ear to the Biſhops, and were ſatisfy'd to continue Peace, if that the *Britons* would fulfill their Contract to the King of *Picts*. The Biſhops went to *Arthur*, and perſwaded him to Peace, yet the Friends of *Conſtantine* would not hear of it, but importun'd *Arthur* to give Battle, ſaying, It would be diſhonourable in *Arthur* to return without Revenge, ſince the *Scots* and *Picts* had invaded his Realm. The Two Armies agreeing upon no Conditions of Peace, join'd in Battle, and fought moſt deſperately; and when the *Britons* ſuffer'd great Slaughter, a Voice was heard to cry aloud over the Army of the *Britons*, *Flee, flee*, Arthur *is kill'd*, which terrify'd the *Britons* ſo, that they threw down their Weapons and fled to the River *Humber*, where many of them were drown'd by the furious Purſuit of the *Picts* and *Scots*. In this Battle fell King *Arthur*, with 30000 *Britons*, and *Modred*, King of the *Picts*, with near 20000 of the *Picts* and *Scots*: All the Spoil of King *Arthur*'s Camp was divided among the *Scots* and *Picts* by the Cuſtom of War, and *Guanora*, Queen to King *Arthur*, was taken Priſoner with many of the *Britiſh* Ladies; who were carried by the *Picts* to *Angus*: *Guanora* liv'd in a Town call'd *Megle*, till ſhe died, and was buried there, and a ſumptuous Tomb erected over her Sepulchre.

Eugenius, after his Return into *Scotland*, rewarded his Army, and the Friends of thoſe who were ſlain in the Battle; and ordain'd their valiant Deeds to be recorded, to preſerve the Example of their Valour to Poſterity. He alſo gave his Nobles and Men of Courage, Devices of ſeveral wild Beaſts, and other Things, to be worn by them for their Enſigns or Coats of Arms, and to be engraven on their Arms: He likewiſe ordain'd, That when any Nobleman overcame an Enemy, he was to have the Device or Arms of the ſaid Enemy added to his own, which was call'd his Atchievment by Victory. This was the firſt Inſtitution of bearing Coats of Arms in *Scotland*, except what was worn on the King's Banner.

King *Eugenius* ordains the noble and valiant Men of his Kingdom to carry Coats of Arms.

About this Time, came *Turmirik*, Prince or Duke of *Saxons*, into *England*, he with a numerous Army, and overcame the *Britons*, and drove them into *Wales* with *Conſtantine* their King; who fearing Danger in *Wales*, fled over to *Ireland*, where he liv'd among the poor People, unknown for many Years, and when he was known by the Monks, he went into a Monaſtry, and liv'd a religious Life.

This *Turmerik* ordain'd the Doctrine of CHRIST to be preach'd among his People. He made Peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, and kept Poſſeſſion of *England*, during his Life-time.

Eugenius liv'd many Years in great Felicity, being well belov'd by his Subjects, and honour'd by his Neighbours. He died in the 38 Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

CONGALLUS II. *The* 47 *King of* Scotland.

CONGALLUS II. ſucceeded his Brother *Eugenius* in the Year of the World 4436, after the coming of CHRIST 566 Years, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 856. He was a good, pious, and virtuous Prince, and gave his Mind to nothing ſo much as the zealous Promotion of the Chriſtian Faith: He commanded the Sign of the Croſs to be painted in all publick Places, eſpecially in the Churches and his Palaces, to put his People in mind of the Pains which our bleſſed Saviour ſuffer'd on it for the Redemption of Mankind; and had a Silver Crucifix carried before him where he travel'd, and kiſs'd it always before he mounted his Horſe; he alſo caus'd it to be engraven and ſet about with theſe Words in Golden Letters, *This is the Glory of Chriſtian People*. He made many religious Laws for the Good and more reverend Reſpect of the Church and Clergy, ſuch as, That any Man who ſhould ſtrike a Biſhop or Prieſt, was to have his Hand cut off: Whoever kill'd a Biſhop, Prieſt,

King *Congallus* makes many religious Laws.

Prieſt, or any religious Man, ſhould be burnt, and his Goods given to the Poor: Any that was curs'd, or excommunicated by the Authority of the Church, ſhould have no Benefit of the Laws, nor any Priviledge of a free Subject. And the King ordain'd a certain Portion of Land next adjoining the Churches, to the Prieſts for their Subſiſtance, and purchas'd many Jewels and rich Ornaments for the Churches. He ordain'd, That no Man ſhould enter the Church with their Heads cover'd, as he always had done himſelf. The Fame of King *Congallus*'s religious Work brought many religious Men into *Scotland*, as St. *Colm* from *Ireland*, and St. *Mungo*, who was afterwards made Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.

St. *Colm* preach'd the Doctrine of CHRIST, and his holy Apoſtles, among the *Picts*, and reform'd them from the *Pelagian* Hereſy; and the King built an Abbey at *Dunkell*, where St. *Colm* ſtay'd and preach'd often before him. This Abbey was a moſt beautiful Building, being all of poliſh'd ſquare Stones: It was after made the Cathedral Church of that Dioceſs.

St. *Colm* went into *Ireland*, where he ſhew'd the Prince of that Country the great Example of Piety which *Congallus* was to all Chriſtian Princes. At that Time, *Aidanus*, the Son of *Goranus*, reſided in *Ireland*, being brought there by his Mother from the Iſle of *Man*, in the Reign of *Eugenius*: And St. *Colm* took *Aidanus*, and return'd to *Scotland* to preſent him to *Congallus*, but, to his great Affliction, he met the Corps of *Congallus*, with all his Nobles in great Lamentations, carrying it to *Icolmkill*, where St. *Colm* attended them, and perform'd the Funeral Obſequies with great Reverence and Devotion.

Congallus reign'd Ten Years, and died much lamented by all his Subjects and Neighbours. *Kinatellus*, Brother to *Congallus*, who was appointed to govern, receiv'd St. *Colme*, and his Nephew *Aidanus*, with great Reſpect, and entertain'd *Aidanus* as the Heir of the Crown. St. *Colm* was held in great Reverence by the King and People; and St. *Mungo*, Grandſon to *Lothus*, King of the *Picts*, by his Daughter, was made Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, and preach'd the Doctrine of CHRIST, and inſtructed the People for many Years.

KINATELLUS. *The* 48 *King of* Scotland.

KINATELLUS ſucceeded his Brother *Congallus* in the Year of the World 4546, after the coming of CHRIST 576 Years, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 866. He was a good pious Prince, and follow'd the Example of his Brother *Congallus*; and it is ſaid, That when he receiv'd *Aidanus*, he told the People, that they muſt look upon *Aidanus* as their King, for that he ſhould ſoon enjoy the Crown, and would deliver the Nation from many Troubles. This *Kinatellus* ſpoke (as People imagin'd) by divine Revelation, for ſoon after he was taken with Sickneſs, and ſent for St. *Colm*, and told him he was to paſs ſoon out of this World, and deſir'd the Aſſiſtance of his Devotion. He ordain'd *Aidanus* to be crown'd in the Marble Chair; and after giving the King many good Inſtructions, both for the Worſhip of GOD, and the good Government of his People, he apply'd himſelf to his Devotion, being conſtantly attended by St. *Colm*, and gave up his Soul to his Saviour with many fervent Prayers, and deceas'd the firſt Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

Aidanus crown'd King.

AIDANUS. *The* 49 *King of* Scotland.

AIDANUS, the Son of *Goranus*, ſucceeded, and was crown'd in the Marble Chair in the Year of the World 4557, after the coming of CHRIST 577, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 867. St. *Colm* aſſiſted at

the Coronation of *Aidanus*, and put the Diadem on his Head: He exhorted the People to fear GOD, and give due Obedience to Him who was the Author of all Bleſſings; and having read the Commands of GOD, he told the People, That if they would keep thoſe divine Commands, they might expect to be happy in their Kingdom, and be better defended by the Protection of the Almighty GOD, than by the greateſt Strength of human Power: At the ſame Time he exhorted the King to rule and govern his People according to the Power and Truſt committed to him by the divine Laws and Permiſſion of the Almighty GOD; and to keep and deſire Peace among his Subjects and Neighbours, according to the Commands of GOD.

St. *Colm* went into the Iſles, and reſided in the Abbey of *Icolmkill*, where many religious Men liv'd, performing yearly Devotions for the Souls of the deceas'd Kings.

Aidanus was a good and virtuous Prince, and govern'd with Juſtice and Equity; but as too long Peace makes People reſtleſs, ſome of his Subjects committed great Crimes againſt the Laws of the Nation, and fearing Puniſhment from the King's Juſtice, they fled unto the *Picts*, and were protected by *Brudus*, their King.

War breaks out between the *Scots* and *Picts*.

Aidanus ſent to *Brudus* to return thoſe Criminals, but *Brudus* ſent ſeveral Excuſes, which occaſion'd Quarrels between both Nations, ſo that at laſt they had ſeveral Skirmiſhes, which brought on a War between the *Scots* and *Picts*, and they fought a deſperate Battle, where the *Scots* routed the *Picts* with great Slaughter: The Loſs of the *Scots* were very great in this Battle, for they loſt *Arthur*, Prince of *Scotland*, Son to *Aidanus*, who was ſlain in the Field with many Noblemen, and others of leſs Account.

The *Picts* are overcome in Battle by the *Scots*.

St. *Colm* hearing of this War, came over from the Iſles, and reprov'd King *Aidanus*, telling him that the Death of his Son, and Subjects was a juſt Puniſhment, ſince they had made War and committed ſuch great Slaughter for ſo ſmall Reaſons; adding, That ſuch great Offence, unrepented of, would juſtly provoke GOD to afflict his Nation. *Aidanus* being very conſcious of his Faults became very penitent, and ſpent much Time in Prayer to GOD to forgive his Offences, and St. *Colme* ſeeing him ſo penitent, went to *Brudus*, King of *Picts*, and after ſhewing him his Offences, and what Deſtruction had fallen on his People by breaking Peace: *Brudus* acknowledg'd his Fault, and renew'd the Band of Peace. The *Scots* and *Picts* being reconcil'd by the pious Mediation of St. *Colm*, he afterwards retir'd to the Abbey of *Icolmkill*, and ſpent his Days in Works of Piety.

When the *Saxons* had driven the *Britons* into *Wales*, as before mention'd, they divided *England* into Seven Diviſions or Kingdoms, and over every Diviſion was a King, among which Kings was *Ethelfried*, King of *Northumberland*, who had great Hatred againſt the *Britons*, and being deſirous to enlarge his Kingdom, he prevail'd with *Brudus* to join with him to invade the *Scots*: *Brudus*, at firſt, refus'd to invade his Confederate Neighbours, but yet was entic'd over to the *Saxons* by Conſent of his Nobles; and the Motive they urg'd was to redreſs themſelves for the Loſſes ſuffer'd in the late Battle againſt the *Scots*. King *Aidanus* ſeeing the faithleſs *Picts* join the *Saxons*, ſent an Ambaſſador to *Malgo*, King of *Britons*, in *Wales*, and they join'd in Confederacy againſt the *Saxons* and *Picts*. *Aidanus* having rais'd an Army to join the *Britons*, he was met by *Cenlyne*, King of *Weſt Saxons*, and they fought a ſharp Battle, wherein the *Weſt Saxons* were routed; and *Cutha*, the Son of *Cenlyne*, ſlain. The *Scots* rejoyc'd at this Victory, and were much encourag'd by it; but being join'd by the *Britons*, the *North Saxons* and *Picts* came ſpeedily upon them, to whom they gave Battle, and fought with great Courage, and had almoſt routed *Ethelfried*, 'till *Brudus* came with his freſh Army of *Picts*, and came upon the *Britons* ſo ſuddenly, that they gave Way, and the *Scots* turning to ſupport the *Britons*, loſt many of their Men, and were broken with great Slaughter, whereby the *Saxons* and *Picts* obtain'd the Victory, but with great Loſs of their Men. In this Battle was kill'd *Dongardus* III. Son of *Aidanus*, the Thane of the Iſle of *Man*, with many Noblemen of the *Scots*.

The *Scots* and *Britons* obtain Victory over the *Saxons*.

Ethelfried

Ethelfried loſt one of his Eyes, and *Brudus* was wounded with many of their Nobles and common Men. The *Saxons* and *Picts* follow'd the *Scots* into *Annandale*, where King *Aidanus* met ſome of his Subjects coming to ſupport him, and turn'd upon the Enemy (who were buſy in Plunder) and gave them Battle) where he obtain'd the Victory; and put them to Flight, and purſu'd them with great Slaughter over the River *Humber*. Next Day he join'd the *Britiſh* Army, and march'd through the North of *England*, where he found the *Picts* and North *Saxons* join'd by the Weſt *Saxons*. The *Scots* and *Britons* found their Paſſage to *Scotland* ſtop'd by the *Saxons* and *Picts* at *Adrian*'s Wall; whereupon *Aidanus* order'd the Army to take Reſt till Night, and then fell upon the Enemy with great Slaughter, and continu'd in Battle till next Day, fighting fiercely for the Victory. *Aidanus* cry'd aloud to his Army, *Shew your Courage in the Name of CHRIST, againſt the Enemies of his Church!* Whereupon the *Scots* ruſh'd forward with ſuch Fierceneſs, that they routed the *Saxons* and *Picts* with great Slaughter, and purſu'd their Flight till Night. In this Battle fell *Cenlyne* King of Weſt *Saxons*, *Culme* and *Quhitelyne*, two *Saxon* Princes. 'Ti reported, That the Night before this Battle, St. *Colm* (who was at *Icolmkill* Abby) being warned by a Viſion of their Engagement, he made all the religious Men of that Monaſtery continue in Prayer to GOD all the Night, That the *Scots* might obtain the Victory: And the next Day, about the Time which the *Scots* routed the *Saxons* and *Picts*, 'tis ſaid, that St. *Colm* told the Monks of the Abby, He was ſure that *Aidanus* had obtain'd Victory! By thoſe Miracles 'tis evident, *That the Prayers of the Faithful availeth much.* Which ought to encourage all Chriſtians to put up their earneſt Prayers to the Throne of Grace, for Proſperity and Succeſs in all juſt and lawful Undertakings. However ſo ridiculous Miracles and Divine Warning may ſeem to many irreligious and prophane Perſons, yet I am ſtill, and ſhall continue convinc'd and aſſur'd, That in all Times paſt, and even in this our Days, the Divine Power of the Almighty GOD is unalterable and propitious to ſuch as have ſufficient Faith to rely with Confidence on his Divine Aſſiſtance in any juſt Undertaking, to work Miracles. And that it is moſt certain, ſuch holy Perſons as perſevere in fervent and uninterrupted Prayers to GOD, very ſeldom miſs the deſired Succeſs of any good, religious, and lawful Action.

St. *Colm* died about this Time, and was buried in *Icolmkill* Abby, where a magnificent Monument was erected over his Sepulchre by the King's Command: Yet the *Iriſh* Authors ſay he died in *Ireland*, and was buried with St. *Patrick* and St *Bridget* in *Downe*, according to an old Inſcription ſaid to be engraven on their Tomb, in theſe Words turn'd in Verſe: St. *Colm*'s Death.

Saint Patrick, *St.* Colm, *and St.* Bridget *pure*,
In Down *lies buried in one Sepulture.*

When King *Aidanus* had obtain'd this Victory, he divided the Spoil among his Army, except the Tenth Part of all the Goods of the *Picts* and *Saxons* gotten by this Victory, he ordain'd to repair the Churches ruin'd by the *Saxons* and *Picts* in this War. The Banners of the *Picts* and *Saxons* won in the Battle were ſent to *Icolmkill*, to remain in the Abby, in Memory of that great and miraculous Victory. He liv'd peaceably many Years, governing his Realm with Juſtice and Equity, and deliver'd it from all Enemies. He died in the 27th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*. He left only one Son, who was under Age, and was ſucceeded by his Couſin *Kenneth* ſirnam'd *Ker*, the Son of *Congallus*.

KENNETH I. *The* 50 *King of* Scotland.

KENNETH I. the Son of *Congallus* II. ſucceeded in the Year of the World 4584, after the coming of CHRIST 604 Years, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 894. He was a good pious Prince, and died the 4th Month after his Coronation. In that Time was inſtituted by Pope *Gregory*, the Proceſſion call'd *Latania Major* on St. *Mark*'s Day, to implore the Protection of GOD from a terrible Diſtemper in *Rome*, occaſion'd by an Inundation of the River *Tyber*.

The ſaid St. *Gregory* ſent (about this Time) two holy Men, nam'd *Auſtine* and *Millitus*, into *England*, to convert the *Saxons* to the Chriſtian Faith. St. *Auſtine* preach'd at *Midglington* to the *Saxons*, but they were ſo wicked againſt the Chriſtians, that they abuſed him and beat him with Stones and Sticks. There is an old Story reported which wants Confirmation, That the People got long rough Tails or Rumps of Fiſhes call'd *Skaits* or *Raes*, and after beating St. *Auſtine* out of the Church where he preach'd, they ty'd the Fiſh Tails to his Habit or Veſtments; and as a Judgment on that Town of *Midglington*, all the Children born there had Tails; for which the Women always fled the Town when they were ready to be deliver'd. There were then the holy Men in *Scotland*, nam'd *Baldred*, *Dunſtane*, and *Connal*; they were all three brought up by St. *Mungo* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*. King *Kenneth* died in the 1ſt Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

EUGENIUS IV. *The* 51 *King of* Scotland.

EUGENIUS IV. the Son of *Aidanus*, was crown'd King in the Marble Chair the ſame Year, that *Kennethus* ſucceeded his Father *Aidanus*, which was according to the beſt Accounts about 604 Years after the Birth of CHRIST. He was well educated in human Learning, being carefully and piouſly brought up by St. *Colm*: For he foretold King *Aidanus*, Tho' he had ſeveral Sons, none ſhould be King but *Eugenius*, who was the youngeſt. He was a pious and juſt King, who puniſh'd vicious Perſons of all Ranks, and rewarding all virtuous Perſons: He ſhew'd great Reverence and Reſpect to all holy Men, of whom many were in his Time in *Scotland*. In the Tenth Year of *Eugenius*'s Reign, the King of the Weſt *Saxons*, and *Ethelfred* King of *Northumberland* invaded *Cadwallus* King of *Britain*, and drove him out of his Kingdom into *Scotland*, where he ſtaid but ſhort Time, and went into *Britany*; and having obtain'd Supply of King *Eugenius*, as alſo out of *Britany*, he return'd, and overthrew his Enemies, and recover'd his Realm of *Wales*, and ſlew many of the *Saxons*. *Ethelfred* had diſturb'd the King of Eaſt *Saxons*, nam'd *Ethelbreid*, for receiving the Chriſtian Faith; for which *Ethelbreid* came againſt *Ethelfred* with an Army, and they met and fought a Battle at *Winteringhame*, where *Ethelfred* was ſlain; and the laſt Words he ſaid was, *He died as he liv'd, Protector of the Religion of the Gods, and an Enemy to Chriſtians!* This *Ethelfred* had 7 Sons, nam'd *Euifred*, *Oſwald*, *Oſlaws*, *Oſwan*, *Oſmund*, *Offas*, and *Oſyk*: Theſe ſeven Brethren went unto the *Picts*, but not finding a chearful Reception, they came into *Scotland*, and were well receiv'd by King *Eugenius*, who caus'd the Biſhops to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian Faith, and baptize them.

Bonifacius a Biſhop comes into Scotland.

At this Time *Bonifacius* a Biſhop, came from *Italy*, and landed in the River *Tay* in *Scotland*; he built ſeveral Churches in *Scotland*, as one at *Roſneth*, and another at *Tullyne* near *Dunkle*, and dedicated them all to St. *Peter* the Apoſtle. He died in *Roſmarkne* in the Shire of *Roß*, where he was buried.

King

King *Eugenius* repair'd all the Churches in *Scotland*, and ſtrengthen'd all the Garriſons and Forts in the Kingdom; after having liv'd and reign'd in great Felicity, he died the 15th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

FERQUHARD I. *The* 52 *King of* Scotland.

FERQUHARD I. the Son of *Eugenius* IV. ſucceeded in the Year of the World 4599, after the coming of CHRIST 619 Years, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 899. He with his two Brethren *Ficar* and *Donaldus*, were educated in the Iſle of *Man*; but *Ferquhard* could not be govern'd by his Preceptors, but was of an unrully ſtubborn Diſpoſition; and when he was made King, he was ſo much given to Vice and lew'd Company, that he forgot the Worſhip of GOD, and entertain'd prophane Perſons, who ridicul'd the Doctrine of the Biſhops, and mocked all religious Men.

The Nobles hearing ſtrange Reports of the Practices of the King, ſent to know the Truth of what they heard, and deſir'd that he would forſake thoſe evil Company, and come to the Council of his Nobles according to the Cuſtom of his Royal Anceſtors: But *Ferquhard* took no Notice of their Meſſage; whereupon the Nobles aſſembled and conſulted what was to be done with the King, who was ſo careleſs of the Chriſtian Faith, and kept many Heathens for his moſt intimate Companions. The People were unwilling to do any Thing contrary to their Allegiance and Obedience due to the King, but could not ſuffer the Chriſtian Religion to be deſtroy'd. Some of the Nobles advis'd to take the King from thoſe wicked Perſons, and confine him to his Palace under the Care of Biſhops, to which they agreed; and they put the King under a cloſe Guard, that none of his wicked Companions ſhould have Acceſs to his Company. And in the mean Time, they ſent to *Ficar* the King's ſecond Brother, who had renounc'd the World, and liv'd in a private Chappel in *France*, to come over to *Scotland*, to govern the Realm until his Brother might be reform'd from the Vices he had ſo long practis'd. But *Ficar*, (who preferr'd his Solitude and Religion to all earthly Grandure) made many Excuſes, and pretended to have been infected with a Leproſy; therefore would not come from that Place, where he had vow'd to live a devote Life. Before the Meſſengers return'd to *Scotland* the King turn'd melancholy, and laid violent Hands on himſelf, in the 12th Year of his Reign, and was ſucceeded by his Brother *Donaldus*.

Ficar, Brother to King *Ferquhard*, his devote Life.

DONALD IV. *The* 53 *King of* Scotland.

DONALD IV. the Son of *Eugenius* IV. ſucceeded, in the Year of the World 4611, after the coming of CHRIST 631, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 911. He remember'd the happy Reign of his Father, and the unhappy Fate of his Brother; and ſtudied nothing ſo much as to eſtabliſh and maintain the Worſhip of God according to the Chriſtian Faith; and puniſh'd and baniſh'd the *Pelagian* Hereticks, who had ſo corrupted his Brother *Ferquhard*.

Eufried and his Brethren were ſtill in *Scotland*, and *Edwine* poſſeſs'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, which belong'd to them by Birth-right. *Cadwallus* King of *Britain* and *Penda* King of South *Saxons* being Confederate, ſlew *Edwine*, and invaded the *Picts*, who ſent to *Donald* for Support; but he had not forgotten their former Treachery to *Aidanus* his Grandfather, and would not ſend them Support againſt the *Britons*, with whom his Father and Grandfather had been Confederate. *Donald* ſent to the King of *Britain*, de-

ſiring he would give *Northumberland* to *Eufried* the Son of *Ethelfred*, who was converted to the Chriſtian Faith in *Scotland*: Which Requeſt was granted to *Donald* by *Cadwell*. So *Eufried* was reſtor'd to the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, and married the Daughter of *Oſorik*, who, as he had not receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith, prevail'd with *Eufried* to renounce the Catholick Religion, and follow the Worſhip of Idols with him and his Daughter; whereat the Chriſtian Princes were ſo much offended, that they invaded them. *Oſwald* the Brother of *Eufried* being ſupported by King *Donald*, he join'd with the *Britons* and *Penda*, and gave Battle to *Eufried* and *Oſorik*, who had raiſed an Army againſt the Chriſtians; but their Army were routed and they two taken Priſoners. *Oſorik* perſuaded *Eufred* that the Chriſtians would put them to Death, and advis'd him to kill himſelf, which he did; as did *Oſorik*: And *Oſwald* ſucceeded his Brother in the Government. After his Coronation he ſent to King *Donald*, deſiring ſome holy Men from *Scotland* to inſtruct his People in the Chriſtian Faith; and *Donald* ſent one *Colman*, a Man of ſingular Piety, Learning and Eloquence: But the ignorant *Saxons* could not underſtand his elegant Doctrine, therefore did not receive him with that Reſpect which was due to him. He return'd, and ſhew'd the Biſhops the Ignorance of the *Saxons*, and they ſent a Biſhop nam'd *Aidanus*, who preach'd to them in a more familiar Manner, and more adapted to their Capacities; and *Oſwald* their King was at much Pains to inſtruct his People, and where the Preachers could not ſpeak the *Saxon* Language, *Oſwald* interpreted their Sermons, and explain'd their Doctrine. He was ſo noted for Sanctity of Life, that he was number'd among the Saints. 'Tis ſaid that *Aidanus* was the firſt Chriſtian Biſhop among the *Saxons*, and liv'd long in *Northumberland*, where he built many Churches, and dedicated them to the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*. The *Saxons* in ſhort Time became moſt zealous Chriſtians, and *Oſwald* liv'd ſeveral Years in Peace, till *Penda* King of the South *Saxons* or *Marchis* invaded him, and he was ſlain in Defence of his Country of *Northumberland* by this *Penda*.

Oſwald for his Piety canoniz'd a Saint.

Donald liv'd peaceably, and died in the 15th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

FERQUHARD II. *The* 54 *King of* Scotland.

FERQUHARD II. the Son of *Ferquhard* I. ſucceeded in the Government, in the Year of the World 4626, after the Birth of CHRIST 646, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 926. Before he was made King, he gave great Proof of his Prudence and Judgment, and great Ability, which made him moſt fit to govern the Kingdom; but coming to the Crown, he gave himſelf up to Vice and Pleaſure, not regarding the Fear of GOD nor Welfare of his Kingdom. He proceeded to oppreſs the Nobles of the Kingdom, and was inſatiably covetous, yet was very laviſh to his evil Counſelors. He was much given to Luſt and Gluttony, and all other ſenſual Pleaſures, and defil'd ſeveral Ladies of noble Blood. There were two holy Men in *Scotland*, nam'd *Finanne* and *Colmane*, who went to *Ferquhard* and exhorted him to Repentance, but he ſlighted their holy Inſtructions, and they were abuſed by his wicked Attendants. Theſe holy Men ſeeing him ſo ſtubborn, denounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, to ſee if that could reclaim him from his wicked Life; but he contemn'd their Power and Authority, and threaten'd their Lives.

He was at laſt bit by a mad Wolf, and was miſerably tormented by an Ulcer in his Fleſh, whereby his whole Body was ſwell'd. When he found himſelf in Danger of Death he turn'd very penitent, and repented him of all his paſt evil Actions; aad caus'd himſelf to be carry'd abroad in very mean Apparel,

Apparel, and ſent for the holy Biſhop *Colmane*, to whom he made publick Confeſſion of his Sins, with ſincere and unfeigned Repentance, imploring GOD to have Mercy on him, and continu'd in moſt fervent Prayer many Days, and was receiv'd into the Church of Chriſt; and after receiving the bleſſed Sacrament of the Euchariſt and Extreme Unction, he departed this Life in the 18th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

Mahomet The falſe Prophet his Birth.

In the Time of his Reign, the falſe Prophet *Mahomet* begun to practiſe his Deluſions. This *Mahomet* was born in *Itarpia*, a mean Village of *Arabia*, his Father's Name was *Abdillas* an *Iſmaelite*, and his Mother *Cadiges* a *Jew*: He was left by his Parents (who died when he was very young) to an Uncle, who ſold him to one *Abdeminoples* a Merchant of *Paleſtine*. He was bred in the Heathen Worſhip of the *Arabians* in his Youth, but coming to Years, this Merchant ſent him as a Factor to *Egypt*, where he fell acquainted with *Chriſtians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles*. At that Time he crept into Acquaintance with one *Sergius* of the *Arian* Sect, who was baniſh'd from *Conſtantinople*; and this *Sergius* frequented the Houſe where the young Man *Mahomet* liv'd with *Abdeminoples*, and had great Conceit of *Mahomet*'s ready Wit, and conferr'd with him daily. The Merchant died, and his Wife advanc'd *Mahomet* from her Servant to be her Husband; which ſhe ſoon repented, when ſhe to her Grief found he was ſubject to the Falling-Sickneſs: Which, when he obſerv'd her Concern and Coldneſs to him, he told her, That when he fell, it was the Great GOD that ſpoke to him, before whoſe Face (ſaith he) "I am not able "to ſtand; for he ſpeaketh to me in Words of Terror and Majeſty, to reform "the degenerate People of the World, ſince *Moſes* and CHRIST, (notwith-"ſtanding their great Miracles) are both rejected by the World." By this Means he not only appeas'd her Wrath, but alſo got the Character of a Divine Prophet. The bewitch'd Matron died two Years after, and left him great Riches, wherewith he purchas'd Credit among the common People. 'Tis ſaid he bred a white Pigeon to put her Bill into his Ear, by placing in them ſome Grains of Seed, and when he fell in fits of his Sickneſs, the Pigeon would pick the Seed out, by which Means he deluded the People to believe it was the Holy Ghoſt that ſpake to him from GOD. Thus by his Helliſh Deluſions he bewitch'd the People, ſo that he was ador'd and call'd, *The Great Prophet!* The Book of his Religion is call'd the *Alcoran*, and the Religion is compos'd of the *Judaical* Laws, and *Arianiſm*, intermix'd with ſome Points of Chriſtianity; and ſeveral other vain Ceremonies, and ſuch Superſtitions as his own Invention did ſuggeſt unto him. He affirm'd that CHRIST was not the *Meſſias* look'd for, and alſo deny'd the Bleſſed Trinity, with many other Blaſphemies. He marry'd the Daughter of the chief Prince of his Tribe, and rais'd an Army, with which he took a City in *Arabia-Felix* nam'd *Mecca*, anciently call'd *Petræa*, which lies upon the River *Chatbar* in a fruitful Valley: It was here he built for himſelf a Tomb, placing in the Floor and Roof Loaſt-ſtones of equal ballanc'd Force, and order'd his Body, after his Death, to be put in an Iron Coffin, and plac'd exactly at ſuch a Diſtance as he gave Directions, from the Ground, and to verify the Truth of his being a great Prophet, his Coffin ſhould hang in the Air, without any viſible Support, and that he ſhould return from Heaven in a Thouſand Years, to inſtruct them in the Faith; with many other Blaſphemies, all which was believ'd by the ignorant People; and ſeeing his Coffin hang in the Air according to his Prediction (being ignorant of the atractive Virtue of the Adamants or Load-ſtones) their Belief was confirm'd: But the *Turks* being more polite after the 1000 Years expir'd, and no Word of their ſham Saviour, they found their Religion too beneficial to change it, therefore remov'd his Coffin to *Medina Talriachi*, and plac'd it on a rich Frame on the Ground, with a rich Cannopy over it, and for fear of being mock'd by Chriſtians, they never allow any Chriſtian Pilgrim to come near it by 24 Miles. This is the true Account of the firſt Eſtabliſhment of that contagious Religion, which has infected ſuch a great Number of the Inhabitants of the World: And altho' moſt Part that profeſs the *Mahometan* Religion or Idolatry, know the Deceit of their falſe Prophet,

yet knowing that their Intereſt depends on the Preſervation of it, they will not forſake it. Beſides they are ſo indulg'd in all Vices, eſpecially in Luſt, that they cannot think of renouncing it, to be confin'd to the ſtrict Rules of the Chriſtians, as they term the Doctrine of the Church of CHRIST. All good Chriſtians ought to pity them, and pray for their Converſion, and all People and Perſons that prefer any Profit or momentary Pleaſures, to the eternal Repoſe of their Souls.

King *Ferquhard* being dead, as before-mention'd, *Malduinus* the Son of *Donaldus* IV. ſucceeded him.

MALDUINUS *The* 55 *King of* Scotland.

MALDUINUS, the Son of *Donaldus* IV. was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Year of the World 4644, after the coming of CHRIST 664 Years, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 944. He was a moſt pious, wiſe and valiant Prince, and repair'd the Miſmanagments of the laſt Reign; and govern'd the Realm with ſuch Juſtice and Equity, that his Subjects were happy in his Reign. Some ſmall Quarrels happen'd between the *Lenox* and *Argyle* Men, but the King ſoon pacify'd their Diſcord with the general Applauſe of both Parties. He viſited the Abby of *Icolmkill*, and repair'd all the Ruins of it, and added a ſpacious new Building to it, in Honour of St. *Colme*. At that Time there fell out a terrible Peſtilence over all *Europe*; But by the Divine Protection and Pleaſure of the Almighty GOD, *Scotland* was not at all viſited with any Symptom of that dreadful Diſtemper, tho' it rag'd in the ſame Iſle among the *Saxons*. St. *Colman* return'd from *Northumberland*, (where he had been Biſhop of *Lyndfern*) into *Scotland*, with many Monks and religious Men, and went into the Iſles of *Scotland*, where he built an Abby, and liv'd all his Days with his Brother. St. *Colman* ſucceeded *Aidanus* firſt Biſhop in *Northumberland*. In the later End of the Reign of King *Malduinus* the *Picts* and North *Saxons* made ſome Incurſions on the Borders of *Scotland*, but were ſeverely puniſh'd for their Inſolence by *Malduinus*: He made ſuch a ſudden Attack on them, that he ſlew all their Parties, and made them redreſs his Subjects for all their Loſes. When *Malduinus* had reign'd peaceably, he was kill'd in the Night by his Queen, upon Suſpicion of Adultery with another Woman. The next Day ſhe was burn'd to Death with all her Accomplices. He reign'd 20 Years, and was buried with his royal Anceſtors in *Icolmkill*.

King *Malduinus* murder'd by his Queen, for which ſhe was burnt to Death.

EUGENIUS V. *The* 56 *King of* Scotland.

EUGENIUS V. Son to *Donaldus* IV. ſucceeded, in the Year of the World 4664, after the coming of CHRIST 684 Years, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 964. He was a pious and valiant Prince, and Lover of Juſtice. In the firſt Year of his Reign he ſent to *Eufried* King of *Northumberland*, deſiring to continue Peace; but *Eufried* was unwilling, yet condeſcended to have Peace for a Year; in which Time he deſign'd to make Preparation to invade the *Scots*, and made a ſecret Appointment with *Brudus* King of *Picts*. *Eugenius* ſuſpecting the Deceit of the *Picts* and *Saxons*, ſtrengthen'd all his Ports and Garriſons, and had his Army in Diſcipline, (before the Year was expir'd.) *Eufried* ſent a Party into the Borders of *Scotland* to lye in Ambuſh, and prey upon the *Scots*. They plunder'd ſome ſmall Villages of the *Scots*, and return'd home. When *Eugenius* ſent an Herald to *Eufried* to redreſs the Injuries: He anſwer'd, That a Battle ſhould be their Redreſs: And he forthwith invaded *Scotland* with Aſſiſtance of the *Picts*, and came to the River

Lewis

Lewis in *Galloway*, which was unpaſſable by a great Flood. The King of *Scotland* came upon him with his Army, and fought a deſperate Battle, where *Euſried* was ſlain, and moſt of his Army drown'd in the River; for the *Scots* Army went about, and enclos'd the *Saxons* and *Picts* betwixt them and the River and ſlew them. *Brudus* King of *Picts* went with his Forces which eſcap'd this Battle, and invaded the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, his late Confederates, and had near ſubdu'd them, when St. *Cuthbert* came with a Party to defend it; and in the mean Time the *Picts* quarrel'd among themſelves, that they ſlew one another, till they were afraid of their Enemies, and return'd home. This *Cuthbert* was Biſhop of *Durham*, and a Man of ſanctify'd Life. He told *Euſried*, That if he invaded the innocent *Scots*, he ſhould loſe his Life and the Battle. *Eugenius* liv'd and reign'd peaceably after this Victory, and died in the 4th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

EUGEINUS VI. *The* 57 *King of* Scotland.

EUGENIUS VI. the Son of *Ferquhard* II. ſucceeded, in the Year of the World 4668, of CHRIST 688, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 968. In the Beginning of his Reign, a People of *Africa* nam'd *Sarazens*, landed in *Sicily* and *Italy*, and diſturb'd the Chriſtian Faith: But the powerful Providence of GOD was then, as it is always viſible in the Protection of his Church; for the Chriſtian Princes defended their Religion againſt thoſe barbarous Heathens. During the Reign of *Eugenius* he had neither an eſtabliſh'd Peace nor a declar'd War with the *Picts*, there being daily Skirmiſhes with little Loſs on either Side, but never came to a Battle. *Engenius* was much importun'd by *Admanus* a Biſhop of *Scotland*, and alſo by St. *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Durham* (but could not be perſuaded) to receive the *Picts* into Friendſhip as formerly they were with his Anceſtors, he being incens'd with an inexpiable Hatred againſt them for their Treachery to the *Northumberians*, with whom they were Confederate.

The *Sarazens* land in *Italy*.

'Tis ſaid, That in this Reign it rain'd Blood for the Space of ſeven Days over all *Britain*.

King *Eugenius* died in the 10th Year of his Reign, and was burried in *Icolmkill*.

AMBERKELETHUS. *The* 58 *King of* Scotland.

AMBERKELETHUS the Son of *Findanus*, Brother of *Eugenius* V. being the neareſt Heir of the Crown, was crown'd King, in the Year of the World 4678, of CHRIST 698, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 978. At the Beginning of his Reign he ſeem'd a very temperate good Prince, but ſoon after gave himſelf up to many vicious Courſes, which incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of the People. *Garnard* King of the *Picts* thought this a good Opportunity (when the King and People were divided) to invade the *Scots*: But King *Amberkelethus* wanted not Courage to defend his Realm from the *Picts*, and gather'd his Army and march'd to the River *Tay*, and met the *Picts* in a thick Wood, where he defeated them, but was wounded with an Arrow, of which he died, in the 2d Year of his Reign.

EUGENIUS VII. *The 59 King of* Scotland.

EUGENIUS VII. Brother of *Amberkelethus*, ſucceeded in the Year of the World 4672, after CHRIST 702, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 982. He was a good, virtuous and valiant Prince, who made Peace with the *Picts*, and married *Spontana* Daughter to *Garnard* their King. The next Year after the King's Marriage, two Ruffians conſpir'd againſt his Life, and came into his Bed-chamber privately; but the King being gone forth, they murder'd the Queen, that the Odium of the Fact might lye on the King, as it did for ſome Time, to the great Affliction of that innocent Prince; who pray'd daily that the Actors of the Murder might be known; and accordingly they were found, and confeſs'd the Fact, and were tortur'd to Death with great Severity.

The Queen murder'd by two Ruffians.

King *Eugenius* ordain'd Hiſtorians to be maintain'd in the Abby of *Icolmkill*, to write the Chronicles of the Kingdom, and all noble Exploits of the Kings, and all Men of Courage and Valour; ſo that for the Future all noble Actions and Enterpriſes of the Kings and Subjects ſhould be recorded in that Monaſtery. He repair'd all Churches, and entertain'd religious Men with Reverence and Reſpect. In his Time was one *Donevald*, who had liv'd a pious Life at *Ogilvy* in *Angus*; he had 7 Daughters who liv'd with him in conſtant Devotion and laborious Exerciſes, uſing no other Subſiſtance but Bread made of Barley and Water, and of that eat but once in a Day. Thoſe holy Virgins after the Death of their Father, went to the Chappel of St. *Bridget* at *Abernethy*, and had a Convent built, where they continued during their Life-times, and inſtructed many holy Virgins, who liv'd in that Convent after their Deceaſe. This Convent of *Abernethy* was built by *Grandard* King of the *Picts*, and endu'd with a yearly Rent for the Maintenance of the Nuns and religious Women.

King *Engenius* maintain'd an uninterupted Peace with the *Picts* and all his Neighbours, till he died in the 18th Year of his Reign, and was buried in the Abby of *Icolmkill*.

MORDACHUS. *The 60 King of* Scotland.

MORDACHUS the Son of *Amberkelethus* was crown'd King, in the Year of the World 469, of CHRIST 720, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1000 Years. He was a pious and wiſe Prince, and by his Means firm Peace was kept over all the Iſle, though it was inhabited by four Sorts of People, all different in Language and Manners, as the *Scots*, *Picts*, *Britons*, and *Engliſh*: For ſo the *Saxons* were all call'd at this Time, and in all ſucceeding Ages.

Mordachus repair'd the Churches, and built the Abby of *Withorn*, where the holy Biſhop St. *Ninian* lies buried. *Bede* calls *Withorn*, *Pythimna*, and the Biſhop of it *Octa*: But it was never known that *Withorn* was otherwiſe than in the Biſhop of *Galloway* and *Sodor*'s Dioceſs, and the Iſle of *Man* was his Reſidence. It was about this Time that *Bede* wrote the Chronicle of this Iſle: 'Tis diſputed whether he was an *Italian* or *Saxon* by Birth; but he is call'd a *Saxon* Prieſt, and liv'd moſt Part of his Time in *Durham*, and was often in *Melroſs*, an Abby of *Merns* in *Scotland*. The many Miſtakes he was guilty of in that Part of his Hiſtory which related to *Scotland*, might be occaſion'd by the great Diſtance between the Place where he liv'd, and the Monaſtery of *Icolmkill*, which was the only Place where the Chronicles and Records of *Scotland* were kept; nor do we find that he was at all acquainted with the firſt Part of the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, before the Return and Reign of *Fergus*

Withorn Abby built.

Venerable *Bede* a *Saxon* Prieſt.

Fergus II. whereby the Authors who copy after him are guilty of the like Miſtake.

Mordachus liv'd peaceably, and was belov'd by his Subjects and Neighbours. He deceas'd in the 16th Year of his Reign, and was buried in the Abby of *Icolmkill*.

Etfinus. *The* 61 *King of* Scotland.

Etfinus the Son of *Eugenius* VII. was crown'd King in the Marble Chair, in the Year of the World 4706, of Christ 736, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1016. He renew'd the Peace with the *Picts*, *Britons* and *Engliſhmen*, and was a ſevere Juſticiar, and puniſh'd all Crimes with impartial Juſtice: But being come to great Age, he was very infirm, and could not endure the Fatigue of Government, therefore committed the Management of Affairs to Four Noblemen, as conjunct Governors, *viz.* *Donald* Thane of *Argyle*, *Colane* Thane of *Athol*, *Murdoch* Thane of *Galloway*, and *Conrath* Thane of *Murray*; they govern'd the Kingdom with Juſtice for ſome Time, but they were ſoon divided by their ſeperate Intereſts, and ſtudied how to make the beſt Advantage of their Power, by which they oppreſs'd the Subjects. One *Donald* of the Iſles at laſt rais'd an Inſurrection againſt the Governors, which kept conſtant Broils in the Nation during their Government; which ended with the Life of King *Etfinus*, in the 30th Year of his Reign, at the Abby of *Abernethy*, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

Eugenius VIII. *The* 62 *King of* Scotland.

Eugenius VIII. Son of *Mordachus* was crown'd King, in the Year of the World 4736, of Christ 766, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1046 Years. In the Beginning of his Reign he executed Juſtice againſt all thoſe who had committed Diſorders in the former Reign; eſpecially on *Donaldus*, who had plunder'd moſt Parts of *Galloway*, and *Murdoch* Governor of that Country, who had join'd with him in the Rebellion and Plunder. He puniſh'd them and their Accomplices with Death, and made Reſtitution of all the Goods to the Perſons from whom they had been robb'd; the other Governors he fin'd in great Sums, which was divided among thoſe whom they had oppreſs'd during their Government. The People were redreſt for all Loſſes, and liv'd peaceably, when ſuddenly the King gave himſelf to his Luſt, and delighted in nothing ſo much as the Company of Harlots and lewd Women; and turn'd ſo vicious, that he put many Men to Death that he might enjoy their Wives as Concubines, of which he had a great Number; nor could he be ſatisfy'd, but deflowr'd chaſt Virgins. While he continu'd in this vicious Life, he was murder'd by Ruffians in the 3d Year of his Reign, and was burried in *Icolmkill*.

K. *Eugenius* gives himſelf up to Luſt.

He is murder'd by Ruffians.

Fergus III. *The* 63 *King of* Scotland.

Fergus III. the Son of *Etfinus* was crown'd King, in the Year of the World 4739, of Christ 769, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1049. He married *Ethiolia* Daughter to the King of *Picts*; who found the King given to Luſt, and kept many other Women with him: She reprov'd

him, telling how great a Crime it was to break the Mariage Vows which he had made to her before GOD and his holy Church. But finding her Bed ſlighted, ſhe murder'd the King in the Night, and convey'd herſelf away without Suſpicion. Whereupon ſeveral Perſons were apprehended upon Suſpicion of the Murder, and tortur'd to confeſs the Fact: But the Queen hearing of their Torments, pity'd them, and came to a publick Place before the People, and cry'd aloud, She was the Perſon who committed the Murder; and to prevent being made a Spectacle of Reproach, ſhe inſtantly ſtabb'd herſelf with a Dager to the Heart. The King's Body was buried in *Icolmkill*, but the Queen was not allow'd to be buried in conſecrated Ground. *Fergus* reign'd only 3 Years.

The King is murder'd by his Queen.

She confeſſes the Deed and kills herſelf.

SOLVATHIUS. *The* 64 *King of* Scotland.

SOLVATHIUS, the Son of *Eugenius* VIII. was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Year of the World 4742, after the coming of CHRIST 772, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1052. He was a good virtuous Prince; but by great Cold he was afflicted with the Gout, which often confin'd him, ſo that he was oblig'd to appoint Generals or Governors, during his Infirmity, to defend the Kingdom from Foreign Invaders, as well as Domeſtick Troubles, which often happens in Time of Peace, as it did then: For one *Donald Bane* with great Inſolence ſeiz'd ſeveral of the Weſtern Iſles, and call'd himſelf King of the *Æbudæ*; and after came with his Army into the Continent. The King being alarm'd with this Invaſion, went in Perſon with his Army, giving the Command to *Dougal*, Thane of *Athol*, and *Colane*, Thane of *Argyle*. *Bane* being aſſiſted by many *Iriſhmen*, gave Battle to the King's Army, and had near routed them, when there came a Captain with a Party of ſtout Men, which join'd the King's Army, and made ſuch a furious Onſet, that the Rebels were beat back, and driven into a Wood, where they were all ſlain or taken. This valiant Man not being known to King *Solvathius*, he ask'd one of his Attendants for the Perſon who had done this great Service: The next Perſon to the King anſwer'd, in the ancient *Scots* or *Goidhleig* Language, * *Sholto an duine Dow glaſs*; that is to ſay, *Behold the Black Gray Man*. Whatever his Name was formerly, 'tis not mention'd in Hiſtory, but after that, by the King's Order, he was call'd *Sholto Dow glaſs*, and was the firſt of the ancient and great Sirname of *Dowglaſs*: And the King rewarded this great Action with ſeveral Lands lying in the Shire of *Lanrick*, call'd ſince by their Name *Dowglaſs-dale*. Tho' ſome Authors have not made mention of this Name in this Reign, yet I find it taken notice of by ſeveral good Hands, and think it moſt pertinent to the Hiſtory of this Reign. 'Tis believ'd that this Captain was of the Clan *Dowgals* or *McDowals* of *Galloway*.

The original Sirname of the ancient Family of the *Dowglaſſes*.

King *Solvathius* liv'd in great Felicity, having Peace at home and abroad, and died in the 20th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*. In his Time many holy Men flouriſh'd in *Scoland*, as *Macharius* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, *Conganus* and *Dunſtane*, Abbots.

ACHAIUS. *The* 65 *King of* Scotland.

ACHAIUS, the Son of *Etfinus*, was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Marble Chair, in the Year of the World, 4762, of CHRIST 792, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1072. He was a virtuous and valiant Prince, who began his Reign with Juſtice, and employ'd his Time much in keeping his Subjects in Peace and Concord among themſelves, ſo that no Enemy might

* *Vid.* Hume's *Hiſtory of the* Dowglaſſes, *p.* 1.

have

have Opportunity to invade the Realm by the Diviſions of the People.

The *Iriſh* invade the Iſles of *Scotland.*

In the Beginning of this Reign the Inhabitants of *Ireland* invaded the Iſles, pretending to revenge the Loſs of their Men and Ships ſent to aſſiſt *Donald Banus*: But the People of the Iſles arm'd ſuddenly, and ſlew many of the *Iriſhmen*, and ſent Notice to King *Achaius*, who ſent an Ambaſſador to *Ireand*, ſhewing the Princes of that Country the Inſolence of their People; and deſir'd they might continue in Peace upon Account of their ancient Relation and primitive Deſcent: But the *Iriſh* diſdain'd to hear the Ambaſſador, and fitted out a Fleet of Ships againſt the *Scots*. *Achaius* hearing of their Preparations, went to the Biſhops, and deſir'd they might aſſiſt him in Prayer to GOD, to diſappoint the Enemies of his People, who were about to invade him without any juſt Cauſe. The *Iriſh* Fleet were out at Sea, but met by ſuch a Storm, that the whole Fleet periſh'd: Which great Loſs ſo humbled the *Iriſh*, that they who before had diſdain'd honourable Offers, entreated Peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms. *Achaius* was ſo good and compaſſionate a King, that he made Peace with the *Iriſh*, without any Deſire of Redreſs or other Conditions, which he might have had.

Charle Magne ſends an Ambaſſador to King *Achaius*

About this Time came an Ambaſſador from *Charle Magne*, i. e. *Charles the Great*, King of *France*, and Emperor of *Germany*, to *Achaius*, ſhewing him, "That the Moſt Chriſtian King, *Charles*, King of *France*, Protector of the "Chriſtian Religion and the holy Church, having undertaken by ſolemn "Vows to defend the Catholick Faith againſt the barbarous and cruel *Sara*"zens*, hearing ſo great Fame of the Piety and Valour of King *Achaius*, as alſo "knowing the renown'd Valour of the *Scots*, and their Fidelity in all Ages, "to thoſe with whom they were at any Time Confederate, and more eſpe"cially their zealous Adherence to the Catholick Faith; and as they had "many Holy and Learn'd Men in that Nation, exceeding all other King"doms: Wherefore the Moſt Chriſtian King, (with ſpecial Advice of his noble "Princes and Prelates) knowing the generous Reſpect which *Achaius* had "for his People of *France*, by the civil Treatment of his Subjects trading "to the Sea-ports of *Scotland*; he deſir'd nothing more than a laſting Alli"ance with ſo great and good a Prince, and ſuch valiant and faithful People: "Therefore entreated *Achaius* and his Subjects to join in Confederacy in De"fence of the Catholick Faith, and for the future Security of the Church of "CHRIST, from all irreligious Enemies: As alſo for the Safety of their "Dominions in all Times coming, from the Invaſions of the *Saxons*, *Engliſh* "and *Britons*, who had at that Time moſt ungenerouſly and unchriſtian-like "invaded his Dominions, when he was engag'd with all his Forces in De"fence of Chriſtianity, againſt the *Sarazens*. Alſo knowing the Ingratitude "of the *Britons* to the *Scots* Kings, who had ſo often deliver'd them and their "Kingdom from their Enemies: And likewiſe the inhumane Cruelty and "Ingratitude of the *Saxons* to the *Scots*, who had ſhelter'd their Princes, and "inſtructed them in the Chriſtian Faith: He therefore diſdain'd their Alli"ance, as being dangerous and uncertain; but would moſt chearfully em"brace the Friendſhip and Alliance of King *Achaius*, who was King of that "brave People, who had defended their Kingdom from all foreign Invaders. "Theſe were the Motives which induc'd the Moſt Chriſtian King *Charles* to "ſend this Embaſſy to contract a laſting Alliance with King *Achaius*, which "might continue for the future Happineſs both *France* and *Scotland*."

King *Achaius* receiv'd the Ambaſſador with all due Reſpect, and entertain'd him with the utmoſt Splendor and Magnificence; and in the mean Time call'd his Nobles to conſult what Anſwer he ſhould return to this Embaſſy, which was moſt acceptable to *Achaius*, who took all Opportunities to aſſert his Zeal for the Catholick Faith, and was reſolv'd to join in the Alliance; yet would hear the Sentiments of his Nobles, and have their Approbation of what he intended. When the Nobles were aſſembled they had long Debates, being divided in their Sentiments; and *Colman* the Chiftan or Thane of *Mar* made a long Speech, ſhewing, "How dangerous it would be to join in Con-

Colman Thane of *Mar* his Speech againſt the Alliance with *France.*

" federacy with *France*, as they were a ſtrange and diſtant People, who " could not ſend immediate Support to the *Scots*, when invaded at any Time " by *Engliſh*, *Picts*, or *Britons*; and that as the *Saxons*, *Britons* and *Britaniers* " were declar'd Enemies to *France*, they would be the ſame to *Scotland*, or " any Nation who would join with them in Alliance." He at the ſame Time ennumerated the many conſiderable Diſadvantages ſuch an Alliance would be to *Scotland*; and advis'd the King to reject the Offer, and be Confederate with *Picts*, *Britons* and *Engliſhmen*, who were in the ſame Iſle, and ready to help one another. This Speech was Offence to many of the Nobles, as well as the King; ſince it was only with regard to temporal Intereſt and bodily Security, without any Notice of the Chriſtian Faith, for which King *Charles* was engaged in this War.

Albianus Thane of the Iſles, his, for the Alliance.

Mean Time *Albianus*, Thane of the Iſles, ſtood up in the Council and anſwer'd *Colman*, ſaying, " 'Twas moſt certain, that the *Britons*, *Picts*, *Scots* " and *Saxons* being join'd in Alliance, may better defend themſelves and the " whole Iſle from any Invaſion, than to join with any ſtrange People: But " when we conſider the Deceit and Cruelty of the *Britons*, *Saxons*, and even " the *Picts*, how often have they watch'd every Opportunity to break their " ſolemn Vows and Articles of Confederacy with *Scotland*, upon every View " of bettering their Intereſt? And how often have the *Scots* ventur'd their " Lives and Liberty to defend them from foreign Powers? and yet they have " ſtill moſt perfidiouſly join'd the Enemies of *Scotland*, and ſought the De- " ſtruction of the Nation. He added, That they could not yet be unmind- " ful, how the *Scots* had deliver'd the *Britons* from *Roman* Slavery, and yet " they deſtroy'd themſelves by calling in the *Saxons* as Enemies to deſtroy " *Scotland*. And that when *Scotland* had defended the *Picts* ſo often, yet they " had join'd the *Saxons* to deſtroy them. Therefore conſidering all thoſe " moſt treacherous Actions of the three Nations inhabiting the Iſle with the " *Scots*, they had no Reaſon to expect Safety or any Advantage to join with " any of them: Whereas the People of *France* had with many Chances of " Fate (like the *Scots*) defended themſelves, and were become a powerful " People, moſt loyal to their Princes, and zealous Profeſſors and Defenders of " the Chriſtian Faith, and moſt worthy the Alliance of the *Scots*; therefore " their Friendſhip ought not to be rejected, nor did it become Chriſtians to " deny Aſſiſtance and Support to that Great Prince, who had undertaken to " lay down his Life in Defence of the Church and Faith of CHRIST." This Speech of *Albianus* was moſt agreeable to the King and moſt of the Nobles; and the Ambaſſador came to publick Audience before the King, who told him, That he thanked the King of *France* for the Honour he had done him, in prefering his Alliance before any other Prince of the Iſle of *Britain*, and deſir'd him to aſſure the King his Maſter, That he would contribute his utmoſt Aſſiſtance to withſtand all Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith; and alſo would agree to, and perform all honourable Conditions of Alliance, for the Advantage and Security of the King and Realm of *France*, as well as for that of *Scotland*.

The *French* Ambaſſador goes to the *Picts*.

The Ambaſſador had Commiſſion from King *Charles*, That if the King of *Scotland* would accept of his Alliance, to proceed in like Embaſſy to invite the King of the *Picts* alſo to join with them: To which Commiſſion King *Achaius* conſented, and the Ambaſſador, according to his Orders, was to return with his Anſwer from the King of the *Picts* to the King of *Scotland*; and accordingly he went from the *Scots* Court to *Hungus* King of the *Picts*, deſiring he would join in the Alliance with *France* and *Scotland*.

Hungus's Anſwer to the Ambaſſador.

Hungus told the Ambaſſador, That he thank'd King *Charles* for his Offer; but could not ſuddenly conſider of ſuch a weighty Affair, and that in the mean Time he could not think of any Advantage by being Confederate with ſtrange People, living at ſuch a great Diſtance. Which was all the Anſwer that *Hungus* gave, or was reſolv'd to give.

When the Ambaſſador return'd to the Court of *Scotland*, *Achaius* had made 4000 Men, with his Brother *Guilliam*, ready to accompany the Ambaſſador to *France*;

France; and call'd the Ambaſſador, and ſaid to him, "What you deſire in "the Name of *Charles* the Moſt Chriſtian King, is ſo agreeable to me and "my People, that all of my Council approve of the Alliance, and wiſh all "Succeſs may attend the Deſigns of the King. And as we promiſe ourſelves "great Happineſs by ſo honourable an Alliance, we ſhall leave nothing un-"done which may teſtify our moſt cordial Affection and faithful Friendſhip "to the King and People of *France*, and all Princes who ſhall join in De-"fence of the Faith of CHRIST. We pray GOD may ſucceed their En-"deavours, and we alſo pray that GOD may bleſs our Alliance for the "Good of all Chriſtians and both our Nations. In Performance of our Part "we have order'd our moſt dear Brother *Guilliam* with 4 Men of ſingular "Prudence, Learning and Judgment in Matters of State, to paſs into *France*, "with our full Power to contract the Alliance; and in the mean time we "ſend 4000 arm'd Men, to paſs with King *Charles* into what Part of the "World he may ſee Occaſion, to defend the Chriſtian Faith.

K. *Achaius*'s Speech to the *French* Ambaſſador.

The King's Brother *Guilliam*, with thoſe 4 Learn'd Men, nam'd *Clement*, *John*, *Alcuine*, and *Rabane* (after receiving the Benediction of the Biſhops and Prieſts) accompany'd the Ambaſſador with an Army of 4000 valiant Men, and landed in *France*, to the great Joy of King *Charles*, who receiv'd them with all Teſtimonies of Reſpect and Honour. *Guilliam* and the four Men before-mention'd, ſhew'd the King, That King *Achaius* moſt chearfully accepted of his Alliance, and deſir'd that the *French* and *Scots* might be confederate in all Time coming, under the Articles which he had ſign'd, as follows.

The Articles of Alliance between *Scotland* and *France*.

I. *That Amity and Confederacy of* Frenchmen *and* Scotſmen *be made for ever, both for the People of this, and all future Ages.*

II. *The Injury of* Engliſhmen *or others, done to either People, ſhall be holden as common to both.*

III. *When* France *is invaded by* England, Scotland *ſhall ſend an Army in the Defence of* France, *to be maintain'd at the Expence of* France, *while in that Nation.*

IV. *That when* Scotland *is invaded by* England, *the French ſhall ſend an Army in like Manner.*

V. *That if any private or publick Perſon of* France *or* Scotland *ſhall ſupport or aſſiſt* Engliſhmen *with Men, Money or Counſel, or remain among the* Engliſh *in Time of War, he ſhall be held as a Traitor and Enemy to both Nations.*

VI. *That neither* France *or* Scotland *ſhall make Peace or War with the* Engliſh, *without the ſpecial Advice and Conſent of one another.*

Which Articles were written on Parchment, and the Seals of both Kings interchang'd, to be preſerv'd both in *Francc* and *Scotland*, to perpetuate the Memory of this League to after Ages.

The Arms of *France* join'd to that of *Scotland*.

It was at the Ratification of this League, that King *Charles* join'd the Arms of *France* to that of *Scotland*, *viz.* That the double Treſſure of the Field encircling the Red Lyon Rampant, ſhould be flower'd and counter-flower'd with the *French* Lillies, or Flowers *de Luce*.

The Alliance with *France* being made in Manner foreſaid, *Guilliam* remain'd with King *Charles* during all his Wars, and aſſiſted him in all his Conqueſts. He was ſo well eſteem'd among the Princes of *France*, that he got the Name of *The Knight without Reproach*. He was very proſperous in all his Wars, and ſubdu'd many Nations. Many of the moſt famous Exploits attributed to King *Charles*, were entirely perform'd by *Guilliam* and his valliant *Scots*. When King *Charles* left him in *Italy*, he reſtor'd the *Florentines* (who were deſtroy'd by the *Goths*) to their ancient Freedom and Privileges in their City of *Florence*; and in Teſtimony of their Gratitude, they ever after had Days appointed whereon they celebrated Plays, wherein it was repreſented, a crown'd Lyon (being the Arms of *Guilliam*) with divers Repreſentations in Memory of that Prince, who had deliver'd them from Subjection to Freedom.

The *Florentines* reſtor'd by *Guilliam*.

Gnilliam having purchas'd great Poſſeſſions and Riches, and being come to Age, having no Iſſue of his own Body, he dedicated all his Subſtance to pious Uſes. He founded many Abbies in *Italy*, *France* and *Germany*; ordaining that *Scotſmen* ſhould be Abbots of them: Which was, and ſtill is obſerved in ſome of them, according to the firſt Inſtitution. Thoſe Learn'd Men which went over with *Guilliam* to *France*, to ratify the Articles of the Alliance, were entertain'd with great Reſpect at *Paris*, where *Clement* and *John* continu'd to inſtruct the young Noblemen of *France* in the Literal Sciences; and had, by King *Charles*'s Command, a School or Univerſity erected, whereof the ſaid *Clement* was made Regent: And according to the firſt Inſtitution, *Scotſmen* were to have the Privileges of Teachers of the Sciences; and alſo all *Scots* Noblemen and Gentlemen's Sons were privileg'd to be taught there, if they deſir'd it. This was the firſt Foundation of the *Scots* College in *Paris*.

John went into *Lombardy*, and had a College erected in *Pavia*; where ſtill there is an Univerſity and Remembrance of the ſaid *John*.

King *Achaius*, during the Wars of King *Charles*, had Peace in *Scotland* for many Years; till ſome Parties of the *Picts* made Incurſions, which continu'd to be return'd by the *Scots*, to the Diſturbance of both Nations: But at laſt, *Achaius* King of *Scotland*, and *Hungus* King of the *Picts* had a Meeting, where they concluded Peace; and to renew and corroborate the former Alliance, King *Achaius* married *Ferguſiana* Daughter to *Hungus*, by whom he had a Son, nam'd *Alpinus*.

At this Time *Athelſtane* King of *England* invaded the *Picts*; and *Hungus* ſent his Ambaſſador to *Achaius*, who went with an Army to his Aſſiſtance. When the *Scots* and *Picts* were join'd they march'd to *Haddington*, where coming within Sight of the *Engliſh* Army, they lay all Night; the next Day they ſtood array'd, but did not attack one another, being divided by a River: But that Night the *Picts* and *Scots* reſolv'd to attack the Enemy, and to obtain Victory or loſe their Lives. 'Tis ſaid, That while King *Hungus* was aſleep in the Beginning of the Night, the Apoſtle St. *Andrew* appear'd to him, and told him, that his Army ſhould obtain Victory: And that when he awak'd he ſaw a white Croſs (in the Form of that whereon the Apoſtle ſuffer'd) ſhining in the Sky over his Army. He declar'd his Viſion, and order'd his whole Army to make their Confeſſion to the Prieſts, with Prayers to GOD for Succeſs, imploring St. *Andrew* their Patron to intercede for Victory over their Enemies. And about Midnight the Confederate Army ruſh'd on the *Engliſh*, calling aloud on the Name of CHRIST and St. *Andrew*. The *Engliſh* were mightily ſurpriz'd at their Noiſe, and were frighten'd to ſee the Croſs over their Army, and could not withſtand the Enemy with their wonted Courage, but were ſoon broken and routed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, and *Athelſtane* ſlain. The Confederates purſu'd the Enemy ſo far, that there were not left above 5000 Men alive of all the *Saxon* Army. After this Victory the Confederate Kings buried King *Athelſtane* with all Solemnity, in the Church of *Inchgarvie*; and *Hungus* order'd the Spoil of the Field and Camps of the *Engliſh* to be divided among the *Scots* and *Picts*: And when they return'd home, *Hungus* went a Pilgrimage to the Church of St. *Andrew*'s, and enter'd it bare-footed, where he perform'd his Devotion to GOD; and in Honour of that holy Apoſtle. And made a Vow, That he and his Poſterity ſhould have no other Enſign in Time of War, but that Croſs which had appear'd before this Victory: By which the St. *Andrew*'s Croſs became the Royal Enſign of the *Picts*; and was aſſum'd by the Kings of *Scotland* after the Extirpation of the *Pictiſh* Nation. *Hungus* re-built the Church with all Magnificence, and adorn'd it with rich Statues of CHRIST and his Twelve Apoſtles, and gave many rich Ornaments to that Church: But they were all moſt ſacrilegiouſly taken away and converted to prophane Uſes, by *Ferdus*, or *Frederick*, King of the *Picts*, ſoon before that People were quite deſtroy'd out of *Scotland*, for their irreligious Lives and Treachery.

It was about this Time that the *Roman* Empire was divided, and *Charles* the Great, King of *France*, was Emperor of the *Weſt*, and *Conſtantine* Emperor of the *Eaſt*: And by Authority a Council was held at *Niece*, by the Pope, and 300 Biſhops and Learn'd Fathers, about ſeveral Ordinances of the Church; and among other Things they conſider'd of the Lawfulneſs of having the Statues of CHRIST and His Apoſtles, with other Saints, ſet up in Churches; and it was determin'd, that the Statues or Pictures of the Paſſion of CHRIST and His Apoſtles, with other Saints and Martyrs, ſhould be ſet up in Churches, to put People in mind of their Sufferings and holy Lives, thereby to ſtir them up to more fervent Devotion; but not to worſhip or adore them.

King *Charles* reign'd King of *France* 47 Years, and Emperor of *Germany* 17; and died in the 28th Year of the Reign of *Achaius* King of *Scotland*.

In the Reign of *Achaius* were many Learn'd Men in *Scotland*, and in other Parts of the World: *Paulus Diacanus* wrote the Hiſtory of the *Roman* Emperors, after *Eutropius*; and *Iſwardus* wrote the Book of Martyrdom of Saints and Chriſtians.

Achaius, having liv'd long in great Felicity and Love of his Subjects and Neighbours, died in the 32d Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*, where a moſt magnificent Monument was erected in Memory of his Life and Actions. His Son *Alpinus* being young, he was ſucceeded by his Uncle *Congallus*.

CONGALLUS III. *The 66 King of* Scotland.

CONGALLUS III. Uncle to King *Achaius*, ſucceeded in the Government, in the Year of the World 4794, of CHRIST 824, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1104. He was a good and pious Prince, and kept Peace among his Subjects and Neighbours, being well belov'd of all Men. He died the 5th Year after his Acceſſion, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

DONGALLUS. *The 67 King of* Scotland.

DONGALLUS, the Son of *Solvathius*, was crown'd King of *Scotland* in the Marble Chair, in the Year of the World 4799, of CHRIST 829, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1109. When he had taken the Government, ſome of the Subjects were diſſatisfied that he ſhould reign, and importun'd *Alpinus*, the Son of *Achaius*, to take the Crown: But *Alpinus* would not uſe ſuch violent Means, as thoſe turbulent Perſons wou'd have him; which when they found him neglect to comply with their Deſires, they threaten'd him, and gather'd a numerous Party to *Argyle*, and wou'd have forc'd him to go with them to demand the Crown: But *Alpinus* ſeeing their rebellious Intentions, ſtole away privately from them, with two faithful Servants, and went to *Dongallus*, ſhewing him the Cauſe of his coming. *Dongallus* receiv'd *Alpinus* with all Reſpect and Honour, and told him, He was willing to give him the Crown when the Nobles might conveen to be Witneſs to his Reſignation, that they might exoner him. He declar'd to *Alpinus*, That his Reſpect for *Achaius*'s Family was ſo very ſincere, that he would not deſire to keep Poſſeſſion of their Right, but for their Advantage and Safety: Yet *Alpinus* would not accept of the Crown, during the Life-time of *Dongallus*; and the Conſpirators ſent Meſſengers to excuſe themſelves to *Dongallus*, laying the Blame on *Alpinus*; but the King knew the Truth, and pardon'd their Crimes.

About this Time *Eganus*, ſecond Son to *Hungus* King of *Picts*, kill'd his elder Brother, nam'd *Dorſtor Lorgus*, and took Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and diſtributed his Father and Brother's Treaſure among his Subjects, to gain their Good-will; and married *Brenna*, Daughter to the King of *Mercia*, who was the Wife of his Brother whom he ſlew. So that after the Murder of his Brother, he liv'd in daily Fear of his Life, and would not let his Wife, nor any one enter his Chamber, till they were firſt ſearch'd by his Guards, that they might not have any Weapons; and ſo as he ſuſpected, he was ſlain by *Brenna*, to revenge the Murder of her firſt Husband, his Brother, who was dear to her; for he had only forc'd her to conſent to be his own Wife.

Alpinus, Prince of *Scotland*, ſeeing both his Uncles dead, and no Heir ſo near as himſelf, he ſent his Ambaſſador to the Nobles of the *Picts*, claiming the Crown, as he was the Grand-child of *Hungus* by his Daughter *Ferguſiana*. But the *Picts* knowing the Title of *Alpinus*, had made one *Frederetus* or *Frederick*, one of their Nobles, a Relation to *Hungus*, their King. And when the Ambaſſador came, he found the *Picts* aſſembled with their new King *Frederick*. He being admitted, and begun to deliver his Embaſſy, *Frederick* commanded him to Silence, telliug him, That the *Picts* would nener admit of any King but of their own Blood, That tho' *Alpinus* was the Grandſon of *Hungus*, yet as he was born in another Nation, therefore he could have no Right to be King of the *Picts*.

Dongallus hearing this Anſwer, ſent a ſecond Ambaſſador, with Orders to declare *War* againſt the *Picts*, if they refus'd the juſt Claim of *Alpinus*. The *Picts* would give no other Anſwer than what they before had told; and hearing War declar'd, they rais'd an Army to defend themſelves. The *Scots* were unwilling to loſe the juſt Claim of their Prince, therefore were reſolv'd to diſpute it by Dint of Sword: But as *Dongallus* was raiſing his Army, being at the River *Spey*, paſſing over in a ſmall Boat or Coble, he was drown'd, in the 6th Year of his Reign. His Body was taken up, and buried by *Alpinus*, with all Solemnity due to the Funeral of a King, at *Icolmkill*.

ALPINUS. *The* 68 *King of* Scotland.

ALPINUS, the Son of *Achaius*, was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Year of the World 4805, the Year of CHRIST 834, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1115. After the Death of *Dongallus*, *Alpinus* continu'd the Preparation againſt the *Picts*, and went with his Army into *Angus*, where he was met by *Frederick* and the *Picts*. They fought a ſharp Battle with uncertain Victory, till *Frederick* being ſlain, his Army being diſcouraged, were routed, and purſu'd by the *Scots*, who found their Camp, and parted the Spoil. But the *Scots* loſt ſo many Men in this Battle, that they could not proſecute the War till they had new Forces rais'd; yet continu'd to diſturb the *Picts* by frequent Skirmiſhes, and plunder'd a great Part of the *Picts* Country. The *Picts* made *Brudus*, Son of *Frederick*, their King; but being a Man of weak Judgment, was hateful to the People, and was ſlain in a Tumult the firſt Year of his Reign; and was ſucceeded by his Brother *Kennethus*, whoſe Fate was little better than *Brudus*. He came into *Angus* with an Army, and ſeeing the *Scots* in a great Number come againſt him, he was ſo fearful of his Life, that he threw off his Armour, and fled into the Mountains, where he was kill'd by a Country-man, not knowing who he was. The *Picts* fearing the Danger to fight a Battle without a chief Commander, they made one *Brudus*, a Nobleman, their King; and ſent an Herald to King *Alpinus* to mak Peace, but *Alpinus* anſwer'd, That he would make Peace upon no other Terms, than the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of the *Picts*, which was his juſt Due. *Brudus* finding the *Scots* would not make Peace, ſent an Ambaſſador to *Edwine* King of *England*, with Sums of Money to him, if he would forget

get the paſt Injuries of the *Picts*, and ſupport them againſt the *Scots*. *Edwine* made anſwer to the *Picts* Ambaſſador, That his own People were in Danger of War by the *Britons*, ſo that he could not ſend them any Aſſiſtance: And beſides, that *Lewis* King of *France* had requeſted him not to join any Nation againſt the Intereſt of *Scotland*: But if *Brudus* would forbear till next Year, he would give Supply againſt the *Scots*; when he had ſecured the Peace of his own Nation. *Brudus* ſeeing himſelf ſlighted by *Edwine*, was reſolv'd to attack the *Scots*; and gather'd all the fencible Men of his Nation, and (by the Contrivance of ſome old ſagacious Counſellors) he cauſed their Army to march near *Caledon* Wood, and encamp there, till the coming of the *Scots* Army, and took all their Baggage-men, with many Women (having cloathed them all with Garbs like Armour) and placed them in the Wood, with a hundred Horſemen to guide them, according to their Directions. King *Alpinus* was in a Caſtle, ſituated on a Hill near *Dunkell*, and ſeeing the *Picts* Army advance ſo near, he drew out his Army and attack'd them, and after a bloody Conflict, the *Scots* had almoſt defeated the *Picts*; till thoſe People before-mention'd came forward out of the Wood, appearing on a Hill like a freſh Army of *Picts*; the *Scots* Army being much fatigu'd and broken in the Battle, retir'd to put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, were purſu'd by the *Picts*, and many of them ſlain. King *Alpinus* being taken, was moſt cruelly beheaded by the *Picts*, with many of his Nobles. The Place of this baſe Act was after call'd, from the Fact, *Bàs-Alpine*, *i. e.* The Death of *Alpine*. The *Picts* carried the King's Head to *Camleon*, and put it on a Stake on a high Tower. But this treacherous Cruelty was ſoon puniſh'd by his Son *Kennethus* who overthrew that treacherous People, and deſtroy'd them from being a Nation, as we ſhall ſhew in the next Reign. *Alpinus* reign'd only 4 Years.

King *Alpinus* beheaded by the *Picts*.

End of the THIRD *Book.*

BOOK IV.

The Hiſtory of the Kings from KENNETH II. *to the Reſtoration of* MALCOLM III. A. D. 1057.

KENNETHUS II. *The 69 King of* Scotland.

KENNETHUS II. the Son of *Alpinus*, was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Year of the World 4809, the Year of CHRIST 839, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1119. He was much afflicted at the Murder of his Father by the *Picts*, and vow'd Revenge, but the Army being broken ſo by the laſt Battle, he could not undertake another ſuddenly. In the mean Time the *Picts* were moſt inſolent, after the Victory of the late Battle, and had made Vows never to ceaſe, till the *Scots* were utterly deſtroy'd. Some of their grave Nobles advis'd to uſe this Victory with Moderation, ſince they had not obtain'd it by Valour, but as it was by Slight and Deceit, they ſhould not be ſo proud of it; and deſir'd they might be contented with the Victory obtain'd,

for the *Scots* were not eaſily to be ſubdu'd. This Advice was ſo offenſive to ſome of the *Picts* Army, that when they were on their March to invade the *Scots*, ſuch Diviſions happen'd among them, that they fought among themſelves, and after a great many of them were ſlain, *Brudus* return'd to *Camleon*, and died ſoon after. He was ſucceeded by *Donskine* his Brother, who pacify'd the Diviſions among them, and puniſh'd the Offenders. At the ſame Time certain *Scotſmen* went in Diſguiſe to *Camleon*, and feign'd themſelves *Picts*, come about Matters of Trade: But their Deſign was to bring away the Head of King *Alpinus*, which they did in the Night, and carried it to King *Kennethus*, who order'd it to be honourably buried with his Body in *Icolmkill*; and rewarded the Men who carried it away with Lands and Riches, for the honourable Action.

Kennethus having nothing more at Heart than to be reveng'd of the *Picts* for the Murder of his Father: Therefore the Nobles commanded the Subjects to be daily exercis'd in the Uſe of their Arms, to be ready in caſe they ſhould have Occaſion for War. The King ſhew'd his Nobles the great Deſire he had to be reveng'd on the *Picts*: But many of them advis'd him to delay War, until the young Men of that Age were grown up to be Men, able to revenge their Parents Deaths: Yet he continu'd to ſollicit them from Time to Time; but found they were not willing to engage in War, having loſt ſo many Men in the laſt Battle: And others were not willing the *Picts* ſhould be under one King and Government with the *Scots*, knowing them to be a ſubtle, deceitful People, and uncertain in their Friendſhip. Thoſe Delays continu'd until the fourth Year of his Reign: For during all the Time paſt, there happen'd no Trouble to the *Scots*, but ſome light Skirmiſhes, which did not much Harm. But now King *Kennethus* being weary of ſuch Delays, bethought him on a moſt ſtrange Stratagem of his own Contrivance; which he put in Execution after the following Manner: He conveen'd all his Nobles to his Palace, and conſulted with them what they intended about his former Deſire of War againſt the *Picts*. He found them more inclin'd than formerly, but not fully determin'd to raiſe an Army immediately, therefore he did not preſs them, to a ſpeedy Preparation; but ſeem'd well-pleas'd with their Compliance, and in Teſtimony of his Joy, invited them all to a Royal Banquet, where they were entertain'd with great Plenty and Mirth, ſo that it was far in the Night before they went to reſt.

The King's Contrivance was, When the Nobles were in Bed and aſleep, he dreſs'd ſeveral active young Men in Garbs of Fiſh Skins, and caus'd one of them paſs to each Appartment of the Nobles, with a Muſcane-Tree Club in one Hand, and a Bugle-Horn in the other, and order'd them at the ſame Time, exactly to ſpeak through the Horns, that they might appear to the Nobles as a Viſion: And accordingly they went in to the Appartments of the King and all the Nobles, and ſpoke aloud as they enter'd in theſe Words: *We are ſent to tell the King and People of* Scotland, *That if they will ſpeedily Arm, and give Battle to the Picts, they ſhall obtain Victory, and totally deſtroy them out of* Scotland, *ſo that they ſhall never more be a Nation; and their Kingdom ſhall be divided among the moſt Valiant of the* Scots *Nobles, and they ſhall poſſeſs them for ever, without Diſturbance.*

The Nobles being pretty well doz'd with Liquor, they awaken'd ſuddenly, and ſeeing the ſhinning Light, and hearing them ſpeak through the Horns, their Words ſeem'd more auguſt than human Voices, ſo that they were convinc'd it was a Viſion from Heaven; and what confirm'd them in that Belief was, That the Men had Cloaths which they threw ſuddenly over the Fiſh Skins and Clubs, which made the Lights evaniſh out of their Sights, and the young Men went out of the Room ſo quietly, that they could not hear nor perceive any Perſon enter nor go out.

The next Day when ſome of the Nobles were awake, they imagin'd it only a Dream or ſome Fantome; but finding that it had appear'd to every one at the ſame Time, in the ſame Manner, and expreſs'd the ſame Words, they had no Doubt of its being any Thing elſe than an Angel from Heaven,

and

and went to the King and told him their Viſion. The King, with Policy, diſguis'd his Knowledge of it, and told them, he had ſeen the ſame Viſion, but did not think they had had the like warning, nor did he think proper to acquaint them with what he had heard and ſeen, leaſt they ſhould diſtruſt the Truth of it, and judge him proud and preſumptuous, to ſay that he had ſuch Revelations from the Powers of Heaven.

However, this Stratagem ſucceeded to the King's Wiſhes, and the Nobles ſeem'd more forward than the King to raiſe an Army againſt the *Picts*; which they did of all the fencible Men of the Kingdom, by general Edicts; and order'd every Man between 16 and 60 Years of Age, ſhould repair to the King's Standard at *Stirling*, without any Delay or Excuſe, upon Pain of Death. In few Days King *Kennethus* had the greateſt Army which had ever been ſeen in *Scotland*, and were well arm'd. *Dunskine* hearing of the *Scots* Army coming againſt him, rais'd all the fencible Men in his Kingdom; and had an Army of *Engliſhmen* to aſſiſt him.

The *Picts* and *Engliſh* came in the Night round the *Scots* Army, and thought to have ſurpris'd them: But when they found the *Scots* Army on their Guard, they halted till it was Day-light, and then both Armies join'd Battle, and fought moſt fiercely. The *Picts* had been too haſty in their Attack, and thereby offended the *Engliſh*, who inſtead of fighting with them, took Flight; nor could they be brought back by the Entreaty of *Dunskine*, but told him, they were not accuſtom'd to fight but in Battle Array. By this *Dunskine* ſuſpected their Deceit, and turn'd more furiouſly on the *Scots*: But at laſt he, with his Army, was put to Flight; and *Kennethus* order'd his Army to purſue, and ſlay all the *Picts* they could overtake, to revenge the Slaughter of King *Alpinus* and his Nobles, who were ſlain after they had been Priſoners. King *Dunskine* made his Eſcape by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe; but moſt of his Army were ſlain, either in the Battle or Purſuit, and many of them were driven into the River *Forth*, and drown'd there.

After this Victory, *Kennethus* having beheld the Behaviour of the *Engliſh* Army, he ſuſpected their Plot, and call'd his Army to his Standard, and deſir'd they might be in a Poſture of Defence all that Night, for he had Reaſon to believe that the *Engliſh* came with a View of an Opportunity to deſtroy both, or either of the *Scots* and *Picts*, by falling upon the Conquerors with their freſh Army, and overcome them with the more Eaſe. This Suſpicion was not groundleſs, for the *Engliſh* Army follow'd cloſs after the Rear of the *Scots* (when they return'd from purſuing the *Picts*) till they came near where the *Scots* Army ſtood in Array, and then turn'd off, without offering to attack them. The *Scots* ſtood under Arms all Night, and the next Day they parted the Spoil of the *Picts* Camp. After this Battle *Dunskine* ſent to *Kennethus*, deſiring to make Peace. *Kennethus* anſwer'd, That he would grant Peace upon no Conditions, but the Crown of the *Picts*, which was his by juſt Title; which the *Picts* would by no Means conſent to: And next Spring the *Scots* invaded the *Picts*, and took all their ſtrong Forts of *Angus* and *Fife*, and encamp'd at *Stirling*.

Notice was brought to *Kennethus*, That the *Picts* who had ſubmitted to him in *Angus* and *Fife*, had ſlain all his Men that were in the Garriſons among them. The King enrag'd at this Treachery, return'd into *Fife* and *Angus*, and ſlew all the *Picts* that he could find, and burnt their Country. Whereupon King *Dunskine* rais'd all the fencible Men of the *Picts*, and came to the Banks of *Tay*, to a Place call'd *Scoon*, where they found the *Scots* Army in Readineſs to fight: But *Dunskine*, fearing the old Predictions, and being willing to make Peace while in ſome Hopes of Proſperity, rather than to beg Peace when overcome; he ſent an Herald to *Kennethus*, deſiring a Conference with him before they join'd in Battle; that he had Matters of Importance to communicate to him, as much for the Good of the *Scots*, as the *Picts*. *Kennethus* agreed to have a Conference, and the Place was appointed, where they met, with ſeveral Nobles of both Nations.

Dunskine, King of *Picts*, made a long Speech to *Kennethus*, ſhewing,

Dunskine, King of the *Picts*, his Speech to *Kennethus*, King of the *Scots*.

" That it was not Cowardice, nor Fear of being overcome, which made the " King of the *Picts*, (whoſe Puiſance was equal to the *Scots*) ſue for Peace to " the King of the *Scots*, but that he was induc'd more, by the Remembrance " of the ancient Alliance, and ſtrong Confederacy betwixt both Nations, to " deſire the ſame might be renew'd for the Good and Safety of both their " Kingdoms: That the Events of Battles were not only uncertain to both, " but was almoſt equally Deſtructive to the Conqueror, as well as Conquer'd: " And that as nothing could be more agreeable to good People, than Peace " and Amity, therefore exhorted the King of *Scots* to conclude a laſting " Peace, upon honourable Conditions; which if he refus'd, the *Picts* were " ready to defend themſelves, with as much Courage and Reſolution as " they had done in former Ages, when their Power was nothing inferior " to the *Scots*: But then they were willing the King of *Scots* ſhould have " the Lands of *Angus* and *Fife*, to be poſſeſs'd by his People, and added " to his Kingdom; which they thought was ſufficient to redreſs for the Lives " of King *Alpinus* and his Nobles, or any Injury done by the *Picts* to the " *Scots*.

Kennethus's Anſwer.

Kennethus hearing theſe Words, anſwer'd *Dunskine*, " That he was no " more covetous of any unjuſt Conqueſt, than his Predeceſſors were, nor was he " more afraid to defend his Kingdom, and demand his juſt Titles, than they " had been: That he was not ſeeking to conquer the *Picts* as an Enemy, " but inſiſted on Poſſeſſion of what juſtly belong'd to him by Birth-right. " Therefore he thought that the juſt Remembrance of the ancient Affinity " between both Nations, and how often his Predeceſſors had deliver'd the " *Picts* from the Power of foreign Enemies, ought to induce them to a grea- " ter Deſire of becoming one People and Nation, with ſo faithful Friends " and good Neighbours; and to give him Poſſeſſion of the Crown, which " only belong'd to himſelf by Birth-right, according to the Laws of both " Nations. As for the Offer they made of *Fife* and *Angus*, he would make " no Compoſition for his Birth-right, but have All, or loſe All. As for the " Deſire of Peace they ſeem'd to have, then he had Reaſon to believe they " only wanted Time to join in ſome new Alliance; ſince he was well aſſur'd " the *Picts* had made ſolemn Oaths, never to give Peace to the *Scots*, till " they had deſtroy'd them; of which Threatning he was not in the leaſt afraid. " But if he who had appear'd as their Head, and had taken Poſſeſſion of their " Crown, was ſincere in his Deſire of Peace for the Good of the *Picts* and " *Scots*, then he would renounce that Crown, to which he had no Right: " Upon which Condition he would pardon all Injuries in general to the *Picts*, " and accept him and all the *Picts* as his Subjects, and oblige the *Scots* to live " in Peace and Amity with them, without any Diſturbance, as one People. " If they refus'd him what was his Due, he was ready to hazard his Life to " make good his Right; not doubting but GOD would aſſiſt him in his " juſt Cauſe.

War declar'd between the *Scots* & *Picts*.

The two Kings parted without any Agreement, inviting one another to Battle, to decide their Differences by Dint of Arms. And both Armies being ready, they prepar'd for Battle with all Expedition: *Kennethus* exhorted his Army to ſhew their wonted Courage and Valour, in deciding the Fates of the *Scots* and *Picts*: Shewing them, That the *Picts* had ſworn never to be at Peace till they had deſtroy'd the *Scots*: Therefore the *Scots* ought to fight with the greater Reſolution, to deſtroy thoſe who intended their Deſtruction. That if they obtain'd Victory, the Realm of the *Picts* would be their Reward; whereas if they fled, the *Picts* had determin'd to deſtroy them and their Realm; and to murder their Wives and Children, that there might remain no Poſterity of the *Scots* in the Nation. The King having thus exhorted his People, he drew up his Army with double Lines in the Wings and Center. In the Front he plac'd his Archers and Croſs-bows; and next to them ſtood the Spears and Pikes; and behind were plac'd the Swords and Axes: On the Right Wing he put a Captain to command, nam'd *Bar*; and the

the other Wing was commanded by *Congallus*, and in the Centre the King's Brother, *Donald:* And the King himſelf lin'd the Centre with his Horſemen, to ſupport them in caſe of any Danger. The Army of the *Picts* made the firſt Onſet with great Fury, having arm'd and clot h'd moſt Women of the Nation with the Men, expecting to have frighten'd the *Scots* by their Number: As they knew that no Peace was to be expected, they were reſolv'd to take their Fates with their Husbands; but when they engag'd, their Cries and Scrieks did them more Hurt than their Strength could do Service to the Army. While the Conflict continu'd, *Kennethus*'s Army broke both the Wings of the *Picts*; and then the *Scots* encompaſs'd them, and ſlew them with moſt cruel Slaughter, till they gave over all Hopes of Victory, and threw down their Weapons, and took to Flight, and were purſu'd by the *Scots*. *Kennethus* gave Orders to the Captains to purſue and ſlay all the *Picts* they could apprehend; which they did with ſuch Fury and Cruelty, that ſcarce any *Pict* eſcaped alive, that came to the Field of Battle. *Dunskine*, with the only remaining Company of his Army, fled to the River *Tay*, and were waiting for a Ship, when a Company of *Scots* came upon him, and ſlew him and all his Company. 'Tis ſaid the *Picts* rally'd ſeven Times, and renew'd Battle, after they were ſo often broken by the *Scots:* As it is moſt certain, they were that Day like Perſons in Deſpair, ſtruggling with the laſt Chance of their Fate. So this was the laſt Battle which ever they fought; being by this Battle utterly deſtroy'd from being a Kingdom, or having the Name of a People.

The *Picts* are entirely deſtroy'd, and their Kingdom conquer'd by the *Scots*.

Kennethus ſent the Armour and Sword of *Dunskine* to the Abby of *Icolmkill*; and divided the Spoil among his Army; and determin'd that he ſhould not ceaſe, until he had put an End to this War, by the utter Deſtruction of the *Picts*, and went over all their Country, and divided all the Lands (which were in his Poſſeſſion, except the City of *Camleon*) among his Captains, according to the Merit of their Valour in the War: And chang'd the Names of the Lands, and call'd them by the Names of thoſe valliant Captains, to whom they were given. The Captain, who commanded the Right Wing of the Army, whoſe Name was *Bar*, got from the King (for his ſingular Valour in this Battle) a ſtrong Caſtle in *Lothian*, which was after call'd *Dunbar:* From this Captain deſcended the ancient Sirname of *Dunbar:* Of which Name have been many Peers of *Scotland*, and Men of great Account, as the Earls of *March*, and many other ancient Families. Altho' that Name are much decay'd in *Scotland*, yet there are ſeveral Gentlemen who are in poſſeſſion of ancient Eſtates.

Dunbars, from whence they had their Name.

The other Captains were alſo rewarded with Lands, according to their Valour. Thus were the Lands of the *Picts* divided among the *Scots*, and all their Kingdom join'd with the ancient Kingdom of the *Scots*, and call'd by one Name, *viz. SCOTLAND*, and in the Language of the Natives, *Albine* or *Albion*; For in thoſe Days the whole Nation ſpoke the ancient *Goidhleig* Language, which is ſtill retain'd in the *Highlands*, (differing in Dialect from the *Iriſh*) and is the ſame Language, which is ſtill in uſe among the Natives of *Ireland*.

Kennethus having divided the Lands of the *Picts*, yet had not got Poſſeſſion of their chief City *Camleon*, which was the only Part remaining in their Poſſeſſion; therefore he ſent an Army to beſiege it, but they defended it with great Reſolution, till they were in a miſerable Condition, yet would not ſurrender: But deſir'd three Days Truce to adviſe about the Surrender, which being granted by King *Kennethus*, without any Suſpicion of Deceit; and order'd his Atmy to ceaſe from the Siege for three Days. In the mean Time the *Picts* prepar'd all their Strength, and on the third Night open'd an old Gate, which had been ſhut up many Years; where they paſt out ſilently, and having kill'd the *Scots* Watch, they came upon the Army in their Tents, and ſlew about ſix hundred Men, (before the *Scots* could get to their Arms) and made their Eſcape in at the ſame Gate to the Town, which they ſtill continu'd to defend. King *Kennethus* ſeeing this Deceit, was ſo enrag'd, that he vow'd never to ceaſe, while there was a Soul of the *Picts* in the Kingdom alive; and

ſwore that the City ſhould be laid in Aſhes. He order'd all the Artificers in the Army to paſs to the next Wood, and cut and make Ladders, wherewith they ſcaled the Walls of the City, with ſuch Courage, that when many were knock'd on the Head, yet did not forbear, till they enter'd the Town, and the *Picts* were ſo deſperate, that they fought while one of them were able; and being all ſlain or wounded, the *Scots* were ſo furious, that they ſpar'd none, but put all to the Sword, and threw down the Houſes to the Ground, puting Fire to all the ſtrong Forts of it; and finally, left not ſo much as one Houſe nor Church remaining. This was the chief City of the *Picts*, and next to it was the Maiden Caſtle and Town, where now ſtands the Caſtle and City of *Edinburgh*: But *Kennethus* preſerv'd that Caſtle from being ruin'd, and repair'd it afterwards. All the *Picts* were entirely driven out of *Scotland*, (after they had reign'd and poſſeſs'd their Kingdom the Space of 1151 Years) in the Year of the World 4715 Years, in the Year of our Redemption 845, and 1115 Years after the firſt Beginning of the *Scots* Monarchy, by *Fergus* I. and in the 6th Year of the Reign of King *Kennethus* II.

The Time that the *Picts* reign'd in *Scotland*.

Many of the *Picts* went over into *Denmark*, and others recided among the *Saxons* in *England*. They were a moſt ingenious People in all Handy-craft Work, and laborious in all Things, eſpecially in Building. And when they were in Danger, they hew'd themſelves Houſes out of the ſolid Rocks: Some of which Places remain to be ſeen in *Scotland* to this Day; eſpecially at *Hawthornden*, 5 Miles from Edinburgh, is to be ſeen a Number of ſpacious Rooms in a ſolid Rock, with ſuch a difficult Paſſage in a Precipice, over a deep River, that one Man may defend himſelf from many Enemies, if provided with Subſiſtance.

'Tis reported by ancient Authors, That many ſtrange Prodigies were ſeen among the *Picts* for ſome Years before they were deſtroy'd: That the People were terrify'd in Day-light with the Noiſe of Men in Arms, and hideous Clamours, as of ſlaughter'd People in Battle. Two Suns were often ſeen contending in the Air; and towards Night the one evaniſh'd, and the other ſhin'd more bright. We have no Reaſon to doubt the Truth of this Account, ſince many ſtrange Signs of the Air has appear'd in later Ages: But when ſuch Signs do appear to any Chriſtian People, they ought to be the more frequent and fervent in their Prayers to the Almighty GOD of all Power, to deliver and protect the Nation and People, where they appear, from ſuch Judgments as their Sins deſerve.

Strange Sights and Prodigies before the Deſtruction of the *Picts*.

When *Kennethus* had ſettled his Realm, and divided and poſſeſs'd all *Scotland*, from *Adrian*'s Wall to the North Iſles, he built an Abby on the Banks of *Tay*, where he overthrew the *Picts*, and brought the Marble Chair (which till then had ſtill remain'd in *Argyle*) and plac'd it in a Caſe, or Carriage of Wood, in a ſtately Gallery in the Abby of that Place, call'd *Scoon*; where it remain'd till the Days of *Edward* I. of *England*.

The Abby of *Scoon* built by K. *Kenneth*. The Marble Chair tranſported from *Argyle* to *Scoon*.

King *Kennethus* continu'd to rule his Kingdom with great Juſtice and Equity; and paſt over all the Kingdom, repairing all the Ruins of Churches, Caſtles, and ſtrong Holds, planting Garriſons in all neceſſary Places; and being return'd to *Abernethy*, he caus'd repair the Church of St. *Ruel* or *Regulus*, where the Arm of the holy Apoſtle St. *Audrew* was buried; and ordain'd it ſhould be the Seat of the chief Biſhop of the Kingdom, who formerly reſided at the Abby of *Abbernethy*. The Kingdom of *Scotland* was not then divided into Dioceſſes, but every Biſhop had a Subſiſtance allow'd in any Part of the Nation where they went, as Neceſſity of Church Affairs requir'd them. This Cuſtom remain'd until the Days of King *Malcolm* III. This Abby and Cathedral Church was then call'd St. *Andrew*'s, and ever after was the chief Biſhop, or Primate of all *Scotland*'s Reſidence: And where, in the Year of CHRIST 1412. the Univerſity was founded, by the Lord Archbiſhop, *Henry Wardlaw*; and the Archbiſhops of that See (according to the legal Conſtitution) were to be perpetual Chancellor of it.

St. *Andrew*'s becomes the Seat of the chief Biſhop of *Scotland*.

The King call'd a Council of the Nobles and Judges of the Kingdom, and revis'd all the old Laws of the Nation; and ſuch as they judg'd unneceſſary were

were aboliſh'd, and the neceſſary and good Laws preſerv'd, and collected into one Volume or Book; and added ſeveral good Laws and Statutes, which remain to this Day in moſt Parts of the Kingdom. The Laws and Statutes made by King *Kennethus* are theſe, as follows.

Laws made by King *Kenneth* II.

I. *That in every Shire a Lawyer or Competent Judge ſhall always reſide, to decide all Matters betwixt the Subjects: That the Sons of thoſe Men ſhall ſtudy the Law in their Youth, to be able to ſucceed their Fathers: That thoſe Judges ſhall keep the Laws and Inſtitutions of the Kingdom; and if they be convicted of any Crime of Injuſtice or Treaſon, they ſhall be hang'd on Gibbets.*

II. *That all Perſons convicted of Theft ſhall be hang'd: And all Perſons convicted of Man-ſlaughter ſhall loſe his Head: And any Woman convicted of a Capital Crime, ſhall be drown'd or buried alive.*

III. *He that blaſphemeth GOD or His Saints, ſhall want the Tongue; and any who ſhall abuſe their King or Captain, ſhall loſe the ſame.*

IV. *Any one making Lyes to the Damage of his Neighbour, ſhall loſe his Sword, and be baniſh'd from good Company.*

V. *All Perſons ſuſpected guilty of any Crime, ſhall ſuffer the Inqueſt of 7 Wiſe Men, or 9, 11, 13, 15, or any odd Number of Judicious Perſons.*

VI. *All Oppreſſors and Invaders of other Mens Lands, ſhall be beheaded.*

VII. *All Vagabonds and idle Perſons, ſhall be burn'd on the Cheek, unleſs they will apply themſelves to ſome honeſt Imployment to live by.*

VIII. *That the Wife ſhall not be puniſh'd for the Husband's Crime: But the Husband ſhall be puniſh'd for the Crime of his Wife, if he knew of it. If it be a Concubine, ſhe muſt be puniſh'd as the Man.*

IX. *He that raviſheth a Virgin (unleſs ſhe marry him) ſhall be beheaded.*

X. *He that defileth another Man's Wife, ſhall be put to Death with the Woman, unleſs the Woman be forc'd.*

XI. *He that forceth any Woman, ſhall be beheaded, and the Woman declar'd innocent.*

XII. *If any Son injure his Parent, by Word or Deed, he ſhall firſt loſe either Tongue, Hand, or Foot, whereby he offended his Parent, and then be hang'd, and his Body remain unburied.*

XIII. *Any Son born Dumb, or Fooliſh, or Diſobedient to his Father, ſhall be diſinherited.*

XIV. *Jugglars, Wizards, or any Perſons known to uſe Familiarity with the Devil or evil Spirits, ſhall be burnt to Death.*

XV. *No Man ſhall ſow his Corn till the Weeds be taken from the good Grain; and he that defileth the Land with Weeds, ſhall pay for the firſt Fault an Ox, for the ſecond Fault ten Oxen, and forfeit the Land if he is found to tranſgreſs a third Time.*

XVI. *If a Beaſt be found going aſtray, it ſhall be by the finder given to the Searchers for Theft, or to the Pariſh Prieſt, to be kept for the Owner: If it be kept up three Days, the Perſon who kept it, ſhall be held as a Thief.*

XVII. *If any one keeps up his Neighbour's Goods or Cattle, and does not deliver it to the Owner after Proclamation is made for it, they ſhall be puniſh'd as for Theft.*

XVIII. *If any Perſon ſtrike his Adverſary in a Court before the Judge, he ſhall loſe his Action, and his Adverſary be free from all further Proſecution.*

XIX. *If Swine eat their Piggs they ſhall be kill'd, and their Fleſh forbidden.*

XX. *If any Man's Cattle eat his Neighbour's Corn, the Cattle ſhall be pounded till the Owner redreſs the Skaith done by his Cattle.*

XXI. *Churches, Altars, Images of Saints, Chapels, Oratories, Prieſts, and all Eccleſiaſtick Perſons, ſhall be held in due Reverence: And that Feſtivals and ſolemn Days of Faſting, Vigils, and all other Ceremonies of the Church, ſhall be obſerved according to the Inſtitution of the Church. He that hurts a Churchman, in Word or Deed, ſhall be puniſh'd to Death. All Sepulchres ſhall be holden in Reverence, and an Croſs put on them that none may tread thereon.*

XXII. *The Corps of dead Men ſhall be buried with a Funeral according to their Circumſtances. If a Nolleman that has done great Actions, two Horſemen ſhall*

paſs before him to the Church; the one array'd in his beſt Cloathing, bearing his Armour and Weapons, on a white Horſe; the other ſhall paſs in mournful Poſture, clad in Black, on a Horſe of the ſame Colour; and when the Corps is enter'd the Church, the Man riding the black Horſe ſhall turn his Back to the Altar, and there lament and deplore the Death of his Maſter; and when the Corps is interr'd, he ſhall return the ſame Way that he came: But the other, ſhall offer his white Horſe and Armour to the Prieſt, who ſhall interr the Corps with all Solemnity. This Cuſtom was long obſerv'd of giving the white Horſe, but afterwards they paid 5*l.* inſtead of the Horſe to the Prieſt of the Pariſh.

The above Laws were made and obſerv'd with all Strictneſs, by this good and pious King *Kennethus*, who liv'd ſeveral Years in Peace and Felicity after the Conqueſt of the *Pict*'s Kingdom: He died in the 20th Year of his Reign, and was buried with great Solemnity at *Icolmkill*.

DONALDUS V. *The* 70 *King of* Scotland.

DONALDUS V. the Brother of *Kennethus* II. ſucceeded in the Government, in the Year of the World 4829, of CHRIST 859, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1139. The Son of *Kennethus* being young, this *Donaldus* was judg'd a moſt valiant Prince, having behav'd himſelf with great Applauſe in the Army under his Brother. But ſuch is the evil Effects of long Peace and Plenty, that the greateſt Warriours often forget their Cuſtom of Arms, and give Way to Pleaſure and Luſt: For ſo did *Donald*, the 2d Year of his Reign he gave himſelf up to Pleaſure and lewd Living, which very much offended the Nobles. They went to him, and told him, That he did not remember the valiant Deeds and pious Life of his Brother, who never neglected being in Readineſs to defend his Kingdom, having accuſtom'd all his People to the conſtant Exerciſe of their Arms, in which he took great Delight: And exhorted him to conſider the unhappy Ends of many wicked and vicious Princes; how their Enemies took Advantage of their Sloth and unactive Lives.

Donald took but little Notice of what was told him, till he was alarm'd with Account of an *Engliſh* Army coming to invade *Scotland*: For the *Picts* which fled out of *Scotland* went ſome of them into *England*, and importun'd *Osbret* and *Ella* to ſupport them to recover their Kingdom from the *Scots*, promiſing Subjection to the *Engliſh* for ever. *Osbret* and *Ella* would not hearken to the *Picts* while *Kennethus* liv'd; but knowing the vicious and ſlothful Life of *Donald*, they took Opportunity to invade the Kingdom, and invited the *Britons* to their Aſſiſtance. They enter'd *Scotland*, and were come ſo far as the *Mers* and *Berwick*. *Donald* ſeeing this Danger, was much afraid, becauſe he had not taken Notice of the Advice given him by the Nobles; and ſent to them, ſhewing great Sorrow for his Negligence and Offences, and deſir'd they would raiſe an Army to defend the Nation; and that he was willing to venture his Life with them. Whereupon an Army was got ready with great Expedition, and they gave Battle to the *Engliſh* and *Britons*, and routed them entirely, ſo that above 10000 of them were ſlain.

The *Engliſh* and *Britons* are routed by the *Scots*.

Donald being ſo victorious, return'd to his former vicious Life, and went to the Mouth of the River *Tweed*, and found many *Engliſh* Ships loaded with Wine and all other Sorts of Proviſions, which he parted among his Army. This great Booty did more Harm to the *Scots* Army than the Victory did Good; for they being ſo much encourag'd by the Example of their Prince, fell to Carrouſing and Gluttony, till Notice was given to *Osbret* and *Ella*, who came upon them, and took the King Priſoner, and ſlew the greateſt Part of the Army before they could get to their Arms, which they could ſcarcely uſe, they had drunk ſo much of the Wine. 'Tis ſaid that the *Engliſh* and *Britons* ſlew above 20000 *Scots* at this Time.

They return upon the *Scots* and take the King Priſoner.

The

The *Engliſh* and *Britons* obtaining this Victory, went over the Country, burning and ſlaying all before them, until they came to the River *Forth*, where they were ſtop'd by the *Scots*: The Enemy finding the Land Paſſage ſtop'd, they ſhipp'd Ten thouſand Men to ſend them by Sea over the *Forth*: But a ſudden Tempeſt ariſing, above 6000 of them periſh'd, and the other Part were driven back by the Storm.

Osbret ſeeing he could not ſafely ſend his Army over by Sea, march'd them to *Stirling*, in order to invade *Fife* and the other Countries: But the *Scots* ſent to *Osbret*, ſhewing him, That it was not the Cuſtom of valiant Princes to invade their Enemies after Victory, without any Provocation. Yet they were willing to make Peace with them, and pay a ſufficient Ranſom for the King, whom they had Priſoner. *Osbert*, after deliberate Advice, ſent Word to the *Scots*, That upon Condition they would give up all their Lands betwixt the *Forth* and *Tyne*, to be poſſeſs'd by the *Engliſh* and *Britons*, they ſhould grant them Peace. Many of the *Scots* were againſt the Conditions, and offer'd to venture their Lives rather than part with ſo much of the Kingdom to their Enemies: Whereupon a Council was call'd, where it was long Time debated what to do; when one *Calenus*, Captain or Thane of *Angus* ſtood up, and ſaid, "It was known to the Nation that he had loſt ſeven Sons in Defence of the Country, in the firſt Battle, where they had "Victory, nor ſhould he be unwilling to venture his Life, if it could do Service to *Scotland*: But conſidering the King and moſt Part of the young "Noblemen of the Nation were Priſoners, and they being ſo weak that they "could not oppoſe the Force of the Enemy, it would be far more prudent "to make Peace, tho' on hard Conditions, and give up a Part of the Kingdom, till they might be in a Condition to recover it, than to venture a "Battle without ſufficient Strength, and loſe the whole Kingdom by their "Folly. He ſhew'd them Examples of the *Romans* and other Nations having done the like." By this Advice they return'd their Ambaſſadors to *Osbert*, and made Peace. The Peace being coucluded, *Donald* was ſent into *Scotland* with the other Noblemen, and the *Scots* paid 1000*l.* for their Ranſom: Beſides all that Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland* lying to the South of the Rivers of *Forth* and *Clyde*, were given unto the *Engliſh* and *Britons*. The *Engliſh* had all the Lands lying between the River *Forth* and *Adrian*'s Wall, having *Sterling* in their Poſſeſſion; *Osbret* coin'd Silver in that Town, and call'd it *Sterling* Money, from whence ('tis ſaid) came that Name of Silver.

Part of *Scotland* given up to the *Engliſh* and *Britons*.

The *Britons* poſſeſs'd all the Lands lying to the South of *Dunbarton*, the Tract of the old Wall being the Boundary betwixt the *Scots* and *Britons*. From that Time, the Caſtle which was formerly call'd *Auldcleugh*, was call'd *Dunbriton* Caſtle, the *Britons* being then in Poſſeſſion of it.

The *Picts* ſeeing the *Britons* and *Engliſh* make Peace with the *Scots*, diſpair'd of any Hopes from them, and went over out of *Englaud* into *Denmark* and *Norway*, and were well receiv'd there, with Promiſes to recover their Kingdom; which was the firſt Cauſe of the *Danes* coming to invade *Scotland*.

King *Donald* being ranſom'd by the *Scots*, repented of his former vicious Life, and was honourably eſteem'd by the Nobles. He died the 6th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

CONSTANTINUS II. *The* 71 *King of* Scotland.

CONSTANTINUS II. the Son of *Kennethus* II. was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Year of the World 4835, after the coming of CHRIST 865, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1145. In the Beginning of his Reign he took great Care to recover the Lands poſſeſs'd by the *Engliſh* and *Britons*; and importun'd the Nobles to raiſe an Army: But they anſwer'd, It would

be more proper for him to repair the Ruines, and reform the Manners of the Country (as they were in his Father *Kennethus*'s Time) before he could undertake any Expedition againſt ſo powerful Enemies. King *Conſtantine* call'd a Council at *Scoon*, where all the Nobles conveen'd, and renew'd and put in Force the Laws, as in the Reign of *Kennethus*; and made many new Laws, to reform the Manners of the People: Ordaining all Church-men to overſee the Children of the Nation, ſo that they might be brought up carefully, and train'd to induſtrious Living, free from Sloth and Vice; eſpecially, that they ſhould not be allow'd the Uſe of drinking in Taverns or Ale-houſes: And that all Taverns ſelling Liquor to the People to debauch them, ſhould be demoliſh'd. That any Perſon found drunk, or guilty of Gluttony, ſhould be puniſh'd with Death.

By theſe Laws, the People were in ſhort Time become very temperate, and obſerv'd the Doctrine of the Church, with all Devotion and Reverence to the Biſhops and Prieſts.

The King ordering all vicious Perſons to be puniſh'd, ſo that many ſuch Perſons fled into the Iſles; and one *Evanus*, a wicked Man, who had the keeping of *Dunſtaffage*, receiv'd many of them, and entertain'd them. He found ſuch a ſtrong Party, that he thought himſelf able enough to reſiſt the Force of the Law; and made a Speech to his Party, wherein he term'd the King a cruel Tyrant; and his Juſtice, Oppreſſion and Cruelty: And flattering them into Hopes to withſtand the Force of the Law, the depraved Party were ready to join in his Rebellion, and conſented to fortify the Garriſon againſt the King's Authority; and ſolicited the People of *Murray*, *Roſs*, and the Iſles, to join in Rebellion againſt the King. Whilſt they were preparing their Forces, the King had Notice thereof, and came againſt them with his Army. He took *Evanus* with all the Party, and hang'd him with all the Ringleaders and moſt wicked Perſons in *Dunſtaffage*, and return'd to *Scoon*.

This Rebellion was ſuddenly follow'd by a greater Diſturbance to the Nation; for the *Picts* had prevail'd with *Gadanus* King of *Denmark*, who ſent his two Brethren *Hubba* and *Humber*, with a Fleet of Ships and a great Army, into *Scotland*. They landed on the South-eaſt Part of *Fife*, and went over the Country with ſuch Cruelty, that all the People fled for Shelter and Safety of their Lives. In that Part of the Country were many holy Men, with *Adrian* the Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and fearing the *Danes*, they fled into the Iſle of *May* (an Iſle of a Mile in Length, lying in the *Firth* of *Forth*, three Leagues from Land) where was an Abby and many Monks: But neither the ſacred Place, nor Piety nor Innocence of the Perſons, could find Mercy or Reverence from thoſe inhumane *Danes*; but were all martyr'd in that Iſle, with ſevere Tortures, by the Advices and Devices of the *Picts*, who were as Guides and Directors among the *Danes*. This Martyrdom of the holy Biſhop *Adrian* and his Companions, was commemorated with all Reverence and Regard for many Years after, in *Scotland*.

The *Danes* firſt coming into *Scotland*.

King *Conſtantinus* hearing of this moſt cruel Barbarity of the *Danes*, came againſt them with his Army; and found they were divided into two Armies, at two Miles Diſtance from one another; having the River *Leven* between them, they could not ſupport one another; therefore *Conſtantine* attack'd *Hubba*'s Army (which lay on the South-ſide) and they fought a terrible Battle. The *Danes* were Men of a large Size, and had array'd themſelves in bright Armour, being painted with red Figures, and lin'd with ſtrong Leather, to withſtand the Dint of Arms; and their Swords and Axes were of a prodigious Weight, and Sharp, which could not be reſiſted by the *Scots* Armour; yet they were not ſo expert in forming their Army, ſo that the *Scots* ſoon broke them, and routed them with great Slaughter; and what remain'd alive, threw down their Arms and fled. Many of them were drown'd in the River, flying to the other Part of their Army. *Hubba* eſcap'd, by ſwiming over the River, and went to his Brother *Humber*, who array'd his Army to be reveng'd on the *Scots*. After this Victory, the *Scots* were not ſo careful of their Army, in preparing againſt the *Danes* for another Battle; but had

The *Danes* are routed by the *Scots*.

had ſome Conteſt about the Priſoners: And in the mean while *Humber* marſhal'd his Army with great Care and Exactneſs; having the Aſſiſtance of *Buernus* an *Engliſhman* (who was baniſh'd for Adultery with *Osbert*'s Wife) and all the *Picts* then reſiding in *England:* He exhorted his Army to fight with Courage, that they might expect great Poſſeſſions to reward their Valour, if they obtain'd Victory; but Death and Diſgrace would attend their Defeat. The *Danes* hearing thoſe Words, gave a loud Shout to teſtify their Reſolution and Deſire to Battle; and they all ſwore, never to return to their Tents without Victory.

King *Conſtantine* drew up his Army, and put *Ethus* his Brother in the Right Wing, and *Duncan* Thane of *Athole* in the Left Wing, and commanded the Middle or Center himſelf, and having exhorted his Army to remember the Valour of their Anceſtors, and the Honour they obtain'd by the many Repulſes they gave to foreign Enemies. After ending his Exhortation he march'd forward with his Army to attack the *Danes*, who ſtood divided into three Bodies: In the firſt was *Hubba*, with 6000 *Danes*; in the next was *Buernus* the *Engliſhman*, with 6000 *Engliſh* and *Picts*; and *Humber* commanded the third. The *Scots* attack'd the *Danes* with great Courage, and fought fiercely; but at laſt were overpower'd by the Policy and Number of the *Danes*. In this Battle were 10000 *Scots* ſlain, beſides many Priſoners taken, with the King, who was carry'd, by the *Danes*, to a Cove, and beheaded. The Place where the *Danes* committed this wicked Deed, is call'd, The *Black Cove* in *Angus*. He reign'd 13 Years.

The *Danes* overcome the *Scots* and *Conſtantine* taken & beheaded.

ETHUS. *The* 72 *King of* Scotland.

ETHUS, Brother to King *Conſtantine*, ſucceeded, in the Year of the World 4848, of CHRIST 878, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1158. He conveen'd all the Nobles at *Scoon*, to conſult proper Means to defend the Kingdom from the *Danes*, who had committed great Cruelty in the *Lothians* and South Parts of *Scotland:* But *Ethus* found the Army ſo weaken'd by the laſt Battle, that he could not attack the *Danes*. On the other Hand, the *Danes* (knowing the Valour of the *Scots*) turn'd their Force on *England*, and invaded the North Counties, where they were met by *Osbert* King of *England*, who gave Battle to the *Danes:* But *Osbert* being ſlain, his Army was routed, and purſu'd with great Slaughter. After this Victory the *Danes* went over the Country with Fire and Sword, deſtroying all Chriſtians where they could find them; nor did the holy Biſhops or religious Men find more Mercy than others, but were all murder'd with the utmoſt Cruelty.

In the Beginning of the Reign of King *Ethus*, were ſeen (amongſt other Prodigies which appear'd) a Multitude of Sea Monſters, call'd by the People *Monachi Marine*, i. e. *Sea Monks*; ſome call them *Baſſineti*, i. e. *Hooded* or *Helmeted Fiſhes:* They are ſhap'd like the Figures of human Bodies, with a black Skin covering their Heads down to their Shoulders, like Hoods. Theſe Monſters always preſage ſome ill Luck to the Prince or People of the Country where they appear: And ſo it happen'd in *Scotland*, for *Ethus* who appear'd a prudent Prince at the Beginning of his Government, he being endow'd with many Gifts of Nature, ſuch as Strength and Activity of Body, that no Man of that Age cou'd exceed him in Performance of manly Exerciſes. 'Tis ſaid that he was ſo ſwift of Foot, that he could take a Hart at full Speed; and for ſome Time delighted much in manly Diverſions: But the ſecond Year of his Reign, he gave himſelf up to the Company and Managment of licentious young Men, who delighted more in Luſt and Pleaſure, than in Virtue and valiant Actions: So that when the Nobles expected the King to Arm againſt the *Danes*, to recover the Lands poſſeſs'd by them; they found him entirely regardleſs of the Welfare of the Nation, taking notice of nothing,

Sea Monſters ſeen in *Scotland*.

but what could contribute moſt to his Luſt and Pleaſure; nor would he hear the Advice of any, but thoſe Miniſters of his Luſt and Luxury.

The Nobles finding themſelves abus'd, and the Nation in Danger of Ruin, intended to reclaim the King from ſuch vicious Practices, and order'd a ſtrong Guard to confine him, ſo that he might not have Opportunity to proſecute his Luſt. He finding himſelf depriv'd of his Pleaſure and lewd Companions, died of Grief, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

GREGORIUS. *The* 73 *King of* Scotland.

GREGORIUS, call'd *The Great*, the Son of *Dongallus*, was crown'd at *Scoon*, in the Year of the World 4850, of CHRIST 880, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1160. He was a Prince of a truly Royal Spirit, and govern'd his Subjects with ſuch Affability, that he rul'd the Kingdom more by Love than by Fear. He was alſo a moſt pious and religious Prince, and began all his Undertakings with Devotion and Prayer to the Almighty GOD; never failing to return Thanks and ſolemn Praiſe to GOD for all his Succeſſes; which he attributed more to the Divine Aſſiſtance of GOD, than the Power of Men.

Laws made by K. *Gregory*

He call'd a Convocation of his Nobles a *Forfar*, where he ordain'd, That all Church-men ſhould be exeem'd from all publick Taxes, and ſhould not be oblig'd to go to the War, nor any Publick Service, except in the Churches, or in Divine Service in the Camps or Army; And that no Church-man ſhould be brought before Temporal Judges or Magiſtrates; but that the Biſhops ſhould have Power to ſit as their Judges, and alſo to judge all Spiritual Affairs relating to Matters of Faith and Religion; to decide all Debates about Teinds, Teſtaments, and Legacies; to puniſh Blaſphemy, and all other profane Actions of the People. He alſo ordain'd, That all the Kings of *Scotland* for the Future, ſhould ſwear an Oath to defend the holy Church and Catholick Faith, with their utmoſt Power.

King *Gregorius* having inſtituted ſuch good Laws, gather'd an Army, and paſt againſt the *Danes* and *Picts*, which were in Poſſeſſion of *Fife*, *Lothians*, and the South of *Scotland*. He ſoon overcame them, and drove them entirely out of the Realm, and poſſeſs'd all the Kingdom with his own People. Some Companies of the *Danes* and *Picts* aſſembled in the *Mers*, and gave Battle to the *Scots*, but were routed, and fled into *Berwick*, where they were receiv'd by the *Engliſh* Inhabitants; but given up to the *Scots*, and King *Gregory* took the Town, and ſlew all the *Danes* and *Picts*, but ſav'd the *Engliſh*, and gave them Liberty to ſtay or depart the Town; which he fortify'd, and put therein a ſtrong Garriſon. He paſt with his Army to *Northumberland*, which he brought under Subjection to his Crown, as it had formerly been. The *Danes* hearing of the *Scots* Army entering *England*, *Hardeut* their Prince, ſwore an Oath to be reveng'd on the *Scots*, and never to ceaſe, till they were deſtroy'd. He came with an Army of *Danes* againſt King *Gregory*, who gave him Battle. *Gregory* having exhorted the *Scots* to remember the Murder of *Conſtantine*, and the Cruelty of the *Danes* in ſlaying the innocent Church-men, his Army attack'd them ſo furiouſly, with their long Swords and Spears, that they routed, and purſu'd them with great Slaughter. Thus were the *Danes* overthrown by the *Scots*, and driven to the Mountains, where they encamp'd: Nor were they ſafe there, for the *Scots* broke in upon their Camp, and ſlew many of them in their Tents.

The *Danes* and *Picts* are routed by the *Scots*.

At that Time *Alfred* King of *England* routed the *Danes*, and drove them quite out of the Kingdom: But hearing that they were return'd, and encamp'd near *York*, he went diſguis'd as a common Muſician into their Camp, and having obſerv'd all their Preparations, came away in the Night. He gather'd his Army, and came upon them in their Tents, and ſlew them with-

without any Reſiſtance. This King *Alfred* was the firſt who divided *England* into Shires or Counties. He ſent Ambaſſadors to *Gregory* King of *Scotland*, to keep Peace with him, and be confederate againſt the *Danes:* To which King *Greogory* conſented, on the Conditions, That *Cumberland*, *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, ſhould be reſtor'd to the Crown of *Scotland*.

The *Britons*, at this Time having ſome Lands belonging to the *Scots*, ſent their Ambaſſadors to King *Gregory*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance againſt the *Danes*; and that they would renounce all the Lands pertaining to *Scotland*: To which the King conſented, and enter'd into Alliance with the *Britons*. Thus was the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* recover'd by the Valour and good Conduct of King *Gregory*; and they liv'd peaceably, till *Conſtantine* King of *Britons*, repenting of the Conditions made with the *Scots*; and begun to plunder the *Scots*, who inhabited the Lands formerly poſſeſs'd by the *Britons*; and brought an Army into *Annandale*. King *Gregory* having Notice, rais'd an Army, and met *Conſtantine* at *Lochmaben*, and they fought a fierce Battle, where *Conſtantine* was ſlain and his Army routed, and purſu'd with great Slaughter. The *Britons* ſeeing their Army routed, begun to conſider how hateful they were to the *Danes* and *Engliſh*, therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Gregory*, ſhewing him, That it was only the Inſolence of *Conſtantine* who had undertaken the War, and broke the Peace, without Conſent or Advice of his Noles: And that, he being dead, his Brother *Herbert* was made their King, who deſir'd to renew the Band of Alliance, and be in perpetual Alliance with the *Scots*.

King *Gregory* anſwer'd, It was not the Deſire of Peace, nor Love for the *Scots*, which made them then court their Alliance, but that ſeeing their Army was broken in the laſt Battle, they were content to be at Peace, when they could hope for no Advantage by War. He deſir'd to ſhew *Herbert*, That he would have no Peace with him nor his treacherous People, till he redreſs'd the Loſſes ſuſtain'd by the *Scots* in *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland:* And that the ſaid King *Herbert* ſhould ſwear, Never to lay Claim to the ſaid Lands: And in the mean Time, That they ſhould give 40 young Noblemen of the *Britons* as Hoſtages to the *Scots*, for the Performance of theſe Conditions. *Herbert* was much offended at the great Demands of *Gregory*, but knowing the Weakneſs of his Army, rather than hazard a Battle, or be invaded by ſo powerful an Enemy, he condeſcended to thoſe Conditions; and the Pledges or Hoſtages were given, for the Performance of the Articles.

King *Gregory* aſſembled his Nobles at *Carliſle*, where he made a Learn'd Oration, ſhewing, "How by the Divine Aſſiſtance of GOD, he had de- "ſtroy'd the Enemies of *Scotland*, and had ſufficiently reveng'd the Death "of King *Conſtantine* on the barbarous *Danes*; and that, as the Nation was "free from all Danger of being invaded, as they were in Peace and Proſpe- "rity, they ought to give daily Thanks to GOD, by whoſe Divine Aſſiſt- "ance, they had not only obtain'd Freedom and Honour, but alſo great "Riches, which ought not to raiſe their Ambition, but ſhould be applied to "charitable and pious Uſes, to the Honour of GOD, the Author of all "earthly Advantages.

King *Gregory* exhorts his Subjects to Piety.

He exhorted the People to call to Mind "the happy Condition the King- "dom was in at all Times, when the Princes and the People ſerv'd GOD "with ſincere Devotion and Reverence to his Church and Church-men: "Whereas, on the contrary, they might call to Mind the Calamities of the "Princes and People, when addicted to vicious and wicked Courſes, in Diſo- "bedience to the Commands of GOD: That as Peace, Plenty, and Feli- "city was the Bountiful Reward of GOD, to all thoſe who obey'd his "Commands and reverenc'd his Servants; that likewiſe the cruel Perſecu- "tions, and deſtructive Swords of Enemies, and all other Miſeries, were the "juſt Judgments of GOD to puniſh ſuch as forget his Laws, and follow "the Luſt of the Fleſh and Vanity of the World." The People were all ambitious to obey and imitate this good Prince, in his ſtrict Obſervation of

the Chriſtian Religion; and ſtrove to exceed one another in pious Works and Charity, as well as Loyalty to the King; ſo that the Nation was happy by the Example of ſo good a King. *Alfred* King of *England* ſent his Ambaſſadors to King *Gregory*, applauding his Valour, in revenging the Murder of King *Conſtantine*, and congratulating him on his Succeſs and Victory over the *Danes* and *Britons*, deſiring to renew the old Band of Peace with him, that *Scots* and *Engliſh* might be Confederates againſt the *Danes*. King *Gregory* renew'd the Peace with *Alfred*, who agreed, That the three Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* ſhould be perpetually poſſeſs'd by the *Scots*, and that for the future they ſhould continue in Defenſive and Offenſive Allyance againſt all foreign Enemies; That all Diſturbers of the Peace, or any Perſon found to plunder, or ſteal ought from either Nation, ſhould be puniſh'd by Death, where he could be found to commit the Crime. This Allyance being ratified, the *Scots*, *Engliſh* and *Britons* continu'd in Peace for many Years.

The *Britons* and *Engliſh* enter into Alliance with the *Scots*.

When King *Gregory* had made Peace with all his Neighbours, he was ſurpriz'd with an Account of ſeveral Parties of *Iriſhmen* who came over and plunder'd the Inhabitants of *Galloway*. The Reaſon they gave was, That two Ships of *Dublin* had been taken by *Galloway*-Men in a Harbour; and to be reveng'd, they had plunder'd all that Country, carrying away Men and Goods. The King rais'd an Army, and purſu'd the *Iriſhmen* to the Sea; and finding they had eſcap'd, with ſuch Numbers of Men and Cattle, he took Shipping following them over to *Ireland*, and having landed his Army, he follow'd the Plunderers to the River *Boyn*. At that Time the King of *Ireland* was dead, and had left a young Son named *Duncan*, who was to ſucceed to the Crown: He being but a Child, two Princes, named *Brenus* and *Cornelius*, contended for the Government; but ſeeing the Kingdom in Danger, by the landing of the *Scots*, they laid aſide their Diſpute and joyn'd their Forces, and march'd their Army to the River *Boyn*, and encamp'd under the Shelter of a rocky Hill. The *Scots* could not attack the *Iriſh* Army, having the River on one ſide, and the ſteep Mountain on the other: But they ſent over Two Thouſand Men in the Night, with Orders to have huge Lumps of the Rock and looſe Stones ready to throw down among the *Iriſh* Camp, the next Day, when they ſhould have a Signal by a Light or Fire. And when King *Gregory* march'd over the River, and gave the Signal, the *Iriſh* were put into miſerable Confuſion, by the falling down of huge Rocks and Stones, which kill'd and wounded a great Part of their Army. The *Scots* attack'd them in that Confuſion, and thereby obtain'd a compleat Victory over them. *Brenus* was ſlain in his Tent, by the Fall of a Stone; and *Cornelius* fled with the Remnant of the Army to *Dublin*. King *Gregory* took the Cities of *Dundalk* and *Drogheda*, and commanded his Army to forbear from plundering the Inhabitants of the Country: And when he had planted Garriſons in the Towns, he march'd towards *Dublin*, where he found *Cornelius* had rais'd all the ſenſible Men of the Country, and were ready to give him Battle. *Cornelius* divided the *Iriſhmen* into three Diviſions: In the firſt were the Archers; in the ſecond the Swordſmen, arm'd with Coats of *Mailzie*; and in the third was *Cornelius* with all the Nobles of *Ireland*, having ſworn to fight with Courage and Valour, and to gain Victory or die in the Field; they were all arm'd with long Swords and Spears.

The *Iriſh* invade the People of *Galloway*.

King *Gregory* obtains Victory over the *Iriſh*.

The *Scots* attack'd the *Iriſh* Archers with long Spears, and ſoon put them back. Whereupon *Cornelius* being enrang'd, cry'd out to the Swordſmen to cut the Spears; and raiſing the Viſor of his Helmet, he was wounded in the Face, which made him leave the Field: Whereupon his Army took to Flight, and were purſu'd by the *Scots* with great Slaughter; ſo that they loſt more Men in their Flight, than were ſlain in the Battle. King *Gregory* purſu'd the Victory till he came to the Walls of *Dublin*, and beſieg'd it.

The next day, the Citizens fearing the Strength of the *Scots*, and knowing what a pious Prince their King was, ſent *Cormack* Biſhop of *Dublin* to *Gregory*, ſhewing him, That the Citizens beſeech'd him to ſpare their Lives with their young King, who was then at his Mercy; and deſir'd him to conſider, that

it

it would not be honourable for ſo great a King to take that Advantage of a young Prince; but that it would be more to his Praiſe, to defend and protect the young King and his Crown from the Uſurpation of the Princes of his People.

Cormack Biſhop of *Dublin*, his Speech to King *Gregory*.

King *Gregory* anſwer'd the Biſhop, That he came not into *Ireland* to conquer it, nor to deprive his Cuſin *Duncan* of the Crown, tho' then it was in his Power to do ſo: He only came to overtake and puniſh thoſe who had plunder'd, and carry'd his Subjects Priſoners, without any Reaſon or Provocation: That he had not forgotten the ancient Relation between the *Iriſh* and *Scots*; but yet he was ſtill reſolv'd to defend his Kingdom, and redreſs his Subjects of any who would invade or injure them: That if thoſe Plunderers had been given up to him upon his landing, he had not proceeded any further; but ſeeing them protected and aſſiſted by the Nation, he was reſolv'd to do himſelf Juſtice: Yet if they ſurrender'd the City, and ſubmitted to his Mercy, he would adviſe them how they might put an End to the War, and keep the Crown ſafe, till his Cuſin *Duncan* was of Age to govern the Kingdom.

K. *Gregory*'s Anſwer.

The People of *Dublin* hearing this Anſwer of *Gregory*, open'd the Gates of the City, and he, with his Army enter'd with Aclamations of Joy and Triumph. The People iſſu'd out of all Parts of the City to ſee the *Scots*; and the Religious Men aſſembl'd, and went to met *Gregory*, with *Cormack* the Biſhop, clad in his ſolemn Habit, carrying the Croſs before the reſt, which when the King ſaw, he ſtraight diſmounted from his Horſe, and kiſs'd the Croſs with all Reverence and Reſpect. Whereupon *Cormack* ſaid to the King "We have great Reaſon to thank GOD, That inſtead of a cruel Enemy, "we find you a moſt pious Chriſtian and faithful Friend to our King and "Country, ſhewing Mercy and Compaſſion on us, and have not put us to "the Sword, when your victorious Army brought our Lives and Subſtance "into your Power!" The Nobles of *Ireland* next came to *Gregory*, and ſhew'd all Submiſſion and Reſpect to him, extoling his Valour and Mercy: *Gregory* receiv'd them all very kindly, and aſſur'd them of his Protection from the Violence of his Army. He went to the Churches of the Bleſſed Virgin and St. *Patrick*, and after performing his Devotions, he retir'd to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, where he reſted all Night, being guarded by his own Soldiers. He charged and commanded that none of his Army ſhould be found guilty of any Inſolence within the City: And that if any *Scotſman* ſhould be found guilty of defiling a Virgin, or married Woman, they ſhould be put to Death.

King *Gregory* call'd the Nobles of *Ireland* to a Council in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, where he concluded Peace with them upon theſe Conditions: That the young King *Duncan*, ſhould be given to the Keeping of wiſe Preceptors within the Caſtle of *Dublin*: That King *Gregory* ſhould be Guardian of *Ireland* during *Duncan*'s Minority: And, That the *Iriſh* ſhould never admit *Engliſh*, *Britons* nor *Danes* into *Ireland*, without the Advice and Conſent of the *Scots*. All which, the *Iriſh* Nobles ſwore to perform moſt faithfully. And for the Performance of theſe Conditions, *Gregory* took forty Pledges or Hoſtages, and return'd to *Scotland* with his victorious Army.

King *Gregory* built the City of *Aberdeen*, and repair'd all the Churches and religious Houſes in the Nation: And having reign'd many Years in Peace and Quietneſs, being generally belov'd by his Subjects and Neighbours, he died in *Dundore*, a Caſtle of *Garioch*, in the 18th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

DONALDUS VI. *The* 74 *King of* Scotland.

DONALDUS VI. the Son of *Conſtantinus* II. was crown'd King, in the Year of the World 4868, of CHRIST 898, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1178. He was a prudent and pious Prince; and by his good

Conduct prevented many Diſorders which were like to diſturb the Peace of his Subjects.

At this Time liv'd the Learn'd *John Scot*, a Man of great Fame; who ſtudied many Years at *Athens*, where he perfected himſelf in the *Greek* Tongue. He was invited to *France* by *Lewis* the Emperor and King of *France*, where he was much reſpected for his Learning and Judgment. This *John* was after ſent by the Emperor *Charles* III. as Ambaſſador to *Alfred* King of *England*, and *Donaldus* King of *Scotland*, to congratulate them on their Victory over the *Danes*. King *Alfred* continu'd in Peace with the King of *Scotland*, and did many Deeds of Piety. He took great Delight to inſtrnct the young Noblemen in the Rules of the Catholick Religion, and would often chaſtiſe them when guilty of Vice.

Normans, their Original.

It was about this Time that the *Normans* took their firſt Beginning in *France*, as it is ſaid, that *Rolland* King of *Denmark* gather'd a great Army of *Danes* from ſeveral Parts of the Eaſt, and invaded ſeveral Parts of *France* with great Cruelty, and went on without Interruption; for *Charles*, the King of *France*, being Emperor, was engag'd with his Army againſt the *Sarazens* in *Italy*, by which the *Danes* got Poſſeſſion of a great Part of *France*: And when the King return'd with his Army, the Princes of *France* knowing the great Power of the *Danes* and the Weak Condition of their Army; being broken by the Wars in *Italy* they perſuaded the King to make Peace with the *Danes*, that the Kingdom might not be utterly Deſtroy'd by ſo powerful Enemies. The King conſented to conclude Peace with the *Danes*; and the King *Rolland* married the Daughter of *Charles* the King of *France*, and had all the Lands after call'd *Normandy* with her: This *Rolland* receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith, and was baptiz'd by the Name of *Robert*, and was made King of *Normandy*; and contracted with the ſaid *Charles* to pay a yearly Tribute or Acknowledgment to the Crown of *France* for the Lands of *Normandy*.

This *Robert* or *Rolland* begat a Son on the Daughter of King *Charles*, nam'd *William*; and *William* had a Son nam'd *Richard*, who had two Sons nam'd *Robert* and *Guſtard*: The eldeſt Son *Robert*, was the Father of *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who was the Conqueror of the *Danes* and *Saxons* in *England*. The ſecond Son *Guſtard*, was a valiant Captain, and made great Conqueſts in *Italy*.

King *Donaldus* living in Peace and Felicity, gave himſelf to Juſtice and Policy, whereby he eſtabliſh'd the Nation in Peace and Tranquility, and encreas'd in Riches. He gave himſelf much to Devotion, and was a good Example to his Subjects, by ſhewing great Reverence to the Church-men. By publick Proclamation he ordain'd, That all Perſons, of whatſoever Rank, who ſhould blaſpheme or ſpeak irreverently of GOD or His Saints, or nam'd the Devil, ſhould be burnt with a hot Iron on their Lips.

Blaſphemy, Curſing, and Swearing puniſh'd.

The King hear'd about this Time that *Garmond* King of the *Danes* was coming with an Army into *Northumberland*: But Notice was brought that the *Danes* deſign'd to invade the *Engliſhmen* and not the *Scots*; yet *Donaldus* ſent 5000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, to aſſiſt *Alfred* King of *England* againſt them, according to their Articles of Confederacy. *Alfred* met the *Danes* at *Abingdon*, where they fought a ſharp Battle, and the *Engliſh* and *Scots* obtain'd the Victory, but the *Engliſh* Army were ſo weaken'd, that *Alfred* was willing to give Peace to the *Danes*, upon Condition that they ſhould receive the Chriſtian Faith, and be baptiz'd; to which they conſented, and receiv'd the Sacraments of the Catholick Church. After this the *Danes* became ſo familiar with the *Engliſh*, that they liv'd like one People in Unity and Amity, which laſted ſeveral Years, during the Reign of *Alfred*: But he was ſlain in the 27th Year of his Reign, and was ſuceeded by his Son, call'd *Edward*.

The *Murrays* and *Roſſes* fight a Battle.

In *Scotland*, at this Time, happen'd great Diſturbance between the *Murrays* and the *Roſſes*, ſo that they invaded one another, till at laſt they met, and fought a Battle, where near 2000 of them were ſlain: The King was ſo offended that his Subjects ſhould kill one another in private Quarrels, that he went with his Guards and apprehended and puniſh'd the chief Promoters of the

the Strife. King *Donald* return'd with his Army, and having ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect the *Danes* and *Engliſh* were reſolv'd to invade his Poſſeſſions, he went into *Northumberland*, and built a ſtrong Caſtle; where he liv'd ſome Time after, and kept Peace all the Days of his Life: For he had an Army in Readineſs, in caſe the *Danes* or *Engliſh* ſhould offer any Diſturbance to his Subjects. King *Donaldus* died in *Carliſle*, in the 11th Year of his Reign, and was buried with his Royal Anceſtors in *Icolmkill*.

CONSTANTINUS III. *The* 75 *King of* Scotland.

CONSTANTINUS III. the Son of *Ethus*, ſucceeded, in the Year of the World 4879, of CHRIST 909, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1189. He was a pious Prince, and delighted more in Religious Works than Exerciſe of Arms: Which made *Edward*, the Son of *Alfred*, King of *England*, think of recovering the Lands poſſeſs'd by the *Scots* in *England*: For *Edward* wanting a Pretence to make War, ſent to King *Conſtantinus* an Herald, deſiring that he would reſtore the three Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, which he pretended was taken by Force by King *Gregory*. King *Conſtantine* return'd Anſwer, That he poſſeſs'd thoſe Lands by often renew'd Contracts of the Kings of both Nations, and were confirm'd to King *Gregory*: That he would maintain his Property of it to the utmoſt of his Power: And, that if *Edward* wanted Occaſion of War, he would be as ready (as his Predeceſſors always were) to defend his Realm againſt all Enemies, not doubting but GOD would give him Succeſs in his juſt Defence, againſt unjuſt Offenders.

After this follow'd many Incurſions on both Sides, but the *Engliſh* finding the *Scots* reſolute, would not venture a Battle for Fear of the *Danes*. At laſt the *Engliſh* Nobles ſeeing many of their Men ſlain in Skirmiſhes, perſuaded *Edward* to ſend an Herald to *Conſtantine*, offering Redreſs of all Injuries, and to renew the Peace: To which *Conſtantine* ſoon agreed, and Peace was again concluded. After this the *Danes* took certain poor *Engliſhmen*, and hang'd them on Gibbets as Thieves, tho' they were innocent Perſons; whereupon the *Engliſh* took ſeveral *Danes*, as they were about Buſineſs in *London*, and hang'd them on Gibbets: Upon which War broke out between the *Danes* and *Engliſh*, and both Armies came within Sight of one another: But by the wiſe Mediation of Biſhops they were brought to a Reconciliation: And they agreed upon theſe Conditions, That *Beatrice*, the Daughter of *Edward* (being his only Child) ſhould be married to *Etrick*, King of the *Danes*; and that the Heirs of her Body ſhould enjoy both the Crowns, and ſucceed to the Crown of *England* after *Edward*'s Deceaſe. *Edward* had a Brother nam'd *Edwine*, but by the Treachery of *Etrick* he was drown'd in his Paſſage to *Flanders*; and *Athelſtane*, the Baſtard Son of *Edward*, fled out of *England*, to ſave his Life. *Etrick* ſet his Mind next to deſtroy *Edward*; which being known to *Beatrice* his Wife, ſhe told her Father *Edward* to ſhun the Company of her Husband. *Edward* being right ſorrowful for this new Alliance, turn'd very melancholly, and would have kill'd himſelf, but was prevented by his Friends. He then turn'd his Malice on *Etrick*, and poiſon'd him, by the Help of *Beatrice*. *Etrick* left two Sons (by his former Marriage) nam'd *Olaus* and *Godfred*: Thoſe young Men being expert Warriors, took Poſſeſſion of their Father's Lands; and being inform'd of the Treachery of their Step-mother, they carried her to a Ston and ſtrip'd her naked, and put hot boil'd Eggs in her Arm-pits, and ty'd her Arms to her Sides, whereby ſhe died in extream Pain. After this the *Danes* and *Engliſh* invaded each other with many Incurſions and Battles, with uncertain Victory; till at laſt, they fought a Battle by the River *Owſe*, where the *Engliſh* had the Victory, and

put the *Danes* to Flight; but loſing King *Edward* in the Battle, with ſuch a great Number of their Army, that their Condition was worſe than that of the *Danes*.

Olaus, the Son of *Etrick* came to *Conſtantine*, and prevail'd with him to ſend *Malcolm* (the Son of *Donaldus* VI.) call'd Prince of *Scotland*, and Lord of *Cumberland*, to help the *Danes* againſt the *Engliſh*. King *Conſtantine* being ſeduc'd by the Flattery of *Olaus*, ſent the Prince, *Malcolm*, with a great Army into *England*, and join'd the *Danes*. They committed great Cruelty in many Places, till the *Engliſh*, having made *Athelſtane*, the Baſtard Son of *Edward*, their King: He came with all the Strength of *England* againſt the *Danes* and *Scots*; and gave them Battle, at a Place call'd *Broningfield*. Both Sides fought deſperately, till the *Engliſh* gave back; and the *Danes* and *Scots* thinking them defeated, left purſuing them and fell to the Plunder; whereupon the *Engliſh* ſuddenly array'd and return'd upon the *Scots* and *Danes*, and fell upon them in that Diſorder, and ſlew great Numbers of them before they could form themſelves into Battle Array; and when they were put to Flight the *Engliſh* Army purſu'd them with great Slaughter. After this Victory, *Athelſtane* went with his Army into *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, and drove all the *Scots* out of it, and poſſeſs'd it with the *Engliſh*. The Prince *Malcolm* was wounded in this Battle, and brought upon a Horſe Litter to *Scotland*. King *Conſtantine* ſeeing the *Scots* and *Danes* overcome, conveen'd the Nobles at *Abernethy*, where he declar'd his Sorrow and Repentance of the Alliance with the *Danes*, and reſign'd the Crown and Government to Prince *Malcolm*, and retir'd to the Abby of St. *Andrew*'s, in the 40th Year of his Reign. He liv'd a religious Life, and two Years after died, and was buried in *Icolmkill*.

It is from this re-taking of the three Counties, that the *Engliſh* Authors take Occaſion to ſay and affirm, without any Authority, that *Athelſtane* was Monarch of all the Iſle of *Britain*: Some of them allege, that the Kings of *Scotland* took an Oath of Fidelity to the Kings of *England*: This is no more than the falſe and miſtaken Reports of ſome partial Perſons, having never yet produc'd the Atteſtation of any one famous or creditable Author to prove their groundleſs Reports. Some Perſons quot the famous Writer *Marianus Scotus*, a Monk, who wrote the Hiſtory of the World to his own Time, and died *A. C.* 1086: But he makes no mention of the *Scots* being ſubject to the *Engliſh* at any Time; for ſeveral *Scots* Authors have ſearch'd the Edition of his Works printed in *Germany*, and find thoſe Quotations falſe and forg'd. Many *Engliſh* Authors, who inſiſt on that Part of the Hiſtory, where they ſay *Athelſtane* was King of all the Iſle of *Britain*, are very ignorant or careleſs, when they ſeem to introduce that Story; they do not underſtand their own Authors, or do not take Notice, that *Bede*, *William* of *Malmsbury*, and *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, do commonly call that Part of the Iſland, lying on the South of *Adrian*'s Wall (which the *Britons* inhabited) *Britain*: For the Dominions of the *Britons* never extended farther north than *Adrian* or *Severus*'s Wall; nor did the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* nor *Engliſh* ever, at any Time, conquer the Kingdom of *Scotland*, nor bring the Kings to acknowledge them as ſuperior Princes, at any Time.

MALCOLM I. *The 76 King of* Scotland.

MALCOLM I. the Son of *Donaldus* VI. was crown'd King at *Scoon*, in the Year of the World 4919, of CHRIST, 949, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1229. The King having been wounded in the late Battle, and loſt many of his Army, he conſider'd that it would be more proper for him to defend his Kingdom, than enter into new Wars: But hearing that *Athelſtane* had given *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland* to

Aulaſſus

Aulaſſus King of the *Danes*, he conveen'd his Nobles, and conſulted what was proper to be done for the Recovery of thoſe Lands. His Nobles being young and the Army weak, he found but little Hopes of recovering them at that Time: Yet when he had leaſt Hopes, he had the News of a Rupture between the *Danes* and *Engliſh*; and they purſu'd one another with continual Slaughter, till at laſt the *Engliſhmen* obtain'd the Victory over the *Danes*; but with ſuch Loſs of Men, that *Athelſtane* was afraid of being invaded by the *Scots*, and ſent an Ambaſſador to King *Malcolm*, deſiring to make Peace, for the Good and Safety of both Nations. *Malcolm* return'd Anſwer, That he would not make Peace till the three Counties were reſtor'd to him, as had been granted to his Predeceſſors. *Athelſtane* agreed to the Conditions, and *Indulfus* Prince of *Scotland*, was made Lord of *Cumberland*; and put in immediate Poſſeſſion of the three Counties. And all the eldeſt Sons or next Heirs to the Kings of *Scotland*, were titled Princes of *Scotland*, and Lords of *Cumberland*.

King *Malcolm* ſpent his Days in Peace, and executed Juſtice impartially to all his Subjects. He went once every Year over the Kingdom, and viſited all the Courts of Juſtice; and as he was in *Ulrine*, in the Shire of *Murray*, ſeeing Criminals puniſh'd, he was murder'd by Ruffians. They were all apprehended, and moſt ſeverely tormented to Death; their Heads and Limbs were ſet up in noted Places of the Kingdom. About this Time died King *Athelſtane* of *England*, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Edmond*. King *Malcolm* reign'd 9 Years, and was burried in *Icolmkill*.

INDULFUS. *The* 77 *King of* Scotland.

INDULFUS the Son of *Conſtantinus* III. was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Year of the World 4928, of CHRIST 958, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1198. In the 5th Year of his Reign, *Aulaſſus* King of *Danes*, ſent an Ambaſſador, entreating him to raiſe an Army to paſs againſt the *Engliſh*, to revenge the Loſs of the *Scots* at the Battle of *Broningfield*: That *Athelſtane* was dead, and *Edmond* was a Prince of no Courage; and as the late Peace was made between *Malcolm* and *Athalſtane*, they being both dead, he was not oblig'd to ſtand to the Articles farther than they were for his Advantage.

King *Indulfus* anſwer'd, That the Peace with the *Engliſh* was agreed upon by deliberate Advice and Counſel of the King and Nobles of the Kingdom, having given Oaths for the inviolable Performance of the Conditions: Therefore he would not diſolve it, while the *Engliſh* perform'd their Parts of the Articles.

Aulaſſus being deny'd Help by the *Scots*, rais'd all the *Danes* he could gather, and paſt through *Northumberland* into *England*, and was join'd by one *Elgerne*, an *Engliſh* Captain. *Edmond* ſent an Ambaſſador to *Indulfus* for Help of Forces; and *Indulfus* rais'd an Army of 10000 Men, and march'd into *England* to join *Edmond*. *Aulaſſus* hearing of the Approach of the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, ſent to the Kings of *Scotland* and *England*, deſiring them to give *Northumberland* to be poſſeſs'd by the *Danes*, and he would make Peace, and live in Friendſhip with the *Scots* and *Engliſh* in all Times coming: But could not obtain his Deſire. The two Armies of *Scots* and *Engliſh* being join'd, they came upon the *Danes*, and gave them Battle. The *Danes* fought with great Courage, but were at laſt put to Flight, and purſu'd by the *Engliſh* and *Scots* with great Slaughter. *Elgerne* was taken with ſeveral others of his Party, and by the Command of King *Edmond*, they were hang'd on Gibbets.

Indulfus return'd home with his Army, and ſettled his Kingdom in Peace, and executed Juſtice, to the great Satisfaction and Felicity of all his good Subjects; nor did he omit any Duty incumbent on a good Prince, to a loyal

and dutiful People. But, while the Nation was in Peace and Tranquility; *Hago*, Prince of *Norway*, and *Helrick*, Prince of *Denmark*, came with a Fleet of Ships, to revenge the Loſs of their Countrymen in the late Battle. They attempted to land in the *Forth*, but were repuls'd by the *Scots* ſeveral Times; and ſet to Sea, as if they intended to return home, but went North, and landed in *Buchan*. The Country-People did all they could to hinder their landing, but were overpower'd by the *Danes*, and purſu'd to the Mountains. *Indulfus* rais'd his Army, and came upon them, before they were appris'd of his coming; and ſeeing them get ſpeedily to their Arms, he exhorted the *Scots* to fight with Courage againſt the *Danes*, who aim'd at nothing leſs than the utter Deſtruction of their Nation: Therefore entreated them to take Courage, and hope for ſuch Victory as might weaken their Armies, and fruſtrate their future Hopes of Conqueſt. The *Scots* being impatient to fight, ruſh'd on the *Danes* with ſuch Fury, that they routed, and purſu'd them to their Ships, where many of them were drown'd; and ſome fled into the Woods and Vales for Shelter: But the King having put off his Armour to eaſe himſelf in the Purſuit, was kill'd by an Arrow from a Party of the *Danes*, that lay hid in the Valley. Two Noblemen of *Lothian*, nam'd *Dunbar* and *Graham*, ſeeing the King ſlain, fell upon the remaining *Danes*, and ſlew every Man of the Party; nor did the *Scots* ſave any of them, where they could apprehend them, after the Battle.

The *Scots* obtain'd a compleat Victory over the *Danes*, but could not rejoice at their Triumph, ſeeing the Death of ſuch a good and valiant King. He was ſlain in the 9th Year of his Reign, and buried in *Icolmkill*.

DUFFUS. *The* 78 *King of* Scotland.

DUFFUS, the Son of *Malcolm*, was made King; and *Culenus*, the Son of *Indulfus*, made Prince of *Scotland* and Lord of *Cumberland*, in the Year of the World 4937, of CHRIST 967, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1207. The King ſent *Culenus* into the Iſles, to puniſh Robbers, which had plunder'd many of the Inhabitants. And whilſt he was putting the Laws in Execution againſt Criminals, he was taken with an uncommon Diſeaſe, whereby he grew, by Degrees, weak, without any Pain, but perpetual Sweating: None of the Phyſicians of that Age could find any Remedy for him, but adviſ'd him to be patient till the Return of the Spring, which would produce Herbs of Virtue; and that That Seaſon would be more proper to apply the Medicine, than any other Time. In the mean Time, it was whiſper'd about, that the King was not ſick of any natural Diſeaſe; but that his Sickneſs was occaſion'd by ſome Diabolical Art of Witches. Mean Time Search was made in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, and hearing of Witches in the Shire of *Murray*, and that a nightly Aſſembly of them were at *Forreſs*. The King being inform'd, ſent to *Donald*, the Captain or Governor of *Forreſs*-Caſtle, deſiring he might make diligent Search: And at laſt Intelligence was brought to *Donald*, that one of the Soldiers of the Caſtle, being familiar with a young Woman, who was Daughter to one of the Witches, had heard her ſay, that the King would ſoon die. Upon this Information they went to a Houſe, where the Mother and Aunt of this young Woman had been often ſeen at Night; and upon Diligent Search, they found an Image of Wax, reſembling the King, which the Witches had roaſting on a Spit, at a ſoft Fire. Their Deſign was, That as the Wax melted by Degrees, the King might diſſolve into a Sweat, and pine away by Degrees; and would die when the Wax was conſum'd. The Soldiers brought the Witches and the Image to the Caſtle; and having broken the Picture, the King ſpeedily recover'd. The Witches being examin'd, confeſs'd they were hir'd by the Friends of ſome Perſons who were executed for Robbery; and that they had conſulted the Devil

The King taken with a ſtrange Diſtemper:

Which was alledg'd to be Witchcraft.

Devil how to deſtroy the King. The Witches were all burnt to Death, and *Donald* made Search for the Perſons who had hir'd them, and they were alſo burnt. The King being perfectly recover'd to his former State of Health and Strength, came into *Murray*, where there were many Criminals apprehended and ſentenc'd to be hang'd at *Forreſs*; among whom were ſeveral Friends and Relations of *Donald* the Captain, and his Wife. The King was ſolicited by *Donald* and his Wife to pardon them; but would not alter the Sentence of the Law upon any Account. After this *Donald* and his Wife were ſo enrag'd, that they hated the King with moſt inveterate Malice, yet diſguis'd it from his Knowledge; till one Night, the King lodg'd in that Caſtle where *Donald* was Governor; his Wife told him, he might then be reveng'd, by killing the King, and lay the Blame on his Chamberlains. *Donald* hearken'd to the wicked Counſel of his Wife, and ſeem'd overjoy'd at the King's coming, and in Teſtimony of his Love to the King, made a Banquet for all his Domeſticks that Night, and made them to drink plentifully of Wine, till it was late. When the King was aſleep, and all his Servants being dos'd with Liquor, *Donald* ſent in four Ruffians into the King's Chamber, and murder'd him, throwing his Blood upon ſome of his Servants lying by him: They carry'd the Body to a River, and put a great Stone over it; and the Murderers fled next Day to the Iſles of *Orkney*. That Night, after the Murder was committed and the Ruffians eſcap'd, *Donald* went to the King's Guards, and ſat with them, to teſtify his Innocence. When he came down to them, he told, the King was gone to Bed; and continu'd all Night, praiſing the King, and applauding his Juſtice in Puniſhment of Criminals.

The King murder'd by Ruffians.

In the Morning the Alarm came to the Guard, that the King was murder'd and convey'd away, and that his Bed was full of Blood. *Donald* hearing the Noiſe, ſeem'd to be more concern'd than any Perſon, and ſeeing ſome Blood on the King's Servants, ſtabb'd them in a furious Paſſion, ſwearing they had murder'd the King, and convey'd him away; and then ſhewing the Nobles a Poſtern Paſſage, which he aledg'd they had open'd, on purpoſe to convey the King's Body out of the Caſtle. *Donald* ſhewing himſelf ſo very zealous, in making the Murder ſeem done by thoſe innocent Servants that he had ſlain, was much ſuſpected by the Nobles, and ſome other Circumſtances concurr'd to confirm their Suſpicion; but could make out no Proof againſt him. From the Day of the King's Murder ('tis ſaid) that neither Sun, Moon, nor Stars were ſeen in *Scotland*, but the Sky continu'd dark and cloudy all that Time. *Culenus* Prince of *Scotland*, and General of the Army, was brought to *Scoon*, and crown'd King.

The good King *Duffus* was thus barbarouſly murder'd in the Flower of his Age, and in the Fifth Year of his Reign.

CULENUS. *The 79 King of* Scotland.

CULENUS, the Son of *Indulfus*, was crown'd King of *Scotland* in the Year of the World 4942, of CHRIST 972, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1212. The ſtrange and terrible Darkneſs continu'd ſtill, and daily Search was made for the Murderers of King *Duffus*, but none could be found. *Culenus* call'd the Nobles, and, with their Advice, ordain'd that publick Prayers and Faſting ſhould be continu'd through all Parts of the Kingdom; and made a ſolemn Vow, never to be at Eaſe until he found and puniſh'd the Murderers of the late King. He paſt into *Murray*, with his Judges, to make narrow Search; whereupon *Donald*, knowing himſelf guilty, fled to the Mouth of *Spey*, where he found a Ship, with which he went to the *Orkneys*, taking the Murderers with him, and went towards *Norway*. The King coming to *Forreſs*, and hearing that *Donald* was fled, caus'd apprehend his

Wife and Servants; after long Tryal, ſhe confeſs'd the Murder, and how the Body was hid in the midſt of a River, in the Stream. The ſame Day they went to take up the King's Body, *Donald* was driven on the Coaſt of *Murray*, with his Ship, by a Storm, where he and the Ruffians were apprehended by the Country People, and brought to King *Culenus*. When they went to the River, where the Body of the King was buried, they found that the Current of the Stream had turn'd, and had not run over that Place where the Corps lay; and when it was taken up, it was as freſh of Colour and Skin, as if newly ſlain.

Donald, his Wife, and the Four Ruffians, were ſeverely tormented to Death, and their Heads and Quarters put up upon Stakes in the moſt conſpicuous Places of the chief Cities in the Kingdom. After the Murderers were Executed, *Culenus* caus'd the Corps of King *Duffus* to be carried to *Icolmkill*, and intomb'd with all Solemnity. 'Tis ſaid, That as ſoon as the Murderers were Executed, the Darkneſs clear'd up, and it became moſt ſerene Weather.

King *Culenus* built the Abby of *Kinloſs*, and dedicated it to the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*; there was alſo a Stone Bridge built over the River, where the Body of *Duffus* was found. For the firſt Two Years *Culenus* appear'd a moſt pious and prudent Prince; but by making young vicious Noblemen his moſt familiar Companions, he was encourag'd by their Example to commit all Manner of Wickedneſs; for he follow'd his Luſt and Pleaſure, and gave up the Authority of Government to young Profligates, who oppreſs'd the People with Cruelty: But the greateſt of their Cruelty was in taking all chaſte Women, (without any Regard to their Parents or Husbands) whether they were married Women, Virgins, or religious Nuns; and carried them to the luſtful King, and after he had defil'd them, thoſe wicked Companions and Miniſters of his Luſt uſed them commonly. The grave Noblemen of the Kingdom reprov'd the King; but inſtead of heark'ning to their Reproof and Advice, he upbraided them for their Inſolence, and told them, That young Men were more proper for his Counſellors and Companions, than old Dotards; ſaying, When he came to their Age, he would forbear his youthful Pleaſures; but was reſolv'd to enjoy them while he was young. The Nobles were griev'd to ſee him thus led by a Sett of young wicked Men, yet would not offer him any Violence, as he was their King. Such was his inſatiable Luſt, that he delighted in no Company, but thoſe vicious Perſons, who ſearch'd every Part of the Kingdom, where they could find beautiful Women, and brought them to him, either by Stratagem or Force. While he continu'd in this luſtful Courſe of Life, by his frequent Uſe of Women, he became ſo very weak and feeble, that he was depriv'd of ~~the~~ Uſe of his Limbs, and was in a miſerable Condition full of Pain. The Nobles (whoſe Daughters had been carried off by the Force of the King's wicked Familiars and defil'd) aſſembled at *Scoon*, to conſult what Means might be moſt proper to reſtrain the King from thoſe wicked Courſes. He hearing of their Meeting, went in a Horſe Litter, with his Companions, to know the Reaſon of their Aſſembly: But unhappily he was encountred on the Way, by *Rudarus* Thane of *Methven* (whoſe Daughter was carry'd away by Force, and defil'd by the King) and at the Village of *Methven* in *Perthſhire*, *Rudarus* ſlew King *Culenus*, in the 5th Year of his Reign, and his Body was carry'd to *Icolmkill*, and buried there.

KENNETHUS III. *The* 80 *King of* Scotland.

KENNETHUS III. the Brother of *Duffus*, was crown'd King, in the Year of the World 4947, of CHRIST 977, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1217. He took much Pains in the Beginning of his Reign to reform the

the Manners of the young Perſons of deprav'd Lives, and puniſh'd all guilty of Crimes, with the utmoſt Severity and Rigor of the Law; and on the other Hand, encourag'd all virtuous and induſtrious Perſons. He was a Perſon of ſuch a prudent and temperate Life, that the People ſtudied to take Example by him, and conform their Lives to his Pleaſure. It may always be obſerv'd, that when the King inclines to Virtue and Piety, the People incline the ſame Way, to gain his Favour: And when they ſee the King given to Vice, the People (eſpecially the younger Sort) are apt to follow his Example, and gain his Favour, by encouraging his moſt favourite Vices: So that, certainly, nothing can be a greater Example to People, than the Lives of their Princes; for as the Nobles ſtudy to pleaſe their Prince, by following his Example, ſo the Commons take the ſame Methods, to gain the Favour of their Superiors.

Kennethus ſuppreſs'd all Taverns and lewd Houſes, and encourag'd all induſtrious Perſons, in whatever Handicraft or Labour they could get their Living by. He baniſh'd all the young vicious Men from Court, and entertain'd none but Perſons of ſingular Virtue, about his Court, or in his Service. By the Execution of ſuch Puniſhments, ſeveral idle Perſons turn'd Thieves and Robbers; ſo that the People being daily robb'd and plunder'd, they complain'd to the King: Whereupon he went over the Country, and order'd them to be apprehended and executed. But many of them fled, and were protected and ſhelter'd by ſome young diſoblig'd Noblemen; whereat the King was much offended, but diſguis'd his Wrath, and order'd all the Nobles of the Kingdom to aſſemble at *Scoon*; and at the ſame Time order'd a Guard of arm'd Men to be in Ambuſh, till the Nobles were conveen'd; and then gave them Orders to enter the Council-Chamber. When they were all conveen'd, the King took his Seat, and all the Nobles, every one according to his Birth and Degree: Then the King gave the Signal to the arm'd Men, who enter'd and ſurrounded him and the Nobles, at the Council-Table. The King ſeeing the Nobles aſtoniſh'd, ſpoke to them, and ſaid, "Be not afraid, (my wiſe "Friends and Counſellours) of this ſtrange Appearance, for they are not "come here with any Deſign to injure any of you: Theſe are only the "Guards and Defence of the Common-people, as well as of you, my Nobles, "and my own Perſon: They are not brought here by me, with treacherous "Deſigns; but to ſee Juſtice done to the poor People of the Land, whoſe "Complaints we muſt hear and redreſs; by puniſhing all Offenders. I do "not accuſe you, my Nobles, of any ſuch Crimes, nor baſe Actions: But "yet we find that many wicked Thieves and Robbers (whoſe wicked Lives "were encourag'd in the late Reign) are fled from Juſtice, and protected by "Perſons of Power and Authority, from the due Puniſhment of the Laws. "It is the Complaints of thoſe Common-people, and Labourers, that we "ought to conſider and redreſs. We live in Peace and Plenty, and free "from hard Labour; and thoſe poor People, live in daily Care, Trouble "and Poverty, to provide a plentiful Maintenance for us their Superiors: "Then ought we not, in Gratitude, to protect and defend thoſe poor Peo-"ple, who labour with Induſtry to nurſe us. It is in order to redreſe thoſe "Grievances, that our Guards are here, not to take any of your Lives, but "to demand thoſe Thieves and Robbers from you (my noble Friends) to be "deliver'd up to Juſtice and the Laws of the Nation: That our Enemies may "not encreaſe to oppreſs our Friends, and the Commons, who ſupport us in "all our Eaſe and Pleaſure: Therefore reſolve, ſpeedily, to order all thoſe "Thieves and Vagabounds to be brought before us, that they may receive "condigne Puniſhment, according to their Crimes: But, 'till they are de-"liver'd up, we are reſolv'd to continue thoſe Guards over ſuch of you, as "protect and ſhelter them." The Nobles, hearing theſe Words, fell on their Knees before the King, beſeeching his Pardon for their paſt Offences; and deſir'd they might remain, where the King thought proper, 'till their Friends would bring the Offenders before the Judges. The King brought the Nobles with his Guard to the Caſtle of * *Bretha*, and entertain'd them with all Reſpect, having Liberey to walk within the Walls of the Town:

K. *Kennethus* his Speech to the Nobles.

* The ancient Name of *Perth*.

For this Town was ſuch a ſtrong Fort, that no Perſon could enter nor paſs out, without the Knowledge of the Watch. The Nobles, generally, ſpent their Time in reading of the Hiſtories of the Nation, and the Works of Learned Men, for there were no Cards, Dice, nor any ſuch Games us'd in that Age. In the mean Time, all thoſe ſuſpected Perſons were brought before the Court of Juſtice, then held in *Bertha*; and after a legal Trial, near 500 Perſons were condemn'd, and the moſt notorious Robbers and Thieves hang'd and put up in Chains, to terrify all other People from committing the like Crimes. After this Puniſhment, the Kingdom was govern'd in Peace and Tranquility for ſeveral Years.

The *Danes* land an Army in *Angus*.

The *Danes* being ſtill Enemies to the *Scots*, they came with a great Fleet of Ships, and landed in the Mouth of the River *Eske* in *Angus*, and deſtroy'd the Town of *Montroſe*, ſlaying all the Inhabitants, without any Diſtinction of Age or Sex; and making great Devaſtations, till they came to the River *Tay*. The King, who was at *Stirling*, hearing of their Cruelty, march'd ſpeedily againſt them with his Guards, and a ſmall Army, not having Time to get a ſufficient Number of Forces together. The *Danes* had laid Siege to the Town of *Bretha*, but ſeeing the Army of the *Scots*, they withdrew from the Town, and array'd themſelves for Battle, near the River *Tay*. King *Kennethus* array'd his Army, and gave the Command of the Right Wing to *Malcolm*, Prince of *Scotland* and Lord of *Cumberland*; and the Left Wing to *Duncan*, Thane of *Athole*; and took the Command of the Mid-battle or Center himſelf.

The *Danes* having a ſtrong Army, gave out among themſelves, that no Man muſt hope to return to his Camp, but as a Conqueror; which made them attack the *Scots* with ſuch Fury, that both Wings of the *Scots* were broken and fled; but the King with the main Body maintain'd the Battle for ſome Time, yet could not long ſubſiſt againſt the Strength of the *Danes*. That Day had been certainly ruinous to *Scotland*, unleſs Aid had been offer'd by one Man, ſent, as it were, from Heaven, in ſo Dangerous a Poſture of Affairs: For there was a Countryman nam'd *Hay*, with his two Sons plowing in the Fields, over which, the *Scots* that fled, were making their Way. Whereupon the old Man told his Sons, That their Work would be to no Purpoſe, if their Country was ruin'd by the cruel *Danes*, therefore took the Yoaks of the Plows, and they three ſtood in a narrow Paſs, where the *Scots* fled, and (they being ſtrong and able body'd Men) threaten'd to kill every one that would not return to the Battle again; telling them, It was better and more honourable to die in the Field fighting for their King and Country, than to fly, and be afterwards murder'd by the mercileſs *Danes*: And they upbraided all thoſe who would fly like Cowards, when all lay at Stake. The more daſterdly ſtood ſtill, and many of the ſtout Men, who fled more by the Deſerting of their Companions, than Want of Courage, join'd with *Hay* and his Sons, to ſtop the reſt, till there were a Number together: Then *Hay* and his Sons led them on, and return'd on the *Danes*, and made a furious Onſet, crying aloud, *Help is at Hand!* Which made the *Danes* believe, that a freſh Army of *Scots* was falling upon them.

The *Scots* obtain Victory over the *Danes*, at *Longcarty*, by the Means of a Countryman, nam'd *Hay*.

By this couragious, honeſt Countryman and his Sons, the *Scots* obtain'd a compleat Victory over the *Danes*, at *Longcarty*, a Village in *Angus* near *Tay*. When the *Scots* were dividing the Spoil of the *Danes*, the Name of *Hay* was in every ones Mouth; for to him they aſcrib'd the Victory, the Honour of the Day, and their own Lives.

When *Hay* was brought to the King, he ſpoke very modeſtly of himſelf; and when rich Garments were offer'd to him and his Sons (that they might be the more reſpected) they refus'd them, and wip'd the Duſt from off their Coats that they wore, and carry'd the Yoaks that they had us'd in the Battle as their Weapons, having done great Execution with them among the *Danes*: In this Condition the *Hays* enter'd *Bertha* or *Perth*, having the general Shouts and Acclamations of Praiſe as they went.

The

The King call'd an Aſſembly at *Scoon*, and to *Hay* and his Sons he gave, (as a juſt Reward of their Valour) as much Land in the moſt fruitful Part of the Country as a Falcon from off a Man's Hand flew over, until ſhe lighted at a Place call'd (from that) *The Falcon's Stone*, being Six Miles in Length, lying on the River *Tay*, now call'd *Errol*. And to promote him and his Sons from the Rank of *Plebeians* to the Order of Nobility, the King aſſign'd him a Coat of Arms, *viz. Argent, Three Eſcutcheons Gules*, which is the Earl of *Errol*'s Coat of Arms to this Day, as being lineally deſcended from this valiant *Hay*, and ſtill poſſeſſes the ſame Lands. Of that Family are deſcended many Noblemen and Gentlemen of the firſt Degrees in *Scotland*.

The King rewards *Hay*'s Valour with the Lands of *Errol*.

The original Bearing of the *Hays*.

After this Victory obtain'd over the *Danes*, the Kingdom ſeem'd to be in ſettled Peace; till one *Carthilinthus*, having Debate with his Grandfather *Cruthenus*, (who was Receiver of the King's Taxes) and came to the Caſtle of *Delbogny*, where *Cruthenus* liv'd, and rais'd ſuch Diſturbance, that two of *Carthilinthus*'s Servants were ſlain, and he eſcap'd narrowly with his own Life. He went to his Mother nam'd *Finella*, (the Lady of *Fettercairn*) and ſhew'd her the Injury done to him by her Father-in-law, *Cruthenus*, who was hated by *Finella*; who adviſ'd her Son to be reveng'd of *Cruthenus*. He went with a Company of arm'd Men to the Caſtle, and ſlew his Grandfather, and all that were in and about his Caſtle, and carried away all the Goods and Money that he could find, not ſparing the King's Rents, which was in the Keeping of *Cruthenus*. The People of *Angus* being alſo plunder'd by *Carthilinthus*, they made their Complaints to the King; whereupon he ſummon'd *Carthilinthus* to compear in 15 Days after, at an Aſſembly held at *Scoon*, to anſwer for his Tranſgreſſions; but refuſing the Summons, the King purſu'd him and his Confederates ſo ſpeedily, that they were all taken, and carried to *Dunſinnan*, where they were try'd and executed according to the Law. This Act of Juſtice was mightily commended by the People; and all King *Kennethus*'s Actions were moſt agreeable to all good People, till the too great Affection he had for his Son, poſſeſs'd him with a Deſire to have the Crown left to him, without ſuch a Competitor as *Malcolm* the Prince of *Scotland*: For he look'd upon *Malcolm* with Envy and Hatred, and at laſt forgot the Laws of GOD and Nature, and gave Way to the violent Ambition he had to ſettle his Son in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, after his Deceaſe; and gave Poiſon ſecretly to the Prince, whereof he died in a few Days after, to the great Sorrow and Affliction of all the People; for he was a moſt virtuous and hopeful Prince, being well belov'd by all Men; and even by *Kennethus*, till the evil Spirit poſſeſs'd him with the wicked Sin of Envy and Covetouſneſs. When the Prince, *Malcolm* was dead, the King appear'd more ſorrowful than was common, which occaſion'd great Suſpicion among the Nobles; but ſuch was his great Art, that they ſoon thought their Suſpicion groundleſs: For when the Funeral Obſequies were perform'd for *Malcolm*, it was obſerv'd at all times that the King ſhed abundance of Tears, nor could he ever hear the Name of *Malcolm* mention'd, but he wept bitterly. The People conſtructed this to his great Concern and Sorrow for the Death of the Prince; tho' it was, probably, the Remorſe of his guilty Conſcience, when put in mind of his great and heinous Offences againſt GOD and Nature.

Cruthenus ſlain by *Carthilinthus*.

He is apprehended and executed.

The Prince *Malcolm* poiſon'd by King *Kennethus*.

About this Time *Edward* (called *The Martyr*) King of *England*, ſent an Ambaſſador to King *Kennethus*, condoling the Death of Prince *Malcolm*, and deſiring, that as all Perſons were mortal, that they might chuſe a new Prince of *Scotland*, to take the Government of *Cumberland*, for the better Preſervation of the Peace between both Nations, which he deſir'd might be inviolably kept for the common Good and Safety of both *Scots* and *Engliſh*.

Kennethus receiv'd the Ambaſſador with all Reſpect, and deſir'd he would wait 'till the Nobles were aſſembled, that he might know in his Anſwer who was appointed Prince; for at that Time there were of the Royal Blood Two young Princes, one named *Conſtantinus*, the Son of King *Culenus*, and *Grimus*, the Son of King *Duffus*; both having Right before the Sons of *Kennethus*, as was the Laws then in Force, that Men of ripe Years next of the Royal

Blood ſhould ſucceed before the Son of the King, being a Child: But *Kennethus* reſolv'd to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to aboliſh thoſe Laws, which he accompliſh'd; yet not ſo effectuallyas to get the Crown to his Son immediately after his own Death.

Kennethus's Speech to aboliſh the Act of Succeſſion.

The Nobles were conveened at *Scoon*; and the King came into the Council, and made a Speech to the Nobles, ſhewing, "That as they then enjoy'd "Peace and Tranquility, they ought to conſider on proper Means to preſerve "the Realm in ſuch Peace and Concord in all Times coming: That as they "were then aſſembled with unanimous Conſent and Reſolution to confirm "the Laws of the Succeſſion of their Princes, they ought to take all the an- "cient Laws and Statutes into deliberate Conſideration, and confirm all ſuch "Acts and Statutes as were for the common Good and Safety of the Princes "and People; and likewiſe to aboliſh all ſuch Laws and Statutes, as might "be prejudicial and dangerous to either Prince or People. That as the "Kingdom was a Body Politick, and the King only the Head or chief Mem- "ber of that Body, therefore nothing could affect the Head but muſt affect "the whole Body in ſome Reſpect. He deſired they would remember, That "the Nation had ſuffer'd often by the Law made at the Deceaſe of *Fergus*, "the Firſt King; for the King's Sons being excluded from the Government "upon the Account of their being of tender Age, and the neareſt Relation "being inveſted with Royal Power, had often been guilty of Crimes, and "endeavour'd to murder the next Heirs. That altho' that Law was deſign'd "for the Safety and better Government of the Kingdom, yet it had prov'd "often deſtructive to both Princes and People, by the Tyranny and cruel "Oppreſſion of thoſe Kings for their own Lives, who knew their Sons were "not to ſucceed them; therefore took they all Advantages to enrich their "Sons, by oppreſſing the Subjects, and defrauding the lawful Heir of his juſt "Poſſeſſions and Heritages; and ſome of them were murder'd to entail the "Crown on the Children of their Murderers. That as that unjuſt Law was "the Occaſion of ſeveral Murders, Rebellions, and cruel Oppreſſion; therefore "they ought to conſider it as moſt dangerous, and attended with ſuch evil "Conſequences as would always continue to diſturb the Peace of the People, "and breed perpetual Envy and Hatred between the Princes of the Royal "Blood: Whereas if the right Conſtitution of Monarchy (as it was begun "with the Firſt King of *Scotland*, and then was the Cuſtom of all well-go- "vern'd Nations) would be ſettled by Law, That the King's Son ſhould ſuc- "ceed his Father, or the next immediate Relation, of whatever Age, ſhould "be made King: The Body of the Nobility might govern the Nation, by "giving the chief Power to any of their Number; being a Perſon endowed "with Prudence and Judgment, who might be appointed, at the Pleaſure of "the reſt of the Nobility, to rule as a Governor 'till the King (when ſucceed- "ing under Age) became of perfect Age to take the Government; and then "to reſign the Power, and be accountable to the King and People for all his "Actions during his Government; by which Means the People would not be "in danger of Oppreſſion or the Tyrannical Government of any abſolutePrince "of the Royal Blood, but would have the Government in their own Hands "during the King's Minority; whereby the King's Son, or next lawful Heir, "would be ſafe, and reſpected by the Subjects, who could have no Hopes of "the Crown by his Death.

The Nobility took great Notice of this Speech, and ſeem'd to give a general Approbation of what the King ſo much wiſh'd for; but when it was propos'd to appoint a Prince to ſucceed, the Friends of *Conſtantinus*, the Son of *Culenus*, and *Grimus* the Son of *Duffus*, urg'd their Right to the Succeſſion, which occaſion'd a great Diſpute, and was debated with great Warmth: Yet it was carried againſt them, and they agreed, at laſt, that *Malcolm*, the Son of *Kennuthus*, then King, ſhould be created Prince of *Scotland*, and Lord of *Cumberland*; and that the Two Princes *Conſtantinus* and *Grimus* ſhould take Place as next Princes of the Royal Blood, and ſucceed in caſe *Malcolm* ſhould deceaſe without Iſſue.

Kennethus

Kennethus having ſucceeded in his Deſigns, call'd the Ambaſſador of King *Edward*, and ſhew'd him, that *Malcolm* his Son was made Prince of *Scotland*, and Lord of *Cumberland*; that he being under Age, ſhould do what was neceſſary in making an Acknowledgment to the King of *England* for thoſe Lands of *Cumberland*, and the other Counties held of him, by his Deputy Governor. The Ambaſſador having Leave to return, the King return'd to the Nobles, and they aboliſh'd and abrogated the old Laws, with relation to the Succeſſion of the Crown, and ordain'd as follows:

That for the future, upon the Deceaſe of the King, his Son, or the next immediate Heir, according to Proximity of Blood, ſhould ſucceed, of whatever Age; and ſhould have Guardians appointed by the Nobility, 'till he came to be of perfect Age.

That upon the King's Deceaſe, the next Heir ſhould be crown'd King, and a Regent appointed to govern the People 'till he was of Age.

That the Grandſon by the King's Son, ſhould be preferr'd to the Grandſon by the Daughter, and the Nephew by the Brother, before the Siſter.

That the Grandſon, or great Grandſon of the King ſhould ſucceed before the Brother or Uncle of the King.

That 'till the King was of Fourteen Years of Age he could not take the Government upon him; but ſome Man, eminent for Power and Intereſt, ſhould be appointed by the Nobles to govern and adminiſter Juſtice, during the Minority of the King.

That the ſame Laws ſhall be obſerv'd among the Nobility, and all the Subjects of the Kingdom, in the Succeſſion of their Lands and Heritages; with this Difference, That all Subjects ſhould not have free Poſſeſſion of their Lands 'till they were of 21 Years of Age; but be under the Care of Tutors and Curators 'till that Age.

Kennethus having ſettled the Succeſſion, and (as he imagin'd) eſtabliſh'd the Nation to his Son, he govern'd the Nation with great Juſtice and Equity, and gain'd the Good-will of all the Subjects by his Benevolence. Tho' he was reputed moſt happy by all People, yet he was unhappy in his own Knowledge of the Death of the innocent Prince *Malcolm*, which he ſtill fear'd would come to Light: He perform'd many Acts of Piety and private Devotion to expiate his Sins, but ſtill fear'd ſome Earthly Puniſhment; and one Night, when in Bed, he was awaken'd out of his Sleep by a Voice, which expreſs'd thoſe Words; *O! unhappy Prince, doſt thou think that thy inhumane Murder of* Malcolm, *an innocent Prince, is unknown to GOD; or that thy covetous Ambition ſhall eſcape unpuniſh'd on Earth: Yea ſurely, thou and thy Son ſhall die ſuddenly by the Hands of your Enemies; and there are Plots laid for thy Life, which thou cannot eſcape.* This Viſion ſo terrify'd the King, that he could not reſt that Night, but was exceeding ſorrowful. The next Morning he went to a Biſhop, nam'd *Movean*, and confeſs'd his Guilt of the Murder, with all the Circumſtances of it, and what induc'd him to commit ſuch a great Crime. The Biſhop ſeeing him ſo very penitent, enjoin'd him to do ſevere Pennance, and exhorted him to be fervent in his Prayers to GOD, that tho' his Offences were exceeding great, yet GOD was moſt merciful. The King omitted no Duty of his Pennance, but continued in daily Prayers, doing many Acts of Piety and Charity, and at laſt went a Pilgrimage to the Grave of *Palladius*, the Apoſtle of the *Scots* (who lay entomb'd in a Town of *Merns*) and after performing Devotion there for ſome Time, he return'd by the Caſtle of *Fettercairn*, where *Finella*, the Mother of *Carthilinthus* (beforemention'd) liv'd. This *Finella* was near Kinſwoman to Prince *Malcolm*, and *Grimus*, the other Competitor; and beſides, ſhe hated King *Kenneth* for the Execution of her Son, tho' he ſuffer'd juſtly. While the King lodg'd in this Caſtle, ſhe prepar'd an Engine in a Statue reſembling the King, which had a Croſs-Bow bended, and ready to ſhoot upon touching an Apple or Ball of Gold, which the Image or Statue held in its extended Hand: *Finella* led the King into the Tower where this Statue was prepar'd and plac'd, and ſhew'd it to the King, who commended the Workmanſhip of it, and being deſired by *Finella*, he went cloſe up to the Statue, and took hold of the Ball; where-

Kennethus's Death foretold by an Apparition.

upon the Croſs-bow was diſcharg'd, and ſhot the King thro' the Body, ſo that he died inſtantly. *Finnella* ſeeing the King dead, lock'd the Door, and went to her truſty Servants, who brought her Horſes, and ſhe fled immediately. The King's Servants having waited long without any Account of the King, they ſearch'd the Houſe, and having broke open the Door of that Tower, they found him imbrued in his Blood. He was ſlain in the 25th Year of his Reign, and was buried at *Icolmkill*. *Conſtantinus*, the Son of King *Culenus*, hearing of the Death of *Kennethus*, gather'd a Company of his Friends, and went to *Scoon*, where he got himſelf crown'd King.

CONSTANTINUS IV. *The* 81 *King of* Scotland.

CONSTANTINUS IV. the Son of *Culenus*, was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Year of the World 4972, of CHRIST 1002, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1242. He got himſelf crown'd at *Scoon*, while *Malcolm* the Son of *Kennethus* was buſie about his Father's Funeral; and made a ſtrong Party to oppoſe *Malcolm*: Who ſoon gather'd an Army and came againſt *Conſtantinus*, but *Malcolm*'s Army were routed and purſu'd by the Army of *Conſtantinus*, till *Kennethus* the Baſtard brother of *Malcolm*, came with a ſtrong Party, and ſtopp'd *Conſtantinus* from paſſing the *Forth*.

While they were in Arms, the Nation was divided into Factions, and brought Famine over the Kingdom; for the People could not have Leave to labour the Ground, to produce the common Neceſſaries and Proviſions of Life.

At that Time were many Wonders ſeen in the Kingdom, for prodigious Numbers of ſtrange Fiſhes were found dead upon the Sands of *Buchan*; and when they were corrupted and putrify'd, the Stink infected the Air with Peſtilential Fevers, which deſtroy'd many People in the Country about, and the Sun and Moon appear'd ſeveral Times like Blood, with other ſtrange Sights. There was ſuch Scarcity of Food over the Nation, that it had occaſion'd great Mortality, were it not for great Plenty of Fiſhes, which were caught in all Parts of the Kingdom. The holy Biſhops *Morean*, *Medean*, and *Balan*, and many other Learn'd and Pious Preachers, exhorted the People to implore the Mercy and Aſſiſtance of GOD, to avert the impending Judgments, and to reſtore the Kingdom to Peace and Tranquility.

King *Edward* of *England*, being at that Time oblig'd to pay great Sums of Money to the *Danes*, for the Liberty of his Subjects, he ſent an Ambaſſador to Prince *Malcolm*, complaining of the Oppreſſion of the *Danes*, and deſiring he would aſſiſt him with Forces to give them Battle, whereupon *Malcolm* rais'd an Army, and went into *England*. The *Danes* hearing of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Armies being join'd, they ſent to *Edward*, deſiring Peace with the *Engliſh*; and that they ſhould be contented with the Lands which they poſſeſs'd, without any Tribute from the King of *England*. *Edward* fearing the Uncertainty of a Battle, made Peace with them. But while *Malcolm* was in *England*, *Conſtantinus* came with an Army into *Lothian*, thinking to ſubdue the whole Kingdom in *Malcolm*'s Abſence; but was met by *Kenneth* the baſtard Brother of *Malcolm*, with an Army, and they join'd in Battle at the River *Cramond*, where they fought a long Time with uncertain Victory, till *Conſtantinus* and *Kennethus* met in Battle, and fought with great Cruelty, till they kill'd one another on the Spot. Both Armies retir'd with uncertain Victory: And *Grimus*, the Son of *Duffus*, ſeeing his Couſin King *Conſtantine* ſlain, appear'd in his Army, and entreated the People to aſſert his Right; which all of *Conſtantine*'s Party did, and went with him ſtraight to *Scoon*, where he was crown'd. *Conſtantinus* was ſlain in the 3d Year of his Reign, and buried in *Icolmkill*.

K. *Conſtantinus* raiſes an Army:

He is met by *Kenneth*.

They kill one another in the Field.

GRIMUS.

GRIMUS. *The* 82 *King of* Scotland.

GRIMUS, the Son of *Duffus*, ſucceeded in the Year of the World 4975; of CHRIST 1005, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1245. He being made King by the Laws which were aboliſh'd by King *Kennethus*, the Nation was ſtill divided into Factions; the one for *Grimus* and the Old Law, the other for *Malcolm* and the New Laws, according to the Conſtitution of Hereditary Monarchy.

When *Grimus* was crown'd, and proclaim'd King at *Scoon*, he entertain'd the Friends of *Conſtantinus* with great Reſpect, and rewarded them with great Gifts; and to make his Intereſt the more powerful, he gave ſeveral Lands to many of *Malcolm*'s Faction, whereby he brought them over to his own Party; and thoſe that would not adhere to his Government, he treated as Enemies, by ſeizing their Lands and Effects.

Malcolm was very much troubled to ſee *Grimus* in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and have ſo ſtrong a Party: Therefore call'd all his Friends together, to conſult what was moſt proper for him to do in his Circumſtances; and after long Conſultation, his Friends adviſ'd him to deal with *Grimus* more by Policy than Power: For his Party and Pretenſion to the Crown being ſo ſtrong, it was no ways adviſeable for *Malcom* to venture a Battle with ſo weak an Army. After this *Malcolm* ſent ſeveral Meſſengers privately to the Nobles of *Grimus*'s Party, deſiring them to perform their Promiſes, in aboliſhing the Old Laws, and receive him for their King; and at the ſame time promis'd great Rewards to thoſe who would join with him. This Meſſage had but little Effect, for many of the Meſſengers were taken and ſent bound to *Grimus* as Traitors: Whereupon *Grimus* gather'd his Army, and deſign'd to maintain his Right, by ſubduing of *Malcolm* to his Government. *Malcolm* alſo rais'd an Army, and was going againſt *Grimus*; but hearing that *Grimus*'s Army exceeded his own in Number, he order'd, that no Man ſhould ſpeak to any of his Army, until they were firſt brought before him; to the end, that none ſhould tell his Army of the great Number of the Enemy, and thereby diſcourage them: By that Policy *Malcolm* kept up the Courage of his Army for ſome Time, and allow'd none to paſs out of his Army, to give Intelligence of the Weakneſs of his Force to the Enemy; and ſtay'd at the River *Forth*, to ſtop the Paſſage of *Grimus*, who was on the other Side with his Army. In the mean Time, a holy Biſhop, nam'd *Fothadus*, ſeeing the extreme Miſery of the Kingdom by the divided Factions, ſtudied how to reconcile them, and taking with him ſeveral other Prelates and Learn'd Churchmen, they went in their ſacred Habits to the Camp of King *Grimus*; where they were receiv'd with all Reverence and Reſpect by the King, who deſir'd to know the Occaſion of their ſolemn Proceſſion. The Biſhop *Fothadus* anſwer'd, *That he was come in the Name of the GOD of Peace and Power, to entreat him to comiſerate the diſtreſs'd Condition of the Nation, which was ſo ruin'd by Civil Wars and Diviſions among themſelves; without Conſideration how they depopulated the Kingdom; ſo that, by Degrees, it would become an eaſy Prey to the* Danes *or any other foreign Enemy: Therefore deſir'd him, in the Name of GOD, His Servants, and the diſtreſs'd People of the Nation, to think on ſpeedy and effectual Means to decide the Difference betwixt him and* Malcolm; *for the Safety of themſelves and all the Nation, from utter Deſtruction and Ruin.* *Grimus* was mov'd with theſe Words, and told the Biſhop, "That he was "ready to make Peace with *Malcolm*, upon ſuch Terms as would not degrad "him of his Honour and Poſſeſſion of the Crown; which he was reſolv'd "to maintain to the laſt Period of his Life: But he was ſatisfy'd, That *Mal*-"*colm* ſhould have the Title of Prince of *Scotland*, and enjoy the Lands of "*Cumberland*, and the other two Counties." *Fothadus* having prevail'd ſo

far with *Grimus*, desir'd he might not proceed any further, till he went to *Malcolm*, to know his Approbation of those Conditions. *Fothadus* came to *Malcolm*, and told him the Conditions offer'd by *Grimus*, and urg'd the Miserable Condition of the Nation, with the Dangers they expos'd themselves and the Kingdom to, to disuade him from continuing their War or fighting a Battle. *Malcolm* knowing his own Weakness, and the Hopes he had to succeed (for *Grimus* had no Sons) he accepted of the Conditions offer'd by *Grimus*; which were as follow: *That* Grimus *should reign King of* Scotland *during his Life-time: and* Malcolm *should be acknowledg'd Prince of* Scotland, *Lord and Governor of* Cumberland; *and that he and his Posterity should succeed, according to the Law made by his Father King* Kennethus. *That* Malcolm *should hold the Lands of* Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland, *and all the Lands of* Scotland *to the River* Clyde *on the West, and the River* Esk *on the East: And be oblig'd, that he should not enter into any League or Confederacy, withtut the Consent, or against the Interest of* Grimus, *and the Kingdom of* Scotland. Peace being concluded, by the wise Mediation of *Fothadus*, and the two Princes made Friends, they gave their mutual Oaths for the Performance of all Acts of Friendship for the Good of the Nation: Whereupon they dismiss'd their Armies, and with all possible Diligence repair'd the Ruines occasion'd by their Wars; so that the Nation, in short Time, was restor'd to Peace and Tranquility, and continued so several Years.

Conditions of Peace between *Grimus* and *Malcolm*.

At this Time the *Danes* begun again to oppress the *English* under King *Eldred*, who succeeded his Brother St. *Edward*. They brought many of their Friends into the Nation to assist them, and plunder'd the *English*, committing great Slaughter among the People of *England*; notwithstanding the late Contract of Peace, which they swore to keep inviolably. At last King *Eldred* assembled his Nobles, to consult what might be done to prevent the Tyranny of the *Danes*; and they concluded, to slay all the *Danes* in *England* in one Day, without giving them any Notice of their Design: But when the Day came, many of their Army being allarm'd, fled, and escap'd the Cruelty of the *English*; yet great Numbers were slain: And those that fled, went into *Denmark* and *Norway*, making grievous Complaints of the treacherous Murder of their Country-People; upon which *Sweno* King of *Norway*, came over with an Army to be reveng'd on the *English* for the Slaughter of the *Danes*.

King *Grimus* being at Peace long Time, degenerated from a moderate prudent Prince, as he had at first appear'd, and gave himself up to the Company and Conversation of lewd young Men, who encourag'd him in all Manner of Vice and Oppression of his Subjects: Nor could he be reclaim'd by the holy Bishops and grave and pious Nobles, tho' they entreated him often, to forsake the Company of those wicked Persons, who studied nothing but lacivious Lust and Pleasure, without Consideration of the Welfare of the Nation, or Regard to the Divine Laws of G O D.

The Nobles sent prudent Men to the King, to advise him to banish from his Court those licentious Persons, who were his Counsellors in many wicked Actions of Oppression and Cruelty. *Grimus* pretended to take their Advice in good Part, and invited them to a Banquet in *Bretha*, where he intended to imprison them, but they being inform'd of his Designs (after they came to *Bretha*) made their Escape in the Night on swift Horses, so that they were out of the King's Reach by the next Day.

Grimus seeing this Disappointment, consulted his wicked Counsellors how he might punish the Nobles for their Insolence, as he term'd their good Advices. Those Agents of Cruelty advis'd the King to commit great Cruelty, and to oppress the good Subjects by heavy Taxes and Impositions, contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom. The Nobles being weary of his Tyranny, sent to *Malcolm*, who was then in *England*, with an Army to assist the *English* against the *Danes*, and shew'd him (by their Messengers) the great Oppression of *Grimus*: Whereupon *Malcolm* came to *Scotland* with his Army, to redress the Grievances of the Subjects; and sent to *Grimus* to know the Reasons

of

of his impoſing ſuch Taxes in the Time of Peace; but *Grimus* mock'd the Meſſage of *Malcolm*, and told the Meſſengers, that he would puniſh the Inſolence of the Prince, who was his Subject as other Nobles: And hearing that *Malcolm* had an Army in the Field, he rais'd an Army, and went againſt him, and on *Aſcenſion-Day* they met and fought a bloody Battle, where *Grimus*'s Army was routed, and himſelf ſlain, in the Ninth Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Icolmkill* with great Solemnity, by the Orders of Prince *Malcolm*, who by his Death, was the next, and only neareſt Heir to the Crown.

MALCOLM II. *The* 83 *King of* Scotland.

MALCOLM II. the Son of *Kennethus* II. was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Marble Chair at *Scoon*, in the Year of the World 4984, of CHRIST 1014, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1254. After the Victory obtain'd by *Malcolm*, he call'd all the Nobles together, and receiv'd his Enemies with great Humanity, and told them, That he was not fighting againſt them as an Enemy, but for their Liberty and Property, which all good Princes ought to defend and maintain to their Subjects.

There was an Aſſembly held at *Scoon*, where *Malcolm* declar'd to the Nobles, That he would not hold the Crown of *Scotland* upon any other Conditions than to have the Laws confirm'd, as they were made in the Reign of his Father; and that for the future, the King's Son, or next Heir, ſhould be crown'd immediately upon the King's Deceaſe, whether they were of Age or not, to govern.

All the Nobles conſented to confirm that Law, with all the other Statutes of King *Kenneth* III. concerning the Succeſſions of the Kings and Subjects: And they took Oaths to King *Malcolm*, That they ſhould be loyal and obedient to him, as their lawful Sovereign; and ſhould never admit any other Prince to reign over them, except his Heirs of the direct and Hereditary Line. King *Malcolm* alſo took Oaths to defend the Religion and Church of CHRIST, and the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects.

The Laws of *Kenneth* the Third confirm'd.

The King gave all Offices of Truſt in the Court and Kingdom, to the moſt valiant of the Nobility, and other Captains; whereby the Nation was govern'd with Equity and Juſtice, and the King and People liv'd in Peace and Tranquility for ſeveral Years.

At this Time *Sueno*, King of *Danes*, bred great Diſturbance in *England*; and as he was a profeſs'd Enemy to Chriſtianity, he uſed the *Chriſtians* with the utmoſt Severity and Cruelty in all Parts, and made his own Subjects renounce the *Chriſtian* Faith, and return to the old Superſtitions of the Heathens; but his Cruelty was puniſh'd by Slaughter of his People, and himſelf was driven out of his Kingdom by *Allanus*, King of *Norway*, who took *Sueno* Priſoner, and confin'd him, until he was ranſom'd by great Sums of Money. *Sueno* being depriv'd of his Kingdom, and baniſh'd, he came into *Scotland*, imploring Aid to recover his Kingdom. The *Scots* had Compaſſion on his Diſtreſs, and granted him Aid, on Condition that he would embrace the *Chriſtian* Faith; whereupon he went to the Church, and was baptiz'd. He return'd to his Country, and by the Help of the *Scots* was reſtor'd to his Kingdom: But ſoon after he forgot his Diſtreſs, and gather'd an Army of *Danes* and *Norwegians*, with many *Swiſs*, *Goths* and *Vandals*; and came over into *England*, and drove King *Eldred* into *Northumberland*. The *Scots* hearing the Inſolence of the *Danes*, ſent Aid to the *Engliſh*, and *Eldred* went with his ſmall Army of *Engliſh* and *Scots* to *York*, where *Sueno* approach'd with the Army of the *Danes*. *Sueno* remembering the Obligations he was under to the *Scots*, ſent an Herald to deſire the *Scots* to leave the *Engliſh*, and return home, otherwiſe he would invade their Country: *Eldred* ſeeing the

Herald, caus'd him to be bound in Fetters and caſt into a Dungeon. The *Danes* being enrag'd at this Affront, came upon *Eldred*'s Army with great Fury; nor did the *Engliſh* and *Scots* receive them with leſs Courage and Deſire to fight, as appear'd by their fierce Conflict, which laſted long, till the great Number of the *Danes* overpower'd the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, and beat them back; but the *Danes* were ſo broken, that they could not purſue their Victory.

Eldred fled over the River *Owſe*, and ſeeing his Party ſo very weak, that he could not venture the Chance of another Battle, he took Ship and went into *Normandy*, where he was moſt courteouſly receiv'd, and entertain'd by *Richard* Duke of that Province. *Eldred* was married to *Emma* the Daughter of that Duke, by whom he had three Sons, *Edward*, *Alfred*, and *Edmond* (who for his great Strength and Courage was) call'd *Ironſide*.

After this Victory of the *Danes*, *Sueno* reign'd as an abſolute King over all *England*, and brought all the *Engliſh* under great Servitude; and committed great Cruelty among them, for the Prieſts were ſlain at their Devotions, and the Shrines of holy Men abuſed with great Profanity by the mercileſs *Danes*. It was at this Time that *Sueno* put a *Dane* in every Houſe of the *Engliſh*, and they were oblig'd to maintain him with their beſt Proviſion, to the end that he might be a Spy to inform their King of the Actions of the *Engliſh*. Thoſe *Danes* thus quarter'd, often abus'd their Hoſtes Wives and Daughters, and were ſo very Proud and inſolent, that the *Engliſh* for Fear call'd them, Lord *Danes* (which afterwards became a Word of Deriſion, when one would ſignify a lazy Luber, or an idle Fellow.) In this diſtreſs'd State was *England*, when *Sueno* imagin'd himſelf in perfect Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom to himſelf and Poſterity for ever; and ſent to the *Scots*, *Normans*, and *Britons*, to join in Confederacy with him againſt the *Engliſh*: But being deny'd by them, he ſent a Herald to the Duke of *Normandy*, to ſend *Eldred* and his Sons into *England*, to live with their People; by which Means he expected to have them in his Power, that he might deſtroy them, to get the more certain Poſſeſſion of the Crown to himſelf and his Poſterity: But finding no Anſwer, he fortify'd all the Strengths of *England* lying next to *Normandy*, and prepar'd to invade the *Scots*, becauſe they had refus'd to join with him in the Confederacy againſt the *Engliſh*.

Sueno ſent *Olavus* and *Enecus* his Lieutenants, with a great Army to invade *Scotland*; and they arriv'd with their Fleet at the Mouth of the River *Spey*, and rang'd over the Shire of *Murray* with great Cruelty, and drove the Inhabitants to the Mountains, with their Wives and Children; having plunder'd them of all their Subſtance. They alſo burnt all the Churches and Towns of *Murray*, except the ſtrong Caſtles of *Elgin*, *Nairn*, and *Forreſs*, which were defended by *Scots* Soldiers. They laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Nairn* (being the greateſt Strength of that Country) expecting when it was taken, the other two would ſoon ſurrender. Whereupon King *Malcolm* rais'd his Army with Speed, and came to *Murray* againſt the *Danes*: But hearing of the great Number of their Army, he halted at ſome Diſtance, and ſent an Herald to know the Occaſion of their coming to invade his Kingdom. The *Danes* took the Herald (as ſoon as he came to their Camp) and ſlew him; ſo they left the Siege of the Caſtle of *Nairn*, and march'd towards the *Scots* Army: And when they came within Sight of one another, *Malcolm* found ſome of his Captains much afraid of the great Number of the Enemy: But he exhorted them to conſider the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe, and the weighty Motives which induc'd them to give Battle to the Enemy, to prevent the Ruin of their Kingdom, and themſelves and Poſterity from being made Slaves to ſuch mercileſs People as the *Danes* were; and that it would be more honourable to die in Defence of their Liberty, than ſubmit like Cowards, without offering to reſiſt them. The *Scots* hearing theſe Words of the King, deſir'd to give Battle to the *Danes*, and were ſo forward, that they attack'd them without any Order; ſo that the *Danes* obſerving their Diſorder, took the more Care to array themſelves, whereby they had great Advantage of the *Scots*. They fought with great Courage on both Sides, till the *Scots* were at laſt overpower'd

power'd by the Multitude of their Enemies, and put into Confuſion. The King was ſore wounded, ſo that they carried him out of the Field to ſave his Life, whereupon the Army fled: But the *Danes* were not able to purſue their Victory, having loſt ſo great a Number of their Men in the Battle. Therefore they return'd to the Siege of the Caſtle of *Nairn*, and when the *Scots* Soldiers heard that the King's Army was routed by the *Danes*, they offer'd to ſurrender the Caſtle upon Conditions, That they ſhould have their Lives ſafe, and Liberty to Depart to their Homes without Trouble; which the *Danes* ſolemnly promiſed to grant: But ſo ſoon as they open'd the Gates of the Caſtle, the *Danes* put every Perſon to the Sword, and ſlew them unmercifully. The Soldiers of the other two Caſtles of *Elgin* and *Forfair* hearing of this Slaughter, deſerted the Caſtles, and fled to King *Malcolm*, and told him, how the *Danes* had murder'd all the Soldiers of *Nairn* Caſtle, after they had given their Oaths to the Soldiers to let them depart the Caſtle with Freedom and Safety. The *Danes* thinking they had ſure Poſſeſſion of *Murray*, they ſent for their Wives and Children to *Denmark* and *Norway* to live with them. They abuſed the *Scots* Inhabitants of the Country; and when their Wives and Children were come, they compell'd the *Scots* to ſerve them in all Manner of Work; making the poor Country People bring in their Corn and Cattle to them, without any Reward or Acknowledgment.

The King is wounded, and his Army routed by the *Danes*.

Malcolm knowing how his Subjects were enſlav'd, rais'd all the Men he could gather, and came to *Murthlack*, a Town in *Mar*; (where *Aberdeen* afterwards was built) and ſoon after the *Danes*, who had plunder'd that Country about the Town, came with their Army near where the *Scots* lay, and challeng'd them to Battle; and tho' the *Scots* were leſs in Number, yet were not backward to fight, but advanc'd and join'd Battle with great Courage. At the firſt Engagement many valiant Captains of the *Scots* Army were ſlain, among whom were *Kenneth*, Thane of the Iſles, *Graham*, Thane of *Strathern*, *Patrick Dunbar* of that Ilk, with many other valiant Men. By their Death the *Scots* were beat back, till they were ſtop'd by deep Trenches of Water and many Trees, which were cut down the Night before to fortify the Town: In the ſame Place there was a Chappel, dedicated to St. *Melock*. King *Malcolm* ſeeing his Army near routed, went to that Chappel, where he kneel'd down, and lift up his Hands to Heav'n, and ſaid, *O! Great GOD, the Defender of all diſtreſs'd Chriſtians, and powerful Helper of all that put their Confidence and Truſt in thy Divine Aſſiſtance; We thy Chriſtian People, fighting in Defence of our Lives and Liberties, implore thy Aſſiſtance in this our Diſtreſs; as we are now in Danger of being deſtroy'd by the cruel* Danes, *the Enemies of thy holy Church and Faith. Thou, O bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *Mother of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, the Advocate of diſtreſs'd Sinners, and St.* Melock *the Patron of this Chappel, repreſent our Prayers and Dangers to the Throne of Grace, that GOD, may deliver us this Day from the Hands of our Enemies, by a ſignal Victory over them.* And at the ſame Time *Malcolm* made a Vow, to build a Church to the Honour of St. *Melock*, if he ſurviv'd that Day. He had ſcarce utter'd theſe Words, when the *Scots* cry'd out with loud Voices, *In the Name of GOD and St* Melock *we will renew Battle:* And they array'd and return'd upon the *Danes* with incredible Courage (without taking Notice of their bleeding Wounds) and renew'd the Fight ſo fiercely, that *Enecus* was kill'd with his Horſe in the firſt Onſet, by King *Malcolm*, and troden under Foot by the *Scots*. *Olavus* ſeeing his Companion ſlain, fled with ſome of the Army; but were purſu'd ſo furiouſly by the *Scots*, that all the Party were ſlain, and *Olavus* alone eſcap'd narrowly into *Murray*. The *Danes* fought with great Courage, till they were almoſt all ſlain or taken Priſoners, ſo that very few eſcap'd of the whole Army. Thus by the Divine Aſſiſtance of GOD, the *Scots* obtain'd a compleat Victory over their mercileſs Enemies the *Danes*; and the King divided the Spoil of the Field among the valiant Soldiers, and return'd with his Army into *Angus*, to prepare for a March againſt the *Danes* who were in *Murray*.

K. *Malcolm* prays to God for Succeſs againſt the *Danes*.

Sueno hearing how the *Danes* were routed in *Scotland*, was reſolv'd to ſend ſuch Aſſiſtance to them, as might entirely ſubdue the *Scots* to his Authority, as he then had *England*; ſo he ſent two Fleets to invade *Scotland* in different Places, that by dividing their Army, they might with the more Eaſe ſubdue the Country. The one Fleet was to ſet out from *England*, and another from *Denmark*: But neither being ready that Year, the *Scots* drove the *Danes* out of all Places in *Murray*, except the Caſtles of *Nairn*, and other ſtrong Holds, which they defended till next Year, that the two Fleets join'd, under the Command of *Camus* their General or Admiral: They attempted to land near St. *Abb*'s-Head in the River *Forth*, but were driven to their Ships, and oblig'd to put to Sea again: They landed ſome Days after at *Red*-Head in *Angus* near *Montroſe*; and *Camus* paſs'd through *Angus* with great Cruelty, ſlaying and plundering the Inhabitants in all the Towns where they went. In *Brichen* was a Church dedicated to the bleſſed Trinity, and a ſtrong Caſtle; which Church and Caſtle, with the Town, they raz'd to the Foundation. King *Malcolm* hearing of the Barbarity of the *Danes*, he came with his Army to *Dundee*, and next Day to *Balbried*; and the *Danes* came with their Captain *Camus* to *Bar*, within two Miles of *Balbried*: And *Malcolm* call'd his Army together, and exhorted them to take Courage, and reſolve to fight the *Danes*, as Enemies to their Country, Lives and Religion: That as they had given no Occaſion of War to the *Danes* at any Time, he hop'd that GOD would aſſiſt them, in the juſt Defence of their Lives and Liberties, and to defend and preſerve the Faith of CHRIST. The *Scots* aſſur'd the King, That they would either obtain Victory, or elſe loſe their Lives in the Defence of their Liberty and Religion. *Camus* alſo exhorted his *Daniſh* Army to fight with Courage, for they muſt either obtain Victory, or be made Priſoners in a ſtrange Land among thoſe Chriſtian *Scots*. Mean Time *Malcolm*, being impatient to be reveng'd of the Cruelty done to his Subjects by the *Danes*, he led on his Army againſt them, and fought with great Courage; and they were ſtoutly oppos'd by the *Danes*. Both Armies fought with incredible Fury and Force of Arms, ſo that many Perſons were ſeen cut in two Halves with the Swords of the *Scots*. The Conflict laſted long with equal Slaughter, till at laſt the *Danes* were almoſt all ſlain or wounded, and *Camus* fled to a Moat, where he was purſu'd and kill'd by a young Nobleman nam'd *Keith*. Where this *Camus* the General was ſlain, there is an Oblisk there, to be ſeen to this Day, call'd *Camus*'s-Croſs. The young Man nam'd *Keith*, was by the King rewarded with ſeveral Lands in *Lothian*, call'd after his Name, *Keith*: He was alſo dignify'd with the Title and Office of Mariſhal of *Scotland*, which Office was made Hereditary to him and his Poſterity; and has ever ſince been enjoy'd by that Family, in a lineal Deſcent from that valiant Captain. Another Company of the *Danes* were ſlain at *Abercowen*, within 4 Miles of *Brichen*. where great Stones were ſet up in Memory of the Victory obtain'd there. The reſt that could eſcape, fled to their Ships; and the King divided the Spoil of the Field, and all the Goods of the *Danes*, among his Soldiers, as a juſt Reward, due to the Merit of their Courage and ſingular Manhood, ſo evidently demonſtrated in this laſt Battle, wherein the *Scots* obtain'd a glorious Victory; having thereby ſecur'd their Liberty and Religion, which was ſo much threaten'd by the cruel *Danes*.

The Original of the Sirname of *Keith*.

Olavus, who had eſcap'd from the Battle of *Murthlack*, was ſtill in *Murray*, and all the *Danes* which eſcap'd from the laſt Battle, went to their Ships, and put to Sea, with Deſign to land in *Murray*, to join *Olavus*: But they were driven by a Tempeſt upon the Seas for ſeveral Days, and at laſt came upon the Coaſt of *Buchan*, where they could not find any Port, and were oblig'd to anchor in the open Seas, by the Strength of their Tackle, for ſome Time, (the Wind being ſtill contrary.) Their Victuals being all exhauſted, they ſent Aſhore 500 Men to plunder the Country-People; and having gather'd a great Number of Cattle and other Proviſion, they were going with it to their Ships; but *Marnachus* Thane of *Buchan*, purſu'd them with his Tenants and Servants, and fell upon them ſo furiouſly, that they ſlew every one of the

the 500 *Danes*, at a little Town call'd *Gemmar* in *Buchan*. The *Danes* in the Ships hearing no Account of their Caterers, concluded ſome Trouble had befallen them; and when the Wind offer'd fair, they hois'd Sails, and landed in *Murray*.

Sueno hearing of the Defeat of his Army in *Scotland*, he ſent his Brother *Canutus* with a ſtrong Army, to be reveng'd on the *Scots*: They landed in the *Murray*-Firth, and went over the Country of *Murray* and *Buchan*, committing all Manner of Cruelty on the People. *Malcolm* hearing of their landing, rais'd his Army; but found them ſo few in Number (having loſt ſo many Men in former Wars) that he conſider'd it would be dangerous to venture another Battle againſt a freſh Army: Therefore reſolv'd to weary them by frequent Skirmiſhes; which happen'd often to the Loſs of the *Scots*. The Nobles ſeeing many People ſlain by the *Danes* in thoſe Skirmiſhes, urg'd the King to give Battle to them; aſſuring him, that they would not fail to fight with ſuch Courage as they had done in the former Battles. The King told them, that it was only his Concern for their Safety (ſeeing a freſh Army) that made him forbear from giving them Battle; but ſince they were willing to venture, he deſir'd they would arm, and attack the Enemy in the Name of GOD and his holy Saints.

Both Armies being in Sight of one another, they encounter'd with great Fury on both Sides, and fought with ſuch earneſt Deſire of Victory, that many Men were ſlain on either Side, eſpecially of the *Scots* Nobles: Which when the Army beheld, they renew'd their Force and broke the *Danes*, and routed them: But were ſo broken themſelves, that they could not purſue the Enemy. Next Day both Armies were ſo weak'n'd, that they could not renew Battle; and the *Danes* ſent to *Malcolm* to make Peace with him; which *Malcolm* offer'd upon Condition, That the *Danes* ſhould depart *Murray*, *Buchan*, and all the Bounds of *Scotland*; and that no Wars ſhould be between *Danes* and *Scots* during the Reign of *Malcolm* and *Sueno*. To which the *Danes* agreed, and *Canutus* departed with his Ships and all his People to *Norway*. *Malcolm* being ſuch a good Prince and Lover of Peace, that he cauſed build a Church in Memory in the Place where they fought the laſt Battle, and dedicated it to St. *Olaus* Patron of *Norway*, ordaining Prieſts to pray yearly for the Souls of the Chriſtian *Danes* kill'd in that Place. The Lands which were given to this Church were called *Crowdan* (which in the *Daniſh* Tongue ſignify'd, *The Death or Slaughter of* Danes) which lies in the Shire of *Buchan*.

The *Scots* rout the *Danes*.

Hector Boetius my Author, ſays this Church was caſt down, and the Foundation blown up, as it was Sand, which being driven away by Storms, he ſays, that he ſaw in his own Time, many humane Bones of a far larger Size than the Men were then in his Days. He alſo ſays, that in many Parts of the Country, near the Sea, where the Sand was blown away, great Heaps of Bones were to be ſeen in his Time, eſpecially in thoſe Places where the *Scots* and *Danes* fought Battles. After this Church was blown down, another, dedicated to the ſame Saint was built in a more ſafe Place, which is the Church of *Crowdan*, in *Buchan* to this Day.

About the Time that the *Scots* and *Danes* concluded Peace in *Scotland*, King *Sueno* reign'd in *England*, and oppreſs'd the *Engliſh*, by obliging them to find all Sorts of Neceſſaries for the *Danes*, who lorded over them with great Pride and Inſolence. *Sueno* demanded a great Sum of Money from the *Engliſh*, which if they refus'd, he threaten'd to ſpoil the Monaſtry of St. *Edmund* in *Suffolk*, and to burn the Martyr's Bones, which was held in great Reverence by the *Engliſh*. They not being able to advance the Money, (for the *Danes* took all their Subſtance without returning them any Money) *Sueno* came to the Place where the Monaſtry ſtood, with Deſign to deſtroy it, but he was ſoon overtaken with the Puniſhment of Heaven: He being merry among his Nobles, he was heard cry out, *That he was ſtruck by St.* Edmund *with a Sword to the Heart*. He continued in miſerable Pains for three Days, and ended his Life. *Etheldred* hearing of his Death, came ſuddenly from

Normandy, and brought over Forces with him, having Hopes to free the Kingdom of *England* from the *Danes*, and to deſtroy them entirely: But at his coming, he found the People of *Lindſey* had ſubmitted to *Canutus* the Son of *Sueno*, and was obliged to fight againſt the *Engliſh* as well as *Danes*. Yet *Etheldred* manag'd his Affairs with ſuch Conduct and Valour, that *Canutus* was glad to return to *Denmark*, and leave *England*: But when *Etheldred* thought all the *Danes* Hopes were quite extinguiſh'd, a *Dane* nam'd *Turkill*, who had deſerted *Canutus* and join'd King *Ethelared*, ſaw his Country-People's Hopes near Loſt, he fled privately and carried Nine *Engliſh* Ships with him to *Canutus*, and to excuſe his deſerting of him, told him, He only went unto the *Engliſh* to be of Advantage to *Canutus*; and diſcover'd to him Means whereby he might again return to *England* with Hopes of Succeſs. *Canutus* gave ear to *Turkill*, and prepar'd a Fleet, and return'd to *England* with a ſtrong Army. At the Time of his landing King *Etheldred* lay ſick, and gave the Command of his Army to *Edmund* his third Son. All the Weſt-Country *Engliſh* join'd *Canutus*; and one *Edrick*, Son-in-Law to King *Etheldred*, was moſt treacherous to *Edmund*, and deſign'd to betray him to *Canutus*: Which Deſign being diſcover'd to *Edmund*, *Edrick* fled with Forty of the King's Ships to *Canutus*. *Etheldred* hearing of the Treachery of *Edrick*, and being a little recover'd of his Sickneſs, he went with his Son *Edmund* to prepare the Army to give Battle to *Canutus*; but fearing further Treachery among his People, he return'd to *London*; where he relapſed into his former Sickneſs, and died, in the 37th Year of his unfortunate Reign; and was ſucceeded by his third Son *Edmund* (call'd *Ironſide*, from his hardy Conſtitution and great Strength of Body) who was crown'd by the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, nam'd *Leorngus*, at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*. At this Time a great Part of the *Engliſh* were with *Canutus*, who took great Care to gain their Favour and ſtrengthen his Intereſt: But the *Londoners* were ſtill firm to *Edmund*. *Canutus* came and beſieg'd *London*, but was driven from it by *Edmund*; and they fought a Battle in *Worceſterſhire*, where *Edrick* cut off the Head of a Soldier like the King, and took it upon the Point of his Sword, and cry'd out to the *Engliſh* Army, *Fly, fly Wretches, your King is ſlain, behold his Head.* But King *Edmund* hearing of the Treachery of *Edrick*, appear'd to his Army; who were ſo encourag'd at the Sight of him, that they renew'd Battle with great Fury, and routed the *Danes*. This treacherous *Edrick* found Means to get his Pardon from *Edmund*, and left the *Danes*, yet in two ſeveral Battles acted the Traitor to *Edmund*; and at *Walden* he deſerted the *Engliſh* in the Midſt of the Engagement, and went over to the *Danes*, which gave the Victory to them, and ſlew many of the *Engliſh* Noblity. The *Engliſh* and *Danes* fought another Battle by the River *Sivern*, at a Place call'd *Dercherſt*; where a Nobleman, about the Beginning of the Engagement, deſign'd to ſave Blood by his Advice, entreated, that the two Kings ſhould try their Fate by ſingle Combat, or elſe divide the Kingdom betwixt them. The Combat was agreed upon, and the two Princes went into a little Iſland call'd *Allney*, near the City of *Glouceſter*. They fought firſt on Horſeback and after on Foot: But *Canutus* finding himſelf wounded and near overcome, cry'd out to *Edmund*, *Moſt valiant Prince, why ſhould we endanger our Lives, when we may better lay aſide all Malice, and condeſcend to live in Friendſhip; Let us therefore become ſworn Brothers, and divide the Kingdom between us.* *Edmund* with the Conſent of the *Engliſh*, agreed to his Offer, and the Kingdom was divided; the *Engliſh* having all the Weſt and South Parts, and the *Danes* the North.

Soon after this Agreement, the treacherous *Edrick* ſtab'd the King as he was eaſing Nature; and having cut off his Head, he arriv'd and preſented it to *Canutus* with theſe Words: *Hail, ſole Monarch of all* England; *here behold the Head of thy Rival, which I have for thy Sake cut off.* Tho' *Canutus* was ambitious enough of Sovereignty, yet he hated ſuch vile Treachery; and in anſwer to this fawning Addreſs of *Edrick*, ſwore, *The Loſs of thy Head, Traitor, ſhall be thy Reward.* Which was accordingly done, and the Head and Limbs

Limbs of *Edrick* were ſet up on Stakes on the higheſt Gates of *London*; and the Head and Body of King *Edmund* was intomb'd in the Abby of *Glaſſenbury*. He left two Sons, the eldeſt was call'd *Edward*, ſirnam'd the *Outlaw*, becauſe he liv'd out of *England* in *Hungary*, as a baniſh'd Man, for Fear of *Canutus*: But when his Uncle *Edward*, the Confeſſor, had obtain'd the Crown, he was call'd home, and honourably entertain'd all the Days of his Life, till he died. He married *Agitha*, Siſter to Queen *Sophia*, Wife of *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, and Daughter to the Emperor *Henry* II. by whom he had *Edgar*, ſirnam'd *Athling* (right Heir to the *Engliſh* Crown, though he never enjoy'd it,) and two Daughters, the eldeſt nam'd *Margaret*, (who was married to our King *Malcolm* III. as ſhall be ſeen in its Place) the younger was nam'd *Chriſtian*, and became a Nun in *Ramſey* Abby in *Hampſhire*. King *Edmund Ironſide* left another Son nam'd after himſelf, *Edmund*: But at the Death of *Edmund Ironſide*, *Canutus* took Poſſeſſion of all the Kingdom, and was the firſt *Daniſh* King of *England*; and to ſtrengthen his Intereſt, he married *Emma*, the Wife of *Etheldred*, who was well belov'd by the *Engliſh*; and by her good Advice *Canutus* behav'd himſelf with ſuch Prudence and good Conduct, that he was generally well belov'd by all People.

To return to our King *Malcolm*, who after the Peace with the *Danes*, did many good Deeds among his Subjects, which made him well belov'd and reſpected by all Men. He caus'd a general Thankſgiving to be proclaim'd over the Kingdom, to return thanks to GOD for the Delivery of the Nation from their Enemies, and granting them Peace and Felicity: And caus'd all the Churches of the Kingdom to be repair'd and re-built (where they were ruin'd) with greater Magnificence than they had been built at firſt. He comanded yearly Prayers and ſolemn Thanſgiving to be over all the Kingdom, for the Victory obtain'd over the *Danes* at *Murthlack*; and in Performance of his Vow in the Battle, built a Church at *Murthlack*, where the Chapel ſtood, and dedicated it to the Honour of St. *Melock*. This was the Cathederal of this Town, which was known by that Name of *Murthlack*, till the Reign of King *David* I. (call'd St. *David*) who rebuilt it, and nam'd the Place *Aberdeen*; where many holy Biſhops and learn'd Men have flouriſh'd.

King *Malcolm* call'd a Council of his Nobles at *Bertha*, and rewarded all his Captains and Soldiers who had fought with ſo much Courage in the laſt Battle, and divided all the Lands among the Nobles, in Diviſions call'd Barronies or Lordſhips; reſerving to himſelf certain Sums to be pay'd as Duties yearly out of thoſe Barronies by the Nobles, for the Support of the Court and regal Dignity: And the Nobles finding that thoſe Duties was ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the Dignity of the King and Court, they voluntarly agreed to give the Rents of their Lands, during the Minority of the Poſſeſſors, to the Crown's Uſe, to ſupport the Court and publick Uſes, which was enacted as a Law. The Original of Wardſhips

The King caus'd all the Laws of the Kingdom to be written in a Book, call'd *Regiem Majeſtatem*: In which Book was contin'd all the Fees and Salleries to be given to the ſeveral Officers of the Crown or State, ſuch as the Chancellor, Secretary, Conſtable, Mareſhall, Chamberlain, Treaſurer, Regiſter, Judges, Advocate, Comptroller, and all other Officers of the Court.

The Kingdom of *Scotland* was govern'd with great Juſtice and Equity by King *Malcolm* for many Years, being in Peace with all the neighbouring Nations: But when the King came to the Latter-end of his Days, he grew more covetous than he had been in the former Part of his Life-time; and ſtudied how to recover the Lands he had formerly given to the Nobles. Some of them having been both nobilitated and enrich'd by the King, knew if their Lands were taken from them, they had nothing to ſupport their Rank and Grandeur, and were very unwilling to be reduc'd to their primitive Conditions. Whereupon they conſpir'd againſt the King, and hir'd Ruffians, who murder'd him in the Caſtle of *Glames*, in the 31ſt Year of his Reign; and he was buried in *Icolmkill*.

The Perſons who had contriv'd the Murder, with the Ruffians, eſcap'd and fled; but could not eſcape the Judgment of Heaven, for as they fled, paſſing over the Loch of *Forfar*, which was froſen with Ice about the Edges, but open in the Middle, they were all drown'd; and being found by the Tract on the Snow, which lay on the Ground very thick, their Bodies were drawn out by Engines call'd Creepers. They were quarter'd, and their Heads and Quarters put up in the moſt conſpicuous Places of the chief Cities of the Kingdom, to terrify all People from ſuch Deeds.

King *Malcolm* was married to the Duke of *Normandy*'s Daughter, by whom he had two Daughters, but no Son. The eldeſt Daughter was nam'd *Beatrix*, and was married to *Grimus* Thane of the weſtern Iſles; who was Couſin to King *Malcolm*, and next Heir of the Royal Blood. He was Father to *Donald* (by ſome call'd *Duncan*) who ſucceeded his Grandfather King *Malcolm*: And was, during the latter Part of the King's Reign, titl'd Ab-thane, or, chief Thane of the Nation; but the Title of Prince of *Scotland* was retain'd from him by the King, expecting a Son of his own. The ſecond Daughter was nam'd *Dowca*, or *Doaca*, and was married to the Thane of *Angus*, to whom ſhe bore *Macbeth*.

DONALD VII. *The* 84 *King of* Scotland.

DONALD VII. (by ſome call'd *Duncan*) the Grandſon of *Malcolm* II. was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Marble Chair at *Scoon*, in the Year of the World 5015, of CHRIST 1045, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1285. He was a Prince of a mild and courteous Diſpoſition; and adminiſter'd Juſtice with great Equity. Every Year he viſited the ſeveral Parts of the whole Kingdom, to hear the Complaints of poor People, and did them Juſtice, by obliging all thoſe who oppreſs'd or wrong'd their Neighbours, to make Retaliation: But he appear'd ſo mild and merciful to ſome Offenders, that they turn'd inſolent and contemn'd his Authority. The chief of them was one *Macdowal* of *Lorn*, who entic'd many *Iriſhmen* to join a rebellious Crew which he had aſſembl'd, againſt the King's Authority, flattering himſelf with Hopes of the Crown, imagining that ſo merciful a King would ſubmit, rather than ſhed the Blood of his Subjects: But the King appointed *Banquho* Thane of *Loquhaber*, the Siſter's Son of King *Grimus*, to command the Army againſt *Macdowal*: For *Macdowal* begun the firſt Step of his Rebellion on *Banquho*. He being then Treaſurer of the Kingdom, and paſſing over the Country to gather the King's Revenue, he puniſh'd ſeveral Perſons, according to the Power given him by Law. Whereupon they complain'd to this *Macdowal*, who was made their Captain, and they gather'd againſt *Banquho*, and inſulted his Servants; and when he offer'd to defend them, thoſe Rebels wounded him, and ſlew many of his Attendants. When he was cur'd of his Wounds, he came to the King, deſiring him to puniſh thoſe Rebels for the Injuries done him, and the Murder of his Servants: And the King ſent a Herald to ſummon the Offenders to appear before the Judges of the Kingdom. The Rebels, inſtead of obeying the King's Summonds, came with their Party upon *Malcolm*, who commanded a Part of the King's Army in *Loquhaber*, and ſlew him with many of his Party.

The King being inform'd of this Inſolence, aſſembled the Nobles, and conſulted what Means might be taken to bring thoſe Rebels to Juſtice. *Macbeth* being in the Council, reprov'd the King for his too great Clemency and Negligence, in not raiſing an Army againſt the Rebels to deſtroy them, without any Mercy or Regard to the Lives of Men: Whereupon the King gave *Macbeth* and *Banquho* the Command of the Army, and they went after *Macdowel* and his Party, who fled upon the firſt Notice of the Army's Approach; But *Banquho* and *Macbeth* purſu'd him ſo cloſe, that he could not avoid

avoid giving Battle to the King's Army, or being taken. Therefore he was reſolv'd to fight and try his Fate, knowing his Crimes too great to be pardon'd. The King's Army routed his Party with great Slaughter, and *Macdowall* eſcap'd narrowly to a ſtrong Caſtle in *Lochaber*, where, for fear of being taken, he firſt ſlew his Wife and Children, and then himſelf. *Macbeth* and *Banquho* enter'd the Caſtle, and when they found *Macdowall* dead, they cut off his Head, and ſent it to the King at *Bretha*; where it was put upon a Gate, and *Macbeth* cauſed his Body, with many of the chief Perſons of his Party, to be hang'd in Chains on high Gibbets, near the Towns and Highways in the Kingdom; and cauſed all ſuch as had been in *Macdowal*'s Rebellion, to pay great Sums of Money for the Redemption of their Lives and Goods.

This Rebellion was no ſooner ſuppreſs'd than the Nation was again diſturb'd by the *Danes*; for *Sueno*, beforemention'd, left Three Sons, named *Harold*, *Sueno*, and *Canutus*, and to *Harold* he left *England*, but he dying, was ſucceeded by *Canutus*, and *Sueno* enjoy'd *Norway* as his Legacy: But ſeeing his Brother make ſuch a Conqueſt of *England*, he reſolv'd to try his Fate in *Scotland*, and therefore came with an Army and many Ships, and landed in *Fife*, and ſlew the Inhabitants of all Ranks and Ages, not ſparing Women and Infants. The King being troubled at this Cruelty, was reſolv'd to venture his Life, as his Anceſtors had done, in the Defence of the Kingdom and People. He raiſed an Army, and divided them into Three Bodies, and gave the Command of the Right Wing or Body to *Macbeth*, and the Left to *Banquho*; and took the Command of the Center or main Body himſelf, and came upon the *Danes* at *Culroß* in *Fife*; where they having a ſtrong Army, ſoon array'd and gave Battle to the *Scots*: The Conflict continued long, with great Slaughter and uncertain Victory, 'till Night parted them. *Duncan* ſeeing his Army ſo weak, retir'd to *Bertha*, and left *Mackbeth* to watch the Motion of the *Danes*, who when they ſaw the *Scots* had retir'd, they claim'd the Victory, and purſued the King to *Bertha*, and laid Siege to the Town; where they lay long Time, 'till their Proviſions were ſpent. In the mean Time, *Macbeth*, who lay with a Party at *Inchcuthell*, deviſed a Stratagem to overcome the *Danes*, which he executed in the following Manner: He ſent an Officer or Herald to the *Danes*, to deſire ſome Days Ceſſation of Arms, 'till they might be advis'd about the Surrender of the Town; and in the mean Time, offer'd the *Danes* Supply of Proviſions, ſuch as Victuals and Liquor, to ſerve their Army during the Ceſſation: The *Danes* being near ſtarv'd, gladly accepted of his Offer: Mean Time, *Macbeth* communicated his Deſign to the King and *Banquho* within the Garriſon; and they prepar'd a great Quantity of the Juice of an Herb call'd *Somniferious Night-Shade*, (among the vulgar *Scots* now call'd *Mucklewort*) the which cauſeth any who taſteth of it, to ſleep, and a ſmall Quantity thereof killeth People by Sleep; of this *Macbeth* cauſed a great Quantity to be mix'd with Wine and Malt Liquor, and alſo put of it in the Bread, and all other Proviſions wherein it could be mix'd without Diſcovery; nor could the *Danes* eaſily find it, they being near ſtarv'd for Want of Proviſion. When this Preparation of Victuals and Liquor came among them, they eat and drank very plentifully of it, and at Night fell ſo faſt aſleep, that *Macbeth* enter'd their Camp, and ſlew almoſt the whole Army. Their King was carried aſleep to his Ships, where all that eſcap'd *Macbeth*, fled and put to Sea: They were no ſooner at Sea, but by their Surprize and ſleepy Condition, they let their Ships run upon Sand-banks, ſince call'd *Drumlaw-ſands*, where moſt of the Ships periſh'd, and the King eſcap'd narrowly to his own Country. After this Victory, the King ordain'd ſolemn Prayers and Thankſgiving to GOD in all Churches and Chapels in the Kingdom for their Deliverance. While the King and People were at their Devotions, there came Notice, That *Canutus* was come with another Fleet of *Danes*, and landed at *Kinghorn*: The King ſent *Banquho* and *Macbeth* with the Army, who came ſpeedily upon the *Danes*, and gave them Battle, and routed them with ſuch Slaughter, that the Third Part of their Army could

The *Scots* and *Danes* fight a Battle at *Culroß* with uncertain Victory.

A Stratagem contriv'd by *Macbeth*, to deſtroy the *Danes*.

Drumlaw Sands, on the *North* Side of the Mouth of the River *Tay*.

Canutus returns with an Army of *Danes*.

not eſcape to the Ships: And when thoſe who fled to the Ships with *Canutus*, ſaw how unſucceſsful all their Expeditions into *Scotland* had been, they ſwore among themſelves, that they ſhould never enter it again as Enemies. They ſent to *Macbeth* and *Banquho*, ſhewing their Reſolutions, and offer'd them great Sums of Money to have Liberty to bury their Dead in conſecrated Ground: Which the Generals granted them upon Payment of the Money, and Hoſtages for their Return to their Ships, and to depart ſo ſoon as they had buried their Dead. The *Danes* came aſhore, and had Liberty given to bury their Dead in conſecrated Ground, at the Abby in St *Colme*'s-*Inch*, being a little Iſland in the River *Forth*: Where many Bones have been ſeen of a prodigious Size, in latter Ages. When the *Danes* buried their Dead, they hired many Workmen to engrave Arms or Devices of the Nobles and moſt noted Men, on their Tombs, which they erected for them over their Graves. And when they return'd to their Ships, their Hoſtages were deliver'd up to them, and they departed home, and never return'd to *Scotland* at any Time after.

Inch-Colm in the River *Forth*.

Thus did our Nation by their ſingular Courage and Valour ſtill oppoſe, and at laſt defeat the *Danes*, a People who had been ſo victorious in many Nations, beſides the entire Conqueſt of *England*; yet *Scotland* never was ſubject to them nor any other Power, from the firſt Eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom.

Macbeth and *Banquho* return'd with the Army to *Bertha*, and were rewarded by the King, and applauded by the People, for their valiant Deeds. They were both continu'd conjunct Generals of the Army, and employ'd in all Matters of Conſequence. The King made a Progreſs to the North, and viſited all the Courts of Juſtice, having *Macbeth* and *Banquho* always with him. He went to lodge at *Foreß*; and *Macbeth* then had his Wife and Family at *Inverneß*, where he went, and carried *Banquho* with him, and ('tis reported) as they were paſſing through a Wood, that they met three Women of exceeding Beauty, in very ſtrange Rayment: The firſt ſaluted *Macbeth*, ſaying, *Hail* Macbeth *Thane of* Glamis! The Second, *Hail* Macbeth *Thane of* Cowder! The Third, *Hail* Macbeth *King of* Scotland! *Banquho* hearing thoſe three Salutations to *Macbeth*, ſaid to the Women, *Since ye propheſie ſuch great Preferments to my Companion, what Fate reſerve ye for me?* They all three turn'd to *Banquho*, and ſaid with one Voice, *Hail* Banquho, *of thee ſhall come many Kings!* Whereupon the three Women ſuddenly evaniſh'd. The People in thoſe Days called them Wierd-Siſters or Wood-Women. (There being many Relations of ſuch Women having been ſeen in *Scotland*, both on Land and ſome in the Rivers, call'd *Marmaidens*.) Thoſe Women were uſed to appear before any unexpected Diſaſter; expreſſing often (to the Hearing of ſome Perſons) in myſtical and ſententious Words, the Events of ſuch Accidents, as ſhould occur.

Macbeth and *Banquho* went on their Way, jeſting about the Propheſies of the three Women; and *Banquho* often in Jeſt call'd *Macbeth* King; as alſo *Macbeth* call'd *Banquho* after the ſame Manner, Father of Kings: But *Banquho* took no further Notice of it.

This *Macketh* was a Man of penetrating Wit and lofty Spirit, being naturally ambitious, ſo that by his Succeſs in the War againſt the *Danes*, he was much eſteem'd by all the Nation; and about this Time the Thane of *Cawder*, being found guilty of Treaſon, he forfeited his Title and Eſtate; which the King gave to his Couſin *Macbeth*, who was then Thane of *Glamis*. This Gift anſwering the ſecond Prediction of the Propheſie (or, as ſome will have it, a Dream) *Macbeth* now begins to forget his Duty to GOD, and Allegiance and Obedience to his lawful Sovereign the King; and entertain'd ſecret Hopes to poſſeſs the Crown, by the third Prediction of the Propheſy. And being poſſeſs'd with the evil Spirit of ambitious Pride and Covetouſneſs, he gave his Mind daily to ſuch wicked Contrivances as might bring him to ſuch a great Change of Conditions; as from being a happy and free Subject, enjoying Peace, Plenty of Riches, and the higheſt Offices of the Government;

ment; beſides the Love and Reſpect of his Sovereign, and all good People; to become an unjuſt and hateful Uſurper, a Title moſt hateful and abominable to all Profeſſors of Chriſtianity; it being condemn'd by the Laws of GOD and all well govern'd Chriſtian Countries. Nor could this happy Subject *Macbeth* change his Happineſs, to become more or moſt unhappy and miſerable by any Probability of Hopes, but by the moſt execrable and heinous Crime, and loud crying Sin of Murder! Nor was it common or ſingle Murder, it was the Murder of a King! the Lord's Anointed! by GOD's expreſs Commands forbidden to be touch'd by humane Hands: Yet nothing could encourage the criminal Hopes of *Macbeth*, but ſuch deteſtable Treachery and Murder: He had no Hopes left to ſucceed by Virtue of the ancient Law; for the King's Son *Malcolm* was of Age, and created Prince of *Scotland* and Lord of *Cumberland*, which was great Grief to *Macbeth*; who thinks now of ſome ſpeedy Means to attain to his Wiſhes: Nor could he contain his Secret Ambition without a Confident, and thought none could be ſo ſafe as his Wife. She hearing the Propheſy, and the Fulfilling of the firſt and ſecond Predictions, could not contain her Joy, at the Hopes of being a Queen; nor did ſhe reſt, but daily importun'd *Macbeth* to uſe ſome ſpeedy Means to get the Crown, and at laſt ſhe propos'd the King's Death: But *Macbeth* ſeem'd unwilling to murder the good and innocent Prince, who had heap'd ſo many Favours on him above his other Subjects: Yet the importunate Solicitations of his Wife, and the Temptation of the Devil prevail'd, ſo that the King's Death, by Murder, was concluded, as the only Way to be ſpeedy; and by contriving to lay the Guilt of it on his Sons, would be a ſufficient Pretence to kill them. And accordingly, when the King lay at *Inverneſs*, at *Macbeth*'s Houſe, they took their Opportunity, and in the Middle of the Night, *Macbeth* with his Wife enter'd the King's Appartment, and finding him faſt aſleep, and the Servants which lay near him, they ſtab'd the King with a long Knife to the Heart, and put the bloody Inſtrument near one of the Servant's Bed, ſo as to charge him with the Murder; and to confirm it, ſprinkled ſome of the King's Blood on the Servants. The next Day *Macbeth* had contriv'd that ſome of the State Officers ſhould come early to the King, as by his Command the Night before; and according to his Contrivance, ſome of the Noblemen of the Court came to wait on the King in his Appartment, and *Macbeth* accompanied them as they enter'd. When they beheld the King murder'd, they cry'd out with ſuch a Noiſe, that the King's Servants came ruſhing into the Room, and when *Macbeth* ſaw them, he ſhew'd the Nobles the King's Blood on them, which he had done himſelf, and ſeem'd to be in ſuch a Paſſion of Grief for the King's Death, that he took a Sword and ſtabb'd two Servants as the Perſons guilty of the Murder; and after ſome Conſultation with the Nobles, he forg'd Circumſtances to make them ſuſpect the Prince *Malcolm* and his Brother were concern'd in the Conſpiracy. But many of the Nobles and other People (eſpecially *Banquho*, by the Conſideration of the Propheſies and other Circumſtances) believ'd *Macbeth* to be the Author of the Murder, as it ſeem'd moſt probable. The King's Friends went to Prince *Malcolm*, and told him of the treacherous Deeds and Deſigns of *Macbeth*; whereupon the Prince with his Brother fled into *England*. Thus was this pious and innocent King ſlain, in the 7th Year of his Reign, and his Body was buried in *Elgin*; but was afterwards carried to *Icolmkill*, and intomb'd with his Royal Anceſtors. He left two Sons and one Daughter, by the Daughter of *Sibert* King of *Northumberland*. His eldeſt Son was call'd *Malcolm*, ſirnam'd *Kianmore*, from the Bigneſs of his Head: The youngeſt was nam'd *Donald*, ſirnam'd *Bane*, i. e. *White*. The King being thus Murder'd, and his two Sons fled, *Macbeth* went with a ſtrong Party to *Scoon*, and got himſelf crown'd King, which, to his Miſery, fulfill'd the third Prediction of his Propheſy.

K. *Duncan* murder'd by *Macbeth*.

MACBETH. *The* 85 *King of* Scotland.

MACBETH uſurp'd the Crown of *Scotland* in the Year of the World 5022, of CHRIST 1052, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1292. When *Macbeth* had thus taken the Crown, he ſtudied how he might make himſelf ſure in the Poſſeſſion of it, ſo gave great Rewards to all his Party; and to gain the Favour of the Nobility, he divided the Crown Rents among ſuch as would accept of it, and thoſe who would not be brib'd, to flatter and ſhew the Reſpect they could not really entertain for him; he mark'd them for an after Game, as ſhall be ſeen in the Progreſs of his Actions: But for the firſt Part of his Time, he ſtudied ſuch Means as might make himſelf belov'd by all the Nation; and got ſuch a ſtrong Party to maintain his Power, that thoſe who deteſted his Title and treacherous Villany, were not able to ſhew their Reſentment, nor diſpute his Authority: Nor could they offer to bring home the lawful Heir, for they were ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd by the Uſurper *Macbeth* and his Party.

He was ſuch a great Politician, that he diſguis'd all his natural Cruelty and Avariciouſneſs, and appear'd a moſt juſt and equitable Prince; and went over the Kingdom doing many Acts of Juſtice, and puniſh'd all Crimes without any Partiallity. Having ſettled the Nation he return'd to *Bertha*, where he aſſembled the Nobles of his Party, and to give all Men a better Opinion of his Government, he enacted many good Laws and Statues; that, were they not made by an Uſurper, they might have been recorded among the beſt Laws of *Scotland*: But as all Acts and Statues made by Uſurpers are againſt the Law, they ought not, nor cannot take Place amongſt the Laws and Statues enacted by lawful Authority; therefore I think it needleſs to inſert here any of the Laws and Acts made by *Macbeth*.

'Tis ſaid that he brought the Kingdom into ſuch Peace and Tranquillity, and made ſo many good Laws, and executed Juſtice with ſuch Equity, that he might have been liſted among the beſt of Kings, had not his unjuſt Title and criminal Means of attaining to it, made him ſo hateful to all good People: But after having govern'd the Kingdom near ten Years with great Aplauſe, he begins to conſider it Time to give Liberty to his inbred Cruelty and Avarice; and remembring the Prediction of the Witches to *Banquho*, reſolv'd to remove ſuch a dangerous Enemy: For *Banquho* had always entertain'd a juſt Suſpicion of *Macbeth*'s being the Perſon who murder'd the King, nor could he diſſemble his natural Integrity, to continue in Familiarity or flatter the Perſon he hated: So that withdrawing his former Teſtimonies of zealous Affection for *Macbeth*, it gave him Reaſon to underſtand *Banquho*'s ſuſpecting him the Author of the King's Death. Whereupon *Macbeth* reſolv'd to kill *Banquho*, and to have the better Opportunity, invited him and his only Son *Fleance* to a Banquet at his Houſe; and when *Banquho* (with great Reluctancy, yet could not diſobey the Command or Invitation of the Perſon in ſo great Power over him) came, he was welcom'd by *Macbeth* with much diſſembl'd Reſpect and Friendſhip; and he reprov'd *Banquho* (after a pleaſant and friendly Way, as he diſſembl'd) for not being ſo free with him as in their former familiar acquaintance: But *Banquho* excus'd himſelf after the beſt Manner, without exceeding the Rules of Reſpect and Civility due to his Place. While *Macbeth* entertain'd *Banquho* and his Son *Fleance* at his Houſe, he thought it would be ſuſpicious to murder them there; therefore hir'd Ruffians to kill them on the Road as they return'd home. At their parting, *Macbeth* gave them many feign'd Aſſurances of his Affection: But as they were on their Journey (the Night being dark) the Ruffians beſet them and kill'd *Banquho*, with ſome of his Domeſtick Servants: Yet, by the All powerful Providence of GOD, his Son *Fleance* eſcap'd, and fled into *Wales*; where he was receiv'd and entertain'd with Reſpect by *Griffith* Prince of that Nation.

Banquho is ſlain, but his Son *Fleance* eſcapes into *Wales*.

When

When *Macbeth* had Notice that *Banquho* was dead, and his Son had eſcap'd; the Prediction of the Propheſy came into his Mind with greater Trouble, fearing *Fleance* would be his Rival: Therefore ſtudied all Means whereby he might enrich himſelf, to provide againſt any future Trouble or Diſappointment. He ſuſpected every Nobleman that had Acquaintance with, or related to *Banquho*, or the late King and his Sons; and reſolv'd to exerciſe his Power in the moſt ſpeedy Deſtruction of all his ſuſpected Enemies; and brib'd falſe Witneſſes to charge them with Treaſon, and ſuch Crimes as might give a Tincture of Juſtice to his Cruelty. He murder'd (by pretending Treaſon) the Thanes of *Caithneſs*, *Roſs*, *Sutherland*, and *Galloway*, the Baron *Magill* and many others, taking their Eſtates and Goods to his own Uſe; and drove their Wives and Children to ſuch Poverty, that they had nothing to ſubſiſt them but the Relief of their Friends. By this Means *Macbeth* found two very tempting Advantages: For by killing the Nobles, he remov'd the Perſons he ſuſpected to be his Enemies, and had their Lands and Subſtance to keep a ſtrong Army to defend himſelf againſt ſuch Enemies as he was afraid of. While he thus delighted himſelf in Murder and Oppreſſion, he found his Mind terribly perplex'd with horrid Dreams and fearful Thoughts; yet conſulted all Means to eſtabliſh his own Power, and impoveriſh and enſlave the Subjects: And fearing every one to be his Enemies, he reſolv'd to build a ſtrong Caſtle at * *Dunſinnan*, and to oppreſs the Subjects the more, he caus'd every Nobleman, with his Tenants and Vaſſals, to build this Caſtle by Turns, every one having ſo much alotted for their Share. And it is ſaid, That *Macbeth* having ſtudied ſome Diabolical Means, to know how long he ſhould reign; he had *Reſponſe*, That he ſhould reign till *Birnham* Wood was brought to *Dunſinnan*-Caſtle. Upon which he reſolv'd to live there, to prevent the Wood to be tranſplanted, or grow ſo far, as he interpreted the *Reſponſe*.

* In the Shire of *Perth*.

The Thanes of every Shire were oblig'd to build their Shares of the Caſtle, and give their own Attendance to over-ſee the Work-men in the Building. And when it fell to *Macduff*, Thane of *Fife*, to build his Share, (he being a near Kinſman to the late King, as alſo to *Banquho*; and had Notice that *Macbeth* deſign'd to take his Life) would not come to the Caſtle, but ſent his Work-men. When *Macbeth* found *Macduff* had diſobey'd his Commands, he ſwore an Oath, That he would make him draw Stones in a Cart, like a Horſe.

Macduff hearing the threatning Words of *Macbeth*, fled into *England*, to ſave his Life from the Tyrant, who had more than ordinary Malice to him: For, 'tis ſaid, that the Uſurper had a familiar Wizard, who told him, (on a time when he was conſulted) That *Macduff* ſhould do him more Hurt than any other Man: And when *Mackbeth* ask'd the Wizard, If *Macduff* ſhould kill him? the Anſwer was, That he ſhould not be kill'd by any Man born of a Woman. Tho' the firſt of theſe *Reſponſes* made him afraid of *Macduff*, yet the laſt made him fearleſs of being kill'd by him: Therefore he reſolv'd to go to *Macduff*'s Houſe, and bring him to ſuch Puniſhment as his Cruelty would ſuggeſt, and in the End determin'd to ſlay him, to remove his Fear.

When he came to *Macduff*'s Caſtle, and found he was fled, and had Intelligence that he was gone to *England*, to *Malcolm Kianmore*; he enter'd the Houſe in a Rage of Paſſion, and ſlew *Macduff*'s Wife and Children. He confiſcated all *Macduff*'s Subſtance, and proclaim'd him Rebel and Traitor, with a Reward to any who would bring him to him, either alive or dead.

When *Macduff* fled from *Scotland*, he knew that the Prince *Malcolm*, the King's eldeſt Son and lawful Heir to the Crown, was alive, and at the Court of *England*, where he was reſpectfully entertain'd by King *Edward* (called *The Confeſſor*) the Son of *Etheldred* by Q. *Emma*, who afterwards married *Canutus* the firſt King of the *Danes* in *England*, and bare to him *Harold* and *Hardicanute*, who both reign'd Kings of *England*. *Edward* being Half-Brother to *Hardicanute*, who was the laſt King of the *Daniſh* Line, and lawful Heir, was reſtor'd to the Crown, being the firſt King of the *Engliſh* Race after the *Danes*. He was a Prince of exceeding Virtue and Piety, and noted for his

generous Friendſhip to *Malcolm*, in relieving *Scotland* from the Tyrany of *Macbeth*. Mean Time *Macduff* came to *Malcolm*, who receiv'd him very reſpectfully. But as *Macbeth* had contriv'd Plots to bring him to *Scotland* in order to deſtroy him; therefore he was the more cautious of any Meſſages, leſt it had been from *Macbeth*: Yet had a good Opinion of *Macduff*; knowing his Character to be a Man of perfect Loyalty to the King his Father, and zealous affection to himſelf; for which he was hated by *Macbeth*. Notwithſtanding of that Character, yet the Prince reſolv'd to try the continu'd Sincerity of *Macduff*'s Loyalty: So that when *Macduff* was admitted to the Prince, he deſir'd a private Audience of him, about ſome Meſſage of Conſequence which he had to deliver. The Prince, being retir'd with *Macduff*, deſir'd to know his Meſſage; and *Macduff* addreſs'd the Prince with an Account of *Macbeth*'s Cruelty, ſhewing in what a miſerable Condition *Scotland* was brought to; and ſeeing *Malcolm* much concern'd, and ſigh deeply, he ſaid to him: "O Prince! How long ſhall the Murder of thy Royal Father and his "Loyal Subjects remain unpuniſh'd? How can thou think to live happy, "and ſee thy native Country ruin'd and depopulated by the Man who ſlew "thy Father, and laid the Guilt on thee? We have long waited with Pa- "tience (ſuffering all Injury and Diſgrace) in Hopes that when thou wert of "Age thou would relieve us, by aſſerting thy juſt Right. We have earneſtly "wiſhed for ſuch an happy Opportunity to teſtify our Obedience and Loy- "alty to Thee our lawful King; and be reveng'd of the cruel Uſurper: Who "is not ſatisfy'd with our Subſtance, but intends to reduce us from free No- "blemen, to become mean ſervile Slaves and Labourers. 'Tis for refuſing "to perform mean Service, a daily Labour to the Uſurper, that I am forced "to fly from my Houſe and native Country! 'Tis for this, that my Wife and "innocent Children are murder'd! My Houſe plunder'd, and my ſelf pro- "claim'd Traitor and Rebel, and a Price offer'd for my Life. Therefore am "I come hither, O Prince! to entreat thee, in the Name of thy miſerable "Country, to repreſent the Calamities thereof to King *Edward* of *England*, "not doubting but Humanity will induce ſuch a good and pious Prince, to "grant thee Aid, to aſſert thy undoubted Right, and relieve thy diſtreſs'd "Subjects; who are far more willing to loſe their Lives, to teſtify their "Loyalty to thee their lawful King, than to live in Miſery and Slavery un- "der the Uſurper. Remember the valiant Deeds of your Royal Anceſtors: "How often they ventur'd their Lives in the Defence of their Kingdom and "People; and by their Valour defended the Nation from all foreign Enemies "of the greateſt Power, as well as from all domeſtick Broils and Rebellion "of their own Subjects. I ſay therefore be not negligent of thy own Right, "and Duty to GOD and the People; but come ſpeedily and deliver thy "Nation from Affliction." Notwithſtanding of this mourning Repreſentation of *Macduff*, yet *Malcolm* was reſolv'd to uſe ſome Policy to try his Sincerity, and anſwer'd him, ſaying, "You invite me to be your King, with- "out knowing my Diſpoſition; for I am ſubject to many of thoſe Vices "which have deſtroy'd Kings already, *viz.* Luſt and Avarice; which my "private Condition may conceal, but the Liberty of a Kingdom would give "Way to: Therefore I rather make plain Confeſſion to you now, than be "found guilty, when it may not be in your Power to prevent it." *Macduff* reply'd to *Malcolm*, That a lawful Marriage would prevent his Luſt and Deſire of many Concubines; and that the Revenue of the Kingdom of *Scotland* was ſufficient to ſatiate his Deſire of Wealth. But reply'd *Malcolm*, "I am "ſo unconſtant my ſelf, that I cannot keep my Word; nor do I confide in "the Word of any Man." When *Macduff* heard theſe laſt Words of *Malcolm*, he turn'd from him, and in a Paſſion ſaid, "O unhappy *Scots!* where "will your Miſeries and Affliction end! Ye have now a cruel Murderer and "Tyrant to rule over you; and the only Hopes which ſupported you, was "to be reliev'd by your Right Prince: But he! is ſuch a degenerate Wretch, "that it would add to your preſent Oppreſſion to have him reſtor'd! He is "a Prodigy of Nature and Diſgrace to the Royal Stock of his Family; wor-

Macduff's Speech to Prince *Malcolm*.

Prince *Malcolm*'s Anſwer to try *Macduff*

"thier

" thier to be baniſh'd to ſome deſert Iſland, than to be call'd to rule a King-
" dom. As for me! I am baniſh'd for ever from my native Country! with-
" out Hopes ever to return again: Therefore I pray GOD, in his Divine
" Providence, to grant me the Felicity to end my Days in ſome remote and
" ſolitary Place, ſo that I may not behold the Deſolation of my native Coun-
" try, *Scotland*." With theſe Words *Macduff* ſhed abundance of Tears; and was about to depart the Room, when *Malcolm* came up to him, and took him by the Hand, and ſaid, " *Macduff* be comforted, I am not the Perſon I
" deſcrib'd my ſelf to be to you; I thank GOD, no Man is more temperate
" nor more averſe to the Vices I have charg'd my ſelf with, than I am: But
" having had Experience of *Macbeth*'s treacherous Plots to deſtroy me, by
" bringing me into his Power, therefore what I ſaid was to try thy Sincerity;
" and ſince I have prov'd thee, and know thy Sufferings, I am ready to ven-
" ture my Life to revenge your Injuries, and relieve the Nation from the
" Tyranny of *Macbeth*: However, let us manage our Affairs with ſuch Se-
" creſy, and Prudence, that he may not be alarm'd, untill we are prepar'd
" to attack him: And for our better Encouragement, the good King *Edward*
" has of late offer'd me Aid to recover my Kingdom." *Macduff* hearing theſe Words, was overjoy'd, and imbrac'd the Prince, ſaying, " Be not
" afraid, my Prince, of me, nor any of thy Subjects, they will all join thee,
" except the Party of Villains who are hir'd and maintain'd by the Uſurper.
" The Nobles of *Scotland* have not learn'd to withdraw and forget their
" Loyalty and Allegiance to their Lawful King, to aid and ſupport an unjuſt
" Uſurper: Tho' they are compell'd to it under his uſurp'd Authority, as
" they want Ability to diſpute his Title, and puniſh him for his Crimes:
" Yet believe, Prince, that you always have had their beſt Wiſhes and
" Prayers, which they will teſtify by venturing their Lives to reſtore you,
" ſo ſoon as you give them Opportunity."

After this Conference *Macduff* wrote Letters to ſome of the chief Noblemen of *Scotland*, ſhewing them, that the Prince was ready to join them with Aid from *England*, and deſir'd they might make the beſt and moſt private Preparation they could to be in Readineſs to join the *Engliſh* Army. This Meſſage was moſt joyfully receiv'd among the Loyal *Scots*, who had for ſo many Years been moſt cruelly oppreſs'd by the Uſurper; who had depriv'd them of all their ancient Priviledges, and had reduc'd them to ſuch an Inferiority, that they were ſubject to, and afraid of the meaneſt, and moſt abject, deprav'd Perſons; who were made rich, and rais'd to great Preferment for their inhumane Service to the Uſurper.

Malcolm having repreſented the Meſſage of *Macduff* to King *Edward*; that good King gave Earl *Seymore* and his Son the Command of ten thouſand *Engliſhmen*, and ſent them with *Malcolm* againſt *Macbeth*. When *Edward* parted with *Malcolm*, he ſhew'd great Marks of his tender Affection for him, and pray'd GOD to ſend him Succeſs. *Malcolm* march'd ſo ſpeedily with the *Engliſh* Army, that they enter'd *Scotland* before the Uſurper had any Notice of his Preparation; and the *Scots* Nobility join'd with ſuch Alacrity, that *Macbeth* was deſerted by moſt Part of all the Nation, except ſuch as were within the Reach of his hir'd Party, who had ſome Skirmiſhes with thoſe who were in Arms to join *Malcolm*: But at laſt *Macbeth* call'd all his Party to *Dunſinnan*, to defend the Caſtle, where he had aſſembled his Paraſites to conſult with them in great Danger as he then found himſelf in. And when he had conveen'd his Party, and conſulted with them: Some adviſ'd him to ſend to *Malcolm* to treat of Peace with him; others ſaid, if he could eſcape, he had Riches enough to go into ſome other Realm, and hire Forces to invade *Malcolm* and recover the Crown. But *Macbeth* who depended upon his Diabolical Predictions, determin'd to fortify the Caſtle of *Dunſinnan*, to wait the Motion of *Malcolm*'s Army; and ſaid he would never fly the Kingdom without a Battle. In the mean Time, while *Macbeth* was fortifying the Caſtle of *Dunſinnan*, *Malcolm* came with his Army in the Night to *Birnham* Wood, and next Day after refreſhing the Army, *Malcolm* order'd every

Man of the Army to cut a large Branch of the Oak Trees, and carry it in their Hands to keep them from being diſcover'd by the Enemy; and in this Poſture did the whole Army march towards *Dunſinnan*, as if the great Wood had mov'd, and no Man to be ſeen.

When *Macbeth* by his Watches was told of this Appearance, he was ſtruck with a terrible Remembrance of the Propheſy; and order'd his Party to their Arms. He drew out into the Field to meet Prince *Malcolm*; and array'd his Army: Whereupon *Malcolm*'s Army threw down their Brances, and were marching forward to attack *Macbeth*; but he being ſo terrify'd with the Thoughts of his great Crimes, had not Courage now (tho' when a Loyal Subject, was a moſt valiant and reſolute General) to face his Enemies, but fled from his Party, and was ſeen and purſu'd by *Macduff* ſo ſwiftly, that he ſoon overtook him, and call'd aloud to him, *Traitor! now thy mercileſs Tyranny ſhall be puniſh'd, and thy Cruelty ſhall have an End!* *Macbeth* anſwer'd him, *Thou purſueſt me in vain*, Macduff, *for no Man that is born of a Woman can kill or take me:* Then ſaid *Macduff*, *I am the Man appointed to puniſh thy Treachery and revenge the Murder of the King and his innocent Subjects, whom thou, Traitor, didſt baſely kill: Know I fulfil thy Prediction, for I was cut out of my Mother's Womb, when ſhe died in Labour of me: Remember my innocent Wife and Children, whom thou didſt ſlay without Pity.* *Macbeth* hearing theſe Words, turn'd upon *Macduff*, curſing his Fate, and all that would give Ear to Wizards, or any of their Diabolical Deluſions. After ſome feeble Reſiſtance, *Macduff* kill'd him, and cut off his Head, and brought it to *Malcolm*; who, with his Army had taken *Macbeth*'s Party Priſoners. Thus ended the bloody Uſurper, after he had kept the Throne 17 Years. He was ſlain in *Elcho*-Park by the River *Tay*, for he fled ſo far before *Macduff* could overtake him.

End of the FOURTH *Book.*

BOOK

BOOK V.

The History of the Kings from the Reſtoration of King MALCOLM III. *to the Reign of King* ROBERT I. *ſirnam'd* BRUCE. A. D. 1306.

MALCOLM III. *The* 86 *King of* Scotland.

MALCOLM III. ſirnam'd *Kianmore*, the Son of *Donald* VII. (by ſome call'd *Duncan*) was crown'd King of *Scotland*, in the Marble Chair at *Scoon*, the 25th Day of *April*, in the Year of the World 5039, of CHRIST 1059, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1309. After his Coronation he aſſembled the Nobility of *Scotland* at *Forfar*, and rewarded every one according to their Merit, and redreſs'd thoſe who had ſuffer'd by the Oppreſſion of *Macbeth*. But while they were thus aſſembled in Council, ſome of *Macbeth*'s rebellious Party were ſo inſolent, that they ſtole to *Scoon* with *Luthlack* the Son of *Macbeth*, and attempted to crown him privately: But the King having Notice, he ſent *Macduff* with a ſtrong Party, who overtook the unfortunate Son of the unhappy Father, and ſlew him before he could have the Crown in his Poſſeſſion. The Ringleaders were put to Death, and the reſt pardon'd by the King.

Luthlack, the Son of *Macbeth*, ſlain by *Macduff*.

In this Aſſembly the King created many Earls, Vifcounts and Barons. Thoſe who were formerly Thanes were then created Earles. *Macduff* who was the chief Inſtrument of the King's Reſtoration, and the Delivery of the Nation from Uſurpation and Oppreſſion, was created Earl of *Fife*; being the firſt Earl that ever was created in *Scotland*: And the King gave him three Privileges, which were confirm'd by an Act to him and his Heirs. The Firſt, *That he (as Earl of* Fife) *and his Heirs, ſhould aſſiſt the Archbiſhop of St.* Andrew's *to crown the King*: The Second, *That the Earls of* Fife *ſhould have the Command of the Van-guard of the Army*: The Third, *That the Earls of* Fife *ſhould make Officers within their own Power and Regality, and reprive their People from the King's Judges, if any ſhould be found criminal before any of the King's Courts*. Beſides *Macduff* many Earls were created, ſuch as the Earls of *Monteith*, *Athol*, *Lenox*, *Murray*, *Caithneſs*, *Roſs*, *Angus*, and many others, who took their Titles from their Names or chief Places of their Reſidence, or the Shires of which they were Superiors. Many Sirnames begun at this Time in *Scotland*, ſuch as the *Gordons*, *Seatons*, *Calders*, *Lockharts*, *Lauders*, *Wauchops*, *Wallaces*, *Shaws*, *Libertons*, *Lermonths*, *Meldrums*, *Dundaſs's*, *Cockburns*, *Cargills*, *Mortons*, *Menzies*, *Abercrombies*, and *Leſlys*: But the *Murrays*, *Hays*, *Grahams*, and *Keiths*, were Sirnames in *Scotland* as beforemention'd. Alſo at this Time begun many Sirnames, taking beginning from Offices, as ſhall be ſeen in the Progreſs of the Hiſtory of this Reign.

Foreign Titles or Honour firſt brought into *Scotland*.

Sirnames known firſt in *Scotland*.

Altho' *Luthlack*, the Son of *Macbeth*, was ſlain, as before-mentioned, and the Ring-leaders of his Party were executed or pardon'd, yet many of his wicked Favourites were in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, and committed Theft and Robery, hoping for ſome new Broils among the Subjects; and they went a great Party of them into *Lothian* and *Mers*, plundering the Country, but they were taken and puniſh'd by *Patrick Dunbar* of that Ilk, who was

Patrick Dunbar created E. of *March.*

rewarded by the King for that Action, with the Title of Earl of *March*; and had the Lands of *Cockburnſpath*, upon Condition that the Earls of *March* ſhould keep the *Lothians* and the *Mers* free from all Thieves and Robbers. This Earl of *March* had aſſigned him for the ancient Arms, *Argent* three Heads proper, crin'd *Sable*, dropping Blood. Mean time *Malcolm* inſtituted many good Laws and Statutes, and govern'd the Kingdom in Peace and Tranquillity for ſeveral Years, without Diſturbance.

Here I think proper to take Notice of the Affairs of *Scotland*, concerning the Dominions of the three Counties of *England*. After King *Malcolm* had been crown'd, he rewarded the Earl *Seymour* and his Son, as alſo the Army; and at their Return home, he ſent an Ambaſſador to return Thanks to King *Edward*, with whom he contracted Peace and Alliance, upon the Conditions, That the three Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* ſhould be confirm'd to the Kings of *Scotland* for ever, they making a yearly Acknowledgment to the Kings of *England* for the ſaid Lands; which Acknowledgment many *Engliſh* Authors miſtake, and take Occaſion therefrom to alledge, That the Kings of *Scotland* did Homage, or held the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* of the Kings of *England*; which is altogether groundleſs. In the mean time, General *Seymour*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Army in *Scotland*, was rewarded with the Title of Earl of *Northumberland*, and Poſſeſſions were given him in that County, by King *Malcolm*.

While King *Malcolm* continu'd to govern in Peace and Juſtice, ſome wicked Perſons contriv'd a Plot to take away his Life, which Conſpiracy being ſecretly diſcover'd to the King, with the chief Contrivers of the Plot: He being a Man of undaunted Courage, took an Opportunity to take this Conſpirator by himſelf, and when they were alone, the King told him, "Traitor, thou haſt contriv'd my Death, now draw thy Sword, and try to "obtain thy Deſire by Valour, and be not ſo baſe as to take it away, like "a Villain and vile Coward." Whereupon the Conſpirator fell down upon his Knees before the King, and implor'd Mercy. The King, who was naturally inclin'd to Mercy, told him, "I pardon thee now, with all thy "Confederates; but upon the leaſt Diſobedience, thou and they ſhall be "put to the ſevereſt Death that can be invented." I think this Paſſage ought to be taken Notice of, in Conſideration of the King's Perſonal Courage, as well as his Readineſs to forgive and ſpare the Lives of his Subjects; his venturing to be alone with the Perſon (he was well aſſured) had deſir'd his Life by any Means, teſtified his Perſonal Courage; and his demeaning himſelf ſo far as to lay aſide his Royal Dignity, to Combate with a Subject, whom he might freely execute by Law, was the utmoſt Teſtimony of his Faith and Aſſurance, that GOD would protect his Perſon and Life, according to his Innocence, and Juſtice of his Cauſe: Then when the poor half-condemn'd Conſpirator, little expected what he ſo penitently pray'd for, which was only his own ſingle Life, without any Hopes of the King's Favour or Countenance, or Liberty as another Subjects, which he had ſo evidently and ſenſibly forfeited: Yet behold, the Moſt Heroick Prince laid aſide all humane Frailty and Reſentment; forgot that he was his vow'd Enemy, and looks with Mercy and Compaſſion upon him, and anſwers him in the Words of a tender and compaſſionate Father, pardoning a Child, and inſtructing him to future Obedience and Duty: And inſtead of publiſhing his Crimes, and baniſhing him from his Country, with his Confederates; aſſures him of his Safety and theirs, without Remembrance of their paſt Rebellion and Treachery. He conſider'd, that if they were brib'd and led from their Duty by the ſubtile Craft of the Uſurper, that a ready Forgiveneſs would oblige them, in Gratitude, to be good Subjects for the future. By this Act of Clemency the King gain'd the Love of thoſe who before hated him, and lived peaceably free from Plots, all his Lifetime after.

Here I think proper to relate the great Change of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, that happen'd about this Time, by the Death of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, ſo good a Friend and Benefactor to our King and Country. And to introduce

the

the Hiſtory of this great Revolution more perfectly, I ſhall begin with the Hiſtory of this King *Edward* (the other former Reigns being generally hinted at in the foregoing Part of this Hiſtory) who was the Son of *Etheldred*, by Queen *Emma*, and had another Brother nam'd *Alfred*. *Edward* and *Alfred* were kept in *Normandy* by their Uncle the Duke *Richard*: When *Edmund* their eldeſt Brother was King, and ſlain, as before-mention'd, by *Edrick*, who gave the Sons of *Edmund*, nam'd *Edward* and *Edwine*, into the Hands of *Canutus* the *Daniſh* King. This *Canutus* gain'd the Love of the *Engliſh*, by puniſhing *Edrick* for his baſe and treacherous Murder of *Edmund*; and then made ſtrong his Intereſt by marrying Queen *Emma* the Mother of *Edward* and *Alfred*: Yet *Canutus* had an inbred Hatred to the *Engliſh*, and tho' he ſeem'd to take great Care of the Sons of King *Edmund*, yet deſign'd to deſtroy them; and to that Purpoſe ſent *Edward* and *Edwine* to the Regent of *Denmark*, with expreſs Commands to ſlay them: But the Regent had Compaſſion on them, and convey'd them privately to the Court of *Solomon* King of *Hungary*; where they both remain'd, and *Edward* the eldeſt Brother was married to *Agatha*, Daughter to the King as before-mention'd; and liv'd there till the Reign of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*.

This *Canutus*, the firſt *Daniſh* King, reign'd 19 Years, with great Applauſe of the *Engliſh*, and made many good Laws. In the 15th Year of his Reign, he went a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, to the Sepulchre of St. *Peter*, and at his Return built ſeveral Churches. He had two Sons and one Daughter by Queen *Emma*: The two Sons were *Sweno*, to whom his Father left the Kingdom of *Norway*, and to *Hardicanute* the youngeſt, he left the Kingdom of *England*: But *Canutus* had an elder Son nam'd *Harold*, by a firſt Marriage, and to him he left the Kingdom of *Denmark*, and was reigning there when his Father died in *England*; and knowing *Egland* to be better than his Kingdom of *Denmanrk*, he came over at the Death of his Father, and took Poſſeſſion of the Crown. His Step-mother pleaded hard for her Son *Hardicanute*, who was left King by the Will of *Canutus*: But the Will was in the Hands of the Earl *Godwin*, an *Engliſh* General, who married the Daughter of *Canutus*, and complying with *Harold*, gave him Poſſeſſion of it, and the Crown.

When *Harold* was made King of *England*, he was not ſo much afraid of his Brother *Hardicanute*, as of *Edward* and *Alfred* the Sons of *Etheldred* and Queen *Emma*, who were then in *Normandy*: And *Harold* ſent Earl *Godwin* with forg'd Letters, as from Queen *Emma*, to the two young Princes, deſiring they might come over with Earl *Godwin*, to take the Crown which *Harold* had uſurp'd. *Godwin* was credited by the Princes, and they came over with him: And when they were arriv'd in *England*, *Edward* was forewarn'd of *Godwine*'s treacherous Deſigns, and fled from him, and return'd into *Normandy*; but *Alfred* would not be adviſ'd by his Brother to make his Eſcape, ſo that he was inhumanly murder'd by *Godwine*.

'Tis ſaid, that *Godwine* (when he found *Edward* had Eſcap'd) put *Alfred* in Priſon at *Gileford*; and from that carried him to the Iſle of *Ely*, where he cauſed put out his Eyes, and after carried the miſerable Prince to a Stake, cauſed ripe up his Belly, taking one End of his Bowels, and faſten'd it to the Stake, and whipt him, making him run round the Stake, till all his Bowels were wrap'd about it, ſo that he died. After this moſt inhumane Murder of the innocent Prince, they confiſcated all the Goods of Queen *Emma*, and baniſh'd her out of the Realm; and ſhe went into *Normandy* to her Son *Edward*. After this Cruelty *Harold* reign'd 4 Years. He was Nick-nam'd *Harefoot*, for his Swiftneſs in Running; but for all his Speed, Death overtook him before he had any Iſſue to ſucceed him. *Hardicanute* being ſent to the Government of *Denmark* by *Harold*, was at his Death ſent for to *England*. He was an avaricious luxurious Tyrant, and delighted in nothing ſo much as in Eating and Drinking; for which he was nick-nam'd *Bocca di Porco*, (*i. e.* Swines Stomach.) He ſent for his Mother Queen *Emma*, and committed the Management of the State to her and the Earl *Godwine* of *Kent*. In the firſt Year of his Reign, he puniſh'd the *Engliſh* with great Se-

verity, and preferr'd the *Danes*; and ordain'd that all *Engliſhmen* ſhould uncover their Heads to the *Danes*, in all Places; and give Place to them in any Meeting: But in the laſt Year he meddled not with any Affairs but Gluttony, and at a Banquet at *Lambeth*, fell down dead at Table; after he had reign'd two Years, without Iſſue: And then came *Edward* the *Confeſſor* (ſo call'd for his Piety) to the Poſſeſſion of the Crown; ſo that the *Daniſh* Line being extirpated, King *Edward* was prevail'd upon to receive Earl *Goawine* into Favour, but ſoon after the Puniſhment of Heaven overtook him. For King *Edward* was crown'd on *Eaſter*-day by *Edſine* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, at *Wincheſter*, and *Godwine* aſſiſted at the Coronation. The next Day, being *Eaſter*-Monday, when at Dinner with the King, ſome of the Nobles nam'd the Prince *Alfred*; whereupon *Godwine* ſaid, *I wiſh GOD may choak me with the firſt Morſel I eat, if I had any Hand in the Death of that Prince.* And according to his Wiſh, he fell down almoſt dead at the firſt Bit he put into his Mouth, as a juſt Puniſhment from GOD for his Wickedneſs: He continu'd in miſerable Pain three Days, and died. He left a Son nam'd *Harold*, and a Daughter nam'd *Editha*, of exceeding Beauty, which made King *Edward* marry her; but 'tis ſaid he never knew her according to the Cuſtom of Men and Women. *Edward* made *Harold* her Brother Earl of *Oxford*, and employ'd him in Matters of greateſt Truſt: Yet King *Edward* could not be thoroughly reconcil'd with his Mother Queen *Emma*, for marrying the *Daniſh* King, and ſhewing more Reſpect for her Iſſue by him, than by *Ethelbred* his Father. They report, that Queen *Emma* was accus'd to the King of Unchaſtity; whereupon he order'd her (for her Trial) to paſs bare-footed and blind-folded, among Nine red-hot Plow-Shears, ſet at equal Diſtances; which ſhe did, and not touching any of them, was judged innocent of the Accuſation.

King *Edward* hearing of the Sons of his Brother *Edmund*, ſent for them to *Hungary*; *Edwine* being dead, *Edward* came into *England* with his Wife and Children as before-mention'd. King *Edward* made an Offer of the Crown to his Nephew, who was the lawful Heir: But he would not accept of it from his Uncle, but liv'd with him with great Contentment till he died. He was call'd *Edward* the *Out-law* from his being baniſh'd.

King *Edward* died ſoon after his Nephew, and had deſign'd *Edgar* the Son of *Edward* the *Out-law* for his Succeſſor: But *Harold* the Son of Earl *Goawine* being General of the Army, ſtept in betwixt him and the Crown, and put it on his own Head, without any Ceremony of the Biſhop, which offended the Clergy mightily.

This King *Edward* the *Confeſſer* built *Weſtminſter*-Palace with the Abby, and endow'd it with Lands, which he gave Charters of, with a large Impreſſion of a Seal thereon (which was the firſt Inſtitution of the Broad-Seal of *England.*) He died in the ſame Palace, and was buried in a Sepulchre prepared by himſelf in the Abby. He was the firſt King of *Englana* which cured an ulcerous Diſeaſe (call'd from that, *The King's Evil)* by the Touch of his Hand and ſome devout Prayers.

Harold the Son of *Godwine*, on the Death of *Edward* being made King, and knowing the Right of *Edgar* ſirnam'd *Athling* (who was then ſcarce of Age) took Pains to flatter him, and promis'd that he ſhould be his Succeſſor, and made him Earl of *Oxford*: But *Harold* had not reign'd above nine Months, when *William* the Baſtard Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*) who had obtain'd the Dukedom, notwithſtanding of his Illegitimacy) came into *England*, and in a Battle at *Haſtings*, he ſlew *Harold*, and made himſelf King of *England*; and was crown'd at *Weſtminſter* the 25th Day of *Decemb.* 1066, by *Edred* Biſhop of York.

Edward Athling ſeeing the Duke of *Normandy* made King, deſpair'd of ſucceeding; therefore was reſolv'd to ſecure himſelf from Danger, and took Ship with his Mother and Siſters, and put to Sea, intending to return to *Hungary*: But by contrary Winds they were put into the River *Forth* in *Scotland*: And King *Malcolm* being then at *Dunfermling*, ſent to know what

Ships

Ships they were; and knowing who they were, he ſent ſome of his Nobles to invite them on Shore, and they brought their Ships to a Place in the River, near *Dumfermling*, where they landed; which Place was call'd *Queen's-Ferry*, from their Landing.

King *Malcolm* remembering the great Kindneſs of King *Edward*, receiv'd and entertain'd *Edgar*, with his Mother and Siſters, with all Reſpect and Honour; and ſeeing *Margaret*, the eldeſt Siſter, a moſt beautiful and virtuous Lady, propoſed Marriage to her, whereto ſhe, with her Mother, Brother, and Siſter, readily conſented; and they were married with all Solemnity and Splendor, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all the *Scots* Nobles.

King *Malcolm* marries *Margaret*, Siſter to *Edgar Athling*.

William, Duke of *Normandy*, being now King of *England*, govern'd with greater Power than ever any King of that Nation had done before: He hearing of the Marriage of *Malcolm* with the Siſter of *Edgar*, was ſuſpicious that That Alliance would create Friends to eſpouſe his Pretenſions; therefore *William* baniſh'd all the Friends of *Edgar* out of *England*, and they were receiv'd by King *Malcolm* into *Scotland*. Of thoſe who came into *Scotland* at this Time, were the Sirnames of the *Lindſays*, *Towers*, *Ramſays*, *Preſtons*, *Sandilands*, *Biſſets*, *Wardlaws*, *Maxwells*, *Fowlis's* and *Lovells*, with ſundry other Names: And at the ſame Time came ſeveral People out of *Hungary*, at the Requeſt of Queen *Margaret*, of whom were the Sirnames of *Crighton*, (or *Crichtons*) *Giffards*, *Fotheringhams*, *Melvils*, *Borthwicks*, and others. As alſo out of *France* and *Normandy*, came the Sirnames of *Fraſer*, *Sinclair*, (or St. *Clairs*) *Boſwells*, *Mowbrys*, *Mountgomerys*, *Campbells*, *Boiſes*, *Betons*, *Talziours*, and *Bothwells*.

Among the many Perſons that came into *Scotland* in this Reign, none was more eſteem'd than *Walter*, the Son of *Fleance*, the Son of *Banquho*; who when *Macbeth* intended to have murder'd him with his Father, (as before-mention'd) he eſcap'd, and fearing the Cruelty of *Macbeth*, fled into *Wales*. He was entertain'd by the Prince of *Wales*, whoſe Name was *Griffith*; for ſeveral Years, and had ſuch Familiarity with his Daughter, nam'd *Nerſta*, that he courted her privately; and becauſe they both doubted of the Prince's Conſent, they were privately married, nor did they diſcover it, 'till the Princeſs was with Child; whereupon, the Prince *Griffith* ſlew *Fleance*, as ſuſpecting that he had deflower'd his Daughter: But when it was known that they had been married, the Prince was much afflicted, and comforted his Daughter; promiſing to take Care of her and her Child. She was deliver'd of a Son, named *Walter*, who was much eſteem'd in *Wales*, being a Man of many extraordinary Qualifications of Body and Mind: And when his great Valour was carried by the Wings of Fame to King *Malcolm*, he ſent to invite him to *Scotland*, having great Reſpect to him, as he was his neareſt Couſin, and worthy of Preferment in his Kingdom. When *Walter* came into *Scotland*, King *Malcolm* created him Seneſcal, or Steward of the Kingdom, which was the chief Office in the Kingdom: So that from the Name of this high Office, derived the Royal Sirname of *STEWART*: And of this *Walter* (in an uninterrupted Line) deſcended our Kings of *Scotland*. Of this *Walter*, and his Valiant and Royal Progeny, I ſhall make mention with all Regard and Reſpect due to that never to be forgotten moſt illuſtrious and Royal Race.

Original of the Royal Sirname of *STEWART*.

While *Edgar* remain'd in *Scotland*, *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, now call'd *William the Conqueror*, King of *England*, ſent to King *Malcolm*, deſiring he would give up *Edgar* to his Hands, which if he refus'd, he threaten'd to take him by Force; but King *Malcolm* diſdain'd his Meſſage, and anſwer'd, That he was Sovereign King of *Scotland*, and would not obey any King in the World. He ſcorn'd his Threats, and was ready to defend *Edgar* from his Cruelty. The Conqueror ſeeing his Meſſage ſo ſlighted, rais'd an Army, and ſent them into *Northumberland*; but the People of that Country aſſiſted King *Malcolm*, (both as their Sovereign and the Siſter's Son of their late Prince) and routed the Conqueror's Army. He ſeeing this firſt Attempt fruſtrated, ſent another Army, commanded by one of his Kinſmen, named *Roger*, a *Norman*: But he was alſo routed by the *Scots* and *Northumberians*. After

this Defeat, the Conqueror ſent the Duke of *Glouceſter* with a great Army, who ſlew many of the *Scots* and *Northumberians*. King *Malcolm* hearing of this Slaughter, raiſed an Army, and follow'd the *Engliſh* Army with great Slaughter. The Conqueror ſent his Son *Robert* with a great Army into *Northumberland*, and when he lay at the River *Tine*, he built a Caſtle at a Place call'd *Moncaſter*, and from that Time it was call'd *Newcaſtle*. *Robert* having lain long Time there; yet could not attempt any thing againſt the *Scots*: So at laſt, Peace was concluded between King *Malcolm* and King *William*, upon the Conditions, That the *Scots* ſhould poſſeſs the Lands of *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Northumberland*, to a Place call'd *Stanmoor*, where they put up a croſs Stone, having on the North Side the Effigy and Arms of King *Malcolm*, and on the South Side, the Effigy and Arms of King *William*. This Stone was call'd *Roicruſe*, i. e. *The Croſs of Kings*; which Stone was to be the Boundaries of the Two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*, in all Times coming; and that the Earl of *Northumberlana*'s Son, *Volodoſius*, ſhould be married to King *William*'s Kinſwoman, and have the Rents of that County. Tho' ſome *Engliſh* Authors are ſo much miſtaken, that they ſay here, that King *Malcolm* did Homage to *William* the Conqueror; yet I find by the beſt Accounts, That by this Treaty of Peace, *Malcolm* did not conſent to make any Acknowledgment to the Conqueror, as he and his Anceſtors had done to former Kings, for theſe Three Counties.

After Peace was contracted with *England*, there happen'd ſome Troubles in *Scotland* by one *Macduncane*, who gather'd many of the People of the *Iſles* and *Galloway*, but he was ſoon ſuppreſs'd by *Walter* the *Stewart*; after which Action the King gave him the Sirname of *Stewart*, by his Office. Another Broil happen'd among the Men of *Murray*, *Roſs*, and *Caithneſs*, but they were ſoon ſuppreſs'd; for the King went in Perſon with *Macduff* ſo far *North*, as the River *Spey*, and at that River the *Murrays* were encamp'd. 'Tis ſaid, That as the King was paſſing over the River, he obſerv'd his Standard-bearer to ſeem fearful of the Enemy, whereupon he went up to him, and took the Standard from him, and gave it to one *Alexander Carron*, whom he Knighted, and ordain'd to be heritable Standard-bearer to the ſucceeding Kings: His Name was chang'd to *Skirminger*. Of him deſcended the Name of *Skirminger*, of which Family have been Men of great Worth in *Scotland*; nor are they yet quite decay'd.

When the King was about to attack the Rebels, ſeveral Biſhops came to him and told him, that the *Murrays* were not in Arms againſt him, but againſt the Men of *Roſs* and *Caithneſs*, and would ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure. Whereupon, they ſubmitted to the King, who pardon'd them all, except ſome noted Diſturbers of the People, and them he cauſed to be impriſon'd for ſome Time.

The King having by his Valour and good Conduct pacify'd all Diſturbances in the Kingdom, enacted many good Laws, among which, at the earneſt Deſire of his Queen *Margaret*, he abrogated the wicked Law of *Evenus* III. whereby the Nobles and Heritors had the Priviledge to lie the firſt Night with the married Brides of their Vaſſals or Tenants Daughters. Inſtead of this Law, Queen *Margaret* ordain'd, That the Bridegroom ſhould redeem his Wife's Virginity by paying a Mark of Silver; which Payment is ſtill call'd *Mercheta Mulierum*. This pious Queen was ſuch an Example of Piety, that King *Malcolm* exceeded all the Kings that had liv'd in *Scotland*, in Devotion and Piety: For the King and Queen being ſo pious and devout, brought moſt of the Nation to imitate their Example, ſo that Religion never flouriſh'd more in any Nation than it did at this Time in *Scotland*. 'Tis ſaid, That *Agitha*, the Mother to Queen *Margaret*, with her Daughter *Chriſtian*, retir'd to a religious Houſe: But others agree, That *Agitha* liv'd with Queen *Margaret*, and died in *Dumfermling*, and that her Daughter *Chriſtian*, after the Death of Queen *Margaret*, became a Veil'd Nun in the Monaſtry of *Ramſay*. *Edgar* had (by the Conditions of Peace made by King *Malcolm*) certain Lands given him in *England* during his Life-time; and 'tis ſaid, that he was very familiar

Evenus III. his wicked Law aboliſhed by King *Malcolm*.

familiar with the Conqueror, and reſpectfully entertain'd in the *Engliſh* Court 'till his Death; and his Siſter *Chriſtian* was in the Monaſtry of *Ramſay* all her Life-time, and died there.

Among the pious Acts of King *Malcolm*, he founded the Biſhopricks of *Murray* and *Caithneß*, cauſing thoſe who had bred the Diſturbance the Year before, to contribute to the Building of the Cathedral Churches of *Murray* and *Caithneß*; and built the reſt upon the Expence of his own Revenue.

Cathedral Churches of *Murray* and *Caithneß*, built by King *Malcolm*.

About the latter End of King *Malcolm*'s Reign, ſeveral grave and pious Noblemen went to the King, and complain'd, that the People were brought into the Cuſtom of Riotous Living, *viz.* Eating and Drinking more than was proper for the Subſiſtence of Nature, which render'd them unfit for warlike Exerciſes. This ſuperfluous Feaſting and Drinking was much introduc'd by the *Engliſh* People, which came with *Edgar* into *Scotland*: Whereat the King was diſpleas'd at the People; and ordain'd, That all ſuch as were found either to eat or drink to Exceſs, beyond the proper Subſiſtence of Nature, to be puniſh'd by Law; and that none ſhould be found drunk upon pain of ſevere Puniſhment of the Perſon found drunk, and alſo the Perſon who ſold or gave them the Liquor. By this Means the People of the Kingdom of *Scotland* refrain'd from Luxury and Gluttony, and gave themſelves to Manly Exerciſes.

About this time died King *William* the Conqueror, at *Roan* in *France*, and left three Sons; the eldeſt, *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, ſirnam'd *Courtoiſe*; the ſecond, *William*, (who, for his red Face) was called *Rufus*; the third, *Henry*, ſirnamed *Beauclerc*. *William Rufus* ſucceeded in the Kingdom to his Father, tho' his Brother *Robert* was then alive.

This *William* the Conqueror was the firſt King who eſtabliſh'd Laws of any Force in *England*: For he caus'd write the Laws and Acts made by him, in the *French* Tongue; and order'd the Forms of the Courts of *Chancery* and *Exchequer*, with the Courts to be held at the four *Terms*, and that all Tryals before thoſe Courts ſhould be brought in by the Verdict of Twelve Men, called a *Jury*. He granted the firſt Charter of Liberty to the City of *London*; and ordain'd Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace in all the Shires of the Kingdom. He was ſuch a Lover of Deer-Hunting, that he diſcharg'd any of the Gentry to hunt or kill Deer, upon Penalty of having their Eyes put out by Law. He depopulated 26 Towns, to make the *New-Forreſt* in *Hampſhire*.

In this Reign *Maurice* Biſhop of *London* began to buiid the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*; and *William* Biſhop of *Durham* founded the Univerſity of *Oxford*. In his Reign an *Engliſh* Peer, ſitting at his Table, was ſet upon by Mice; ſo that he was forc'd to fly to Sea, and return'd again to Land; yet was ſtill purſued by the Mice, till at laſt, in Spite of all his Reſiſtance, they devour'd him. On the Coaſt of *Wales* was found the Body of *Gawin*, Siſter's Son to *Arthur* King of *Britons*, who was drown'd near 500 Years before; but was then found and known.

'Tis ſaid that *William* the Conqueror, who had been ſo great a King, when he died at *Roan*, all his Attendants carried off what they could find, and left his Body almoſt naked; till the Arch-biſhop of *Roan* order'd his Corps to be buried at *Caen*; and when they were about to interr it, one *Anſelem Fitz-Arthur* claim'd the Ground where they had dugg the Grave, and would not allow the Corps to be buried, till *Henry* (the only Son of the Conqueror, who was at his Funeral) pay'd three Pounds for the Earth of the Grave, and a Hundred for the Ground afterwards. Nor had he reſt in his Grave, for when *Caſtallion* took the City of *Caen* in 1562, ſome greedy Soldiers open'd the Grave, in hopes of finding great Treaſure; and being diſappointed, they threw the Bones over the Church, with great Deriſion. He brought the Uſe of the Long Bows firſt into *England*; and it is ſaid, that tho' he was but of a middle Size, that ſcarce any Man of the Age could draw his Bow. He took for his Arms of *England*: Gules *Three Lyons paſſant* Or; which was the Arms of *England*, without any Addition, till *Edward* III, who added the Arms of *France* to that of *England*. This Great Monarch was only the Baſtard-Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, as before-mention'd: As 'tis ſaid that *Robert*, his

Father, was one Day riding through a Village, and ſaw a Company of Country Maids at their Rural Diverſions, and coming near them, he beheld one *Arlote*, (a Skinner's Daughter) a Maid of exceeding great Beauty; and fell ſo much in Love with her, that he had her brought to his Bed that Night, and begat this *William*: And 'tis ſaid, that while ſhe was with Child of him, ſhe dream'd that her Belly was extended beyond the Seas, and over *England*; and that at his Birth he was laid on the Floor, where there were Ruſhes, and that he took up both his Hands full of them; which, (by the Conſtruction of the Goſſiping-Women) was interpreted to preſage his great Conqueſt. He reign'd 20 Years in *England*, and died as before-mention'd.

To return to our Hiſtory of *Scotland*. *Malcolm*, our King, liv'd peaceably and piouſly, doing many good Deeds, ſuch as might advance the Doctrine of the Church of CHRIST, and the Well-fare of the Nation. He built the Cathedral Church of *Durham*, and tranſlated *Turgotus* the Biſhop thereof, to the Primacy of St. *Andrew*'s in *Scotland*. This *Turgotus* wrote the Hiſtory and Life of King *Malcolm* and Queen *Margaret*, in the vulgar Language of thoſe Times, and liv'd many Years at St. *Andrew*'s.

When *William Rufus* came to the Throne of *England*, he was a Man of a moſt impious Life; for he baniſh'd *Anſelem* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, with many other Reverend Clergy-Men, deſtroy'd and ranſack'd Churches and Religious Houſes. He forgot the Conditions of Peace with *Scotland*, made by his Father, and ſent an Army to invade the *Scots* in *Northumberland*; and they went over the Country with great Cruelty, till they came to *Alnwick*, where there was a Party of *Scots* keeping the Caſtle, but were driven out of it by the *Engliſh*, who put a ſtrong Garriſon in it, and gave the Command to one *Robert Mowbray*.

King *Malcolm*, being offended at the Inſolence of the *Engliſh*, came with an Army, and met them near *Wooler*, where he gave them Battle, and routed them, and drove them into *Alnwick*, and laid Siege to the Caſtle, which they had fortify'd. Some Days after, the *Engliſh* ſent out the Governor, *Mowbray*, with the Keys of the Caſtle, to deliver them to King *Malcolm*; and offering them on the Point of a Launce, when the King was about to receive them, *Mowbray* run him into the Left Eye, ſo that he died inſtantly. *Mowbray* eſcap'd, by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe, into the next Wood; for which ignoble Action, his Name was chang'd from *Mowbray* to *Piercey*; and of him deſcended the Earls of *Northumberland* of that Name.

King *Malcolm* ſlain by *Mowbray*.

Edward, the eldeſt Son of *Malcolm*, Prince of *Scotland*, ſeeing the King his Father ſlain by Treachery, was ſo enrag'd, that he fell upon the Enemies without Regard to his Life; and after great Slaughter of the Enemy, was ſlain in the Town. The *Scots* being afflicted for the Loſs of the King and Prince, took up their Corps, and buried them in *Tinmouth*; but they were afterwards taken up and carried to *Dumfermling*, where King *Malcolm*, at the Requeſt of his Queen, had built a ſumptuous Church, which, after this King and his Son the Prince were buried there, it became the Burying-Place of the Kings and Royal Family of *Scotland*, for many Years.

Prince *Edward* ſlain in the Town.

Queen *Margaret*, hearing of the Death of the King and Prince, died the third Day after; for 'tis ſaid, that ſhe pray'd ſhe might not ſurvive the Death of King *Malcolm*, her Husband; and accordingly, when ſhe had Notice of his Death, ſhe prepar'd her own Funeral, and died the third Day after. She was a moſt pious and virtuous Queen, and was canoniz'd among the Catalogue of Saints, by Pope *Clement* X. and is nam'd the Titular Patroneſs of *Scotland*. [ſee 10th of *June* in the *Roman* Kalendar of Saints Days] She bare to King *Malcolm* Six Sons; named *Edward* the Prince, who was ſlain with his Father; *Etheldred*, who died young; *Edmund*, who renounc'd the World, and liv'd a religious Life; the other three, *Edgar*, *Alexander*, and *David*, ſucceeded Kings of *Scotland*: She bare alſo two Daughters, named *Maltilda* or *Maud*, call'd *The Good*, ſhe was married to *Henry* I. King of *England*; the ſecond, named *Mary*, was married to *Euſtacius* Sovereign Prince of *Bologn*.

In

In the Reign of King *Malcolm* lived many famous Men, ſuch as *Marianus Scotus*, a Monk, wrote the Annals of the World to his own Time, and died 1086. *Surgotus*, beforemention'd, was tranſlated from *Durham* to the Archipiſcopacy of St. *Andrews*, and Primacy of *Scotland*. He wrote the Hiſtory of the Lives of King *Malcolm*, and his Queen St. *Margaret*, and died at St. *Andrews*.

King *Malcolm* reign'd Thirty Five Years, and lies buried in the Abbey of *Dunfaamling*. All his Actions ſhew that he was a Prince of exceeding great Valour, Virtue, and Piety. After his Death, were great Innundations of the Seas and Rivers in *Scotland*, ſo that Towns and Caſtles were overflow'd in *Murray*, and other Places: And in *England*, the Lands of Earl *Godwin* were ſo long cover'd with the Seas, that they became Heaps of Sand; and are call'd to this Day *Godwinſands*.

DONALD VIII. *The* 87 *King of* Scotland.

DONALD VIII. Sir-Nam'd *Bane*, the Brother of *Malcolm*, was bred in the Weſtern Iſles, and reſided there the moſt Part of his Brother's Reign; and had always an Eye towards the Crown, in caſe his Brother ſhould die before his Sons were of Age, he would lay Claim to the Government; and therefore kept a ſecret Correſpondence with the King of *Norway*, and promiſed him the Iſles of *Scotland* for his Aid to obtain the Crown. Now the King being ſlain with the Prince his Son, *Donald* form'd a good Opportunity, and with a ſtrong Party went to *Scoon*, where he got himſelf crown'd King, in the Year of the World 5028, of CHRIST 1068, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1718. He uſed all poſſible Means to gain the Affection of the Nobles, but they would not comply with him ſo far, as to forget their Duty to the Poſterity of the good King *Malcolm*; yet were not in a Poſture of Defence to withſtand *Donald*. *Edgar Athling* hearing of the Uſurpation of *Donald*, ſent for the Sons and Daughters of King *Malcolm*, to keep them ſafe from the Cruelty of their Uncle, 'till the Nation might be in a Condition to reſtore them. Some of the Nobles of *England* were offended that they ſhould be entertain'd in that Nation; and one *Organe* accuſed *Edgar* of Treaſon, for keeping the Sons of the *Scots* King to ſucceed to the Crown of *England*: Whereupon a valiant Knight offer'd to defend *Edgar*'s Innocence, challeng'd *Organe*, and kill'd him in fair Combat.

The Nobility of *Scotland* were at laſt reſolv'd to oppoſe the Power of *Donald*, and to reſtore the Children of King *Malcolm*, and riſe in Arms, and made *Duncan*, the Baſtard Son of King *Malcolm*, their General. He was a Man of ſingular Courage and Valour, but ſo ſubtile and deceitful, that while he pretended to treat with the King of *Norway* for Aid, and to abandon from *Donald*'s Intereſt, he made an Agreement with him, to give up the Iſles on the ſame Conditions as *Donald* had done. He went with an Army againſt *Donald*, who met him; but by the Subtility of *Duncan*, *Donald* was deſerted by all his Party. He went to *Scoon*, and got himſelf crown'd King in the Second Year after *Donald* had been crown'd.

DUNCAN. *The* 88 *King of* Scotland.

DUNCAN, the Baſtard Son of King *Malcolm*, uſurp'd the Crown by Subtility and the Strength of a Party: But the Noblemen knowing by what Means he acquir'd his Government, they would not ſubmit to his

Authority; which bred great Diſturbance in the Nation: Whereby *Donald* again found Means to make a Party, and Brib'd one *Macpender*, a Nobleman of *Merns*, to ſlay *Duncan*, which he did, about a Year and Six Months after he had uſurp'd the Crown; and *Donald* re-aſſum'd the Government, but could not get the Nobility to acknowledge his Authority, which continu'd great Confuſion and Broils in the Nation. Mean Time, *Magnus*, King of *Norway*, came with a great Fleet of Ships into the Iſles, and by the Agreement with *Donald* and *Duncan*, he took Poſſeſſion of the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Shethland*, with ſome of the Weſtern or *Ælude* Iſles, which he ſubdu'd to his Government, and made many Laws among the *Orcadians*, which laſted long among them.

Magnus, King of *Norway*, takes the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*.

The People of *Scotland* being impatient to redreſs the Injuries done to the Kingdom by *Donald*; ſent ſome Noblemen to *Edgar*, the Fourth Son of King *Malcolm*, to invite him to take the Government, to which he only had Right by the Death of his Brethren. *Edgar* receiv'd the Nobles, and after Conſultation, ſent a Meſſenger to *Donald* his Uncle, offering him certain Lands, if he would reſign the Crown: But (as Pride and Inſolence is the Source and conſtant Attendance of Uſurpation and unjuſt Poſſeſſion) *Donald*, inſtead of returning an Anſwer, took the Meſſenger and ſlew him. *Edgar* was enrag'd at the Inſolence of *Donald*, and ſollicited King *William* the Second of *England*, for Aid to recover his Kingdom, which was obtain'd; and *Edgar* march'd towards *Scotland* with a ſtrong Army, and as he lay at *Durham*, he dream'd, That St. *Cuthbert* deſir'd him to carry the Banner which was in the Cathedral Church dedicated to that Saint; and that he ſhould obtain Victory wherever it was diſplay'd. Accordingly *Edgar* went to the Church next Day, and after divine Service was ended, he carried the ſaid Banner, and went againſt *Donald*, who met him with an Army in *Lothian*, where they fought a Battle; but *Donald* and his Party ſoon gave Way, and he fled into the Iſles, where he was purſu'd and taken Priſoner. He was brought to *Edgar*, who would not ſuffer him to be puniſh'd with Death, as ſome urged, but confin'd him to a ſtrong Caſtle, where he died of Grief ſoon after.

Edgar obtains Victory over *Donald Bane*.

EDGAR. *The* 89 *King of* Scotland.

EDGAR, the Son of King *Malcolm* III. was reſtor'd to the Government in the Year of the World 5078, of CHRIST 1108, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1348. After the Victory obtain'd in the Battle againſt *Donald*, King *Edgar* rewarded the *Engliſh* Army, and return'd them Home with all grateful Acknowledgments to King *William*: Whereupon, Peace was made between *Scotland* and *England*, upon the former Conditions. *Edgar* went in a ſolemn Manner to *Dunfermling* to viſit the Sepulchres of St. *Margaret* his Mother; and after performing his Devotions, he went to *Scoon*, where the Nobility conveen'd, and crown'd him King, and was anointed by *Godrick*, Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s. He was the firſt anointed King of *Scotland*; for St. *Margaret*, his Mother, had receiv'd the holy Unction from Pope *Urbane*, with Orders, That all the Kings ſhould be Anointed therewith, at their Coronation; which Ceremony was confirm'd to the Kings of *Scotland* afterwards by Pope *John* II. of that Name.

Edgar is anointed at his Coronation by *Godrick*, Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s.

King *Edgar* govern'd the Kingdom with great Juſtice and Equity; and having Peace and Tranquility among his Subjects and Neighbours, he gave himſelf much to Piety, and encourag'd all religious People in his Kingdom. He founded the Monaſtry of *Coldingham*, and dedicated it to St. *Cuthbert*; and endow'd it with Lands, to maintain the Monks and religious People reſiding there.

About this Time, *William* II. call'd *Rufus*, hunting in the New Foreſt in *Hampſhire*, as he was purſuing a Deer, one Sir *Walter Tyrrel*, a great Favou-

rite

rite of King *William*'s, ſhot at the Deer; but the Arrow glanc'd on a Tree, and ſtruck the King into the Breaſt, of which he fell down dead, and was buried in *Winchester* Church.

Before the Death of *William* his elder Brother, Duke *Robert* had paſt (with *Godrick*, Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earls of *Blaſne*, *Flanders*, and ſeveral other Princes of *France*) into the Holy Land, to fight againſt the *Sarazens*; and took *Jeruſalem* out of their Hands, and gave it into the Poſſeſſion of the *Chriſtians* (in the Year of CHRIST 1099): And great Proceſſions and ſolemn Thankſgivings were ordain'd in all *Chriſtian* Countries in the World for this Victory: But great Contention aroſe among the *Chriſtian* Princes, who ſhould be King of *Jeruſalem*. At laſt, by general Conſent, Duke *Robert* of *Normandy* was choſen King: But he having Notice, at that Time, that his Brother *William* was dead, he renounc'd the Title of King of *Jeruſalem*, in Hopes to obtain the Crown of *England*; but, upon the Report of Duke *Robert*'s being choſen King of *Jeruſalem*, *Henry*, the Third Son of the Conqueror, was made King, as being a Native of *England*, for he was born at *Selby* in *Yorkſhire*.

Henry was crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, by *Maurice*, Biſhop of *London*, A. D. 1100. Mean Time, Duke *Robert* came into *England* with an Army, but was met by *Henry* at *Haſtings*, and they concluded Peace upon Conditions, That *Henry* ſhould pay 3000 Marks Yearly, to *Robert*, during his Life-time. About Seven Years after, *Robert* invaded King *Henry*, and was taken Priſoner, being confin'd in *Cardiff*-Caſtle in *Wales*, he had his Eyes put out, and died ſoon after.

King *Henry* of *England* married *Maltilda*, or *Maud*, Daughter to King *Malcolm*, and Siſter to King *Edgar*, a Woman of ſingular Piety and Sanctity of Life. She was more inclin'd to live a religious Life than to Marriage; but by the Authority of her Brother, and the Princely Demeanor of King *Henry*, ſhe was perſwaded to marry; yet did not forſake her Deeds of Piety. 'Tis ſaid, her Brother *David* coming into her Apartment, found her dreſſing ulcerous poor People, and after dreſſing and feeding them, kiſs'd them. The Prince told her, How could ſhe think that the King would kiſs that Mouth which had kiſs'd ſuch Perſons? She anſwer'd, That a Greater King would not like her the worſe for what ſhe had done. This Anſwer had ſo great Impreſſion on the Mind of *David*, that he became a moſt pious Prince, as ſhall be ſeen after. This Queen, *Maltilda*, founded the Church of *Carliſle* in *Cumberland*; of her great Virtue and Humility, there is ſtill extant the following Epigram:

Proſpera non lætam fecêre, nec aſpera triſtem;
Proſpera terror ei, aſpera riſus erant:
Non decor effecit fragilem, non ſeptra ſuperbam;
Sola potens humilis, ſola pudica decens.

Proſperity rejoic'd her not, to her Grief was no Pain;
Proſperity fear'd her moſt, Affliction was her Gain.
Her Beauty was no Cauſe of Fall, in Royal State not proud;
Humble alone in Dignity, in Beauty only good.

King *Edgar* liv'd peaceably, and reign'd Nine Years. He died without Iſſue, having never been married. He was buried in *Dunfermling*; and his Brother, *Alexander*, ſucceeded him.

ALEXANDER. *The 90 King of* Scotland.

ALEXANDER, the Fifth Son of King *Malcolm*, Sirnam'd *Acer*, or the *Fierce*, was crown'd and anointed King at *Scoon*, in the Year of our Redemption 1117. In the Beginning of his Reign, he paſs'd over the River *Spey*, to ſuppreſs the Men of *Murray* and *Roß*, who had rais'd ſome Diſturbances in that Country; and after pacifying them, he return'd through *Merns*, where he was met by a poor Woman, whoſe Son the Earl of *Merns*'s Son had cauſed whip with ſharp Thongs, becauſe the young Man had ſued the Earl's Son for a juſt Debt. The King hearing the Complaint, leap'd from his Horſe, and would not ſtir from the Place 'till the Offender had receiv'd condign Puniſhment. The People of *Murray* and *Roß* again begun to invade one another, and alſo violated their Oaths of Allegiance and Obedience to their Prince, by contemning his Authority: Mean Time, the King having Notice thereof, ſent one *Alexander Carron* (whoſe Father King *Malcolm* had made Hereditary Standard-Bearer) with a Party to the River *Spey*; who finding them in Rebellion againſt the King's Authority, he fought againſt them, and routed them with great Slaughter; and having taken the Ringleaders of them Priſoners, they were executed according to Law. 'Tis ſaid, That *Alexander Carron* kill'd many of thoſe Rebels with a crooked Sword, call'd a Flaming Sword, for which Action he had for his Arms, *Gules*, a Lyon Rampant, holding a flaming Sword, *Or*; and his Name was chang'd from *Carron* to *Skirminger*. After thoſe Rebels were ſuppreſs'd, the King went to *Invergowry*, where he built a Caſtle, and being lodg'd there, ſome of the Friends of thoſe who were executed for the late Rebellion, conſpir'd againſt his Life; and having corrupted one of his Servants, by him they were privately admitted into his Bed-Chamber, whilſt he was aſleep; but the King awaken'd at their ſudden ruſhing in, and caught hold of a Sword which he had by his Bed, wherewith he quickly ſlew his treacherous Servant, and Six of the Traitors, with his own Hand: The reſt fled, but were purſu'd and taken, and when they were put to Tortures, they confeſs'd, that it was to revenge the Death of their Friends executed at *Spey*. Some of them were executed, and the leaſt Guilty pardon'd. After this moſt miraculous Eſcape, and valiant Defence; the King did many pious Deeds. He built the Abbey of the *Canons Regular* at *Scoon*, and dedicated it to the Bleſſed Trinity, and St. *Michael*; and finiſhed the Church in *Dunfermling* begun by his Father King *Malcolm*.

Alexander Carron obtains Victory over the Rebels:

His Name changed to *Skirminger*, and Arms given him.

King *Alexander*, about this Time, paſſing over the *Forth*, was, by a Tempeſt, put into St. *Colm*'s *Inch*, where he was confin'd ſeveral Days, and had no Proviſion but ſome mean Food, which an Hermit that liv'd in the *Inch*, gave him. This Hermit had a little Cell or Chapel, which was all the Building then in the *Inch*: But when the King got ſafe out of the Iſland, he caus'd build an Abby of *Canons Regular*, and gave ſeveral Lands in *Fife* for their Maintenance. He alſo gave to the Cathedral of St. *Andrew*'s, ſome Lands called the *Bear-rink*, which Name the Lands had from a monſtruous Bear that did much Hurt to the Town, and was kill'd on that Field: The Teeth of this Bear were 6 Inches long, and 4 Inches thick; there are ſome Remains of them preſerv'd, ſtill to be ſeen among the Rarities in the Library of St. *Andrew*'s.

The King driven into St. *Colm*'s *Inch*, a little Iſland in the River *Forth*, and lives upon the Hermit's poor Food.

While King *Alexander* reign'd, his Brother *David* liv'd in *England*, with his Siſter the Queen, and was married to *Maud*, Daughter to *Voldoſius* Earl of *Huntingdon* and *Northumberland*, by *Judith* Step-Daughter to *William* the Conqueror; by which Marriage *David* was created Earl of *Huntingdon* in *England*.

Queen *Maltilda* died in the 17th Year of the Reign of *Henry* her Husband, at *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe was buried: She bare to King *Henry* a Son, named *William*, who died at the Age of 14 Years; and a Daughter named *Maud*, who was married to the Emperor *Henry* IV. and after his Death, to *Geoffry Plantagenet*

Plantagenet, Duke of *Anjou*. After the Death of Queen *Maltilda*, King *Henry* married *Adelzia*, Daughter to *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorrain*; but had no Iſſue. Soon after the Death of Queen *Maltilda*, died her Siſter *Mary*, who was married to the Duke of *Bologne*.

King *Alexander* liv'd many Years peaceably, being honour'd and reſpected by his Subjects, and belov'd by all his Neighbours. He died, without Iſſue, in the 17th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dunfermling*.

DAVID. *The* 91 *King of* Scotland.

DAVID, the 6th Son of King *Malcolm* III. and Brother to King *Alexander*, (called, for his Piety, St. *David*) was ſent for to *England* to take the Crown. He was crown'd at *Scoon*, in the Year of the World 5104, of CHRIST 1134, and of the Monarchy of *Scotland* 1374. He was a moſt pious and valiant Prince, and ſtudied the Peace of the People and Promotion of Religion. During the Life-time of King *Henry* of *England*, he had Peace with that Nation; in which time he made many good Laws, and caus'd them to be recorded and added to the former Laws of *Scotland*, in a large Book; and he built ſeveral Abbies and Churches, as ſhall hereafter be taken notice of. In the 4th Year of his Reign, he went to viſit the Maiden-Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and on the 14th Day of *September*, being the Feaſt of the Exaltation of the holy Croſs, after Divine Service many of the young Noblemen propoſed to the King to hunt in the Wood (which was very thick and full of large Deer) near the Caſtle. The King was pleas'd with the Propoſal; but when he was mounting his Horſe, his Confeſſor, named *Alkwine*, (who had liv'd with him a long time in *England*) came to him, and diſſwaded him from going that Day; yet, in the Evening (finding the young Noblemen ſo much inclin'd to Sport) he went with them; and as they were upon the Chace, the King was ſuddenly parted from all the Company, whereupon there appear'd a Hart of a more prodigious large Size, and ſaid to look more monſtruous and fat than any that ever had been ſeen by him: At this Sight the King's Horſe was frighten'd, and could not be held with Reins; but went over ſeveral Hedges and Ditches, and was purſu'd by the Hart, who threw down the Horſe: The King being afraid of his monſtruous Tines, threw himſelf between the Horns, whereupon he found a holy Croſs in his Hand, and this ſtrange Beaſt, or rather evil Spirit, ſuddenly vaniſh'd. The King kneel'd down, and gave Thanks to GOD for his Deliverance; and when the Nobles came up they all kneel'd to give GOD Thanks, and had the Croſs in great Reverence. The Place where the King had this miraculous Deliverance, was about a ſhort Mile from the Maiden-Caſtle, in which Place the King, by the Advice of his Confeſſor *Alkwine*, built the Abbey dedicated to the Memory of the Holy Croſs, and afterwards built the Royal Palace of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, a moſt magnificent Edifice. This King alſo built the Abbeys of *Kelſo*, *Jedburgh*, *Melroſs*, *Newbottle*, *Dundrum*, *Cambuskenneth*, *Kinloſs*, and *Holme* in *Cumberland*. He alſo founded Two Abbeys at *Newcaſtle*, one for St. *Benedict*'s Order, the other for White Monks, which Order begun in his Time.

A ſtrange Relation of King *David*'s finding a Croſs.

The Abbey and Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*, built by King *David*.

He alſo built Two Nunneries, One in *Carliſle*, and the other in *North-Berwick*; and he added to the Six former Biſhopricks, Four more, viz. *Roſs*, *Buchan*, *Dunkell*, and *Dunblain*, and endow'd them with great Rents. This King *David* gave ſo much of the Crown Land to Churches and Religious Houſes, that he left the Crown but a very ſmall Revenue, which occaſion'd many to exclaim againſt his Liberality to Church-Men. 'Tis ſaid, that King *James* the Firſt coming to viſit the Sepulchre of St. *David* at *Dunfermling*, ſaid (ſmiling) *Indeed he was a ſevere Saint to the Crown.* The pious King had no other Motive to induce him to ſuch Liberality, but meerly to promote the Worſhip of GOD, and the greater Reverence for the Churches and Church-Men. Tho' many bad Uſes were made of it, yet there were many holy and

pious Prelates and Prieſts, who apply'd all their Revenue to charitable Uſes: Of them was one *Robert Balandine*, who was Abbot of *Holy-Croſs* or *Rood*-Abbey; to whom the King gave the Keeping of that Abbey, where the ſame Holy Croſs was put in keeping, which (as 'tis ſaid) the King found when thrown from his Horſe. This Abbot gave to the poor and indigent People every Week Four Buſhels or Barrels of Wheat, and Forty Shillings of Silver. He cover'd the Roof of the Abbey with Lead, and bought large Braſs Bells and a Silver Font, with a Chalice of pure Gold, and many other Church Veſſels. He alſo built the Bridge of *Leith*, and another over the River *Clyde*. King *David* tranſlated the Biſhop's Seat from *Murthlack* to *Aberdeen*, which was begun to be a City in that Reign, where lived many holy and learned Biſhops, as ſhall be ſeen hereafter. The King had a Son named *Henry* by his Queen *Maud*, who, in the Right of his Mother, was Earl of *Northumberland* and *Huntington*; and was married to the Earl of *March*'s Daughter, by whom he had Three Sons, nam'd *Malcolm*, *William*, and *David*, and Three Daughters, nam'd *Adama*, *Margaret*, and *Mauld*; which was great Comfort and Delight to the King; but the Death of his virtuous Queen occaſion'd great Affliction to him and his Family, for ſhe died at *Scoon*, and was buried at *Dunfermling*, A. D. 1142. After the Death of the Queen, King *David* made a Vow never to marry nor accompany with any Woman, which he perform'd.

About this Time *Maud*, Daughter of *Henry* King of *England*, return'd into that Country, her Husband the Emperor being dead without Iſſue; King *Henry* conveen'd the Nobles, and declar'd her his Succeſſor, and made the Nobles ſwear Allegiance to her and her Heirs, by Birth, or neareſt Relation. She was ſoon after maried to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Duke of *Anjou*. *Henry* died ſoon after, in the Year 1135; and *Stephen* the Earl of *Bologne*, Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by *Adelia* Daughter to *William* the Conqueror, came over into *England* and took Poſſeſſion of the Crown. He firſt pretended only to rule the Nation as Regent, until *Henry*, the young Son of the Empreſs *Maud*, by the Duke of *Anjou*, was of Age; ſo the Nobles were eaſily perſuaded to believe him, and ſubmitted to him: But *Stephen* no ſooner had the Crown, than he ſent an Herald to King *David*, to ſend his Son *Henry* to ſwear Allegiance to him, for the three Counties held by him in *England*. But *David* return'd Anſwer, That he and his Son the Prince of *Scotland* had ſworn to *Maud* the Empreſs, and would not violate their Oaths. *Stephen* being enrag'd at this Anſwer, ſent the Duke of *Gloceſter* with an Army to invade *Northumberland*, which was under the Dominion of King *David*. The Duke had no ſooner enter'd that Country, than he was met by an Army of *Scots*, under the the Command of the Earls of *March*, *Monteith*, and *Angus*. Whereupon the *Engliſh* retir'd to *Northallerton*, and the *Scots* follow'd them, and gave them Battle; and having routed the *Engliſh*, they took the Duke of *Gloceſter* Priſoner, with many other Noblemen. King *Stephen* was obig'd to ranſom the Duke and the other Nobles, with great Sums of Money, and gave over all Pretenſions to the three Counties, without any Oath of Allegiance. *Stephen* ſoon repented that he had given up the three Counties, and went with an Army into *Northumberland*: But being oblig'd to return to *London*, he left *Thurſtane* Archbiſhop of *York* with the Army. The Archbiſhop mediated a Peace between both Kings for 4 Months, upon Condition, That *Henry* Prince of *Scotland* ſhould have *Northumberland* and the other two Counties remain to *David* his Father. When this 4 Months were expir'd, *Stephen* came into *Scotland* with his Army, ſo far as *Roxburgh*, plundering the Country as he went: Whereupon King *David* rais'd all the fencible Men of the Kingdom, and came againſt King *Stephen*: But he hearing of the Number of the *Scots* Army, return'd home without giving them Battle. And finding his Nobles divided, he ſent to *David* to contract Peace with him: Which *David* accepted of, upon the Conditions, That *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* ſhould be confirm'd to the Crown of *Scotland*, and Prince *Henry* ſhould make Acknowledgement to King *Stephen*, or any other

other Kings of *England*, during their Lives, for thoſe Lands of *Northumberland* and *Huntingdon*, which ſhould be the Principality of *Henry*, to be held by him of the Kings of *England*. After the Peace was thus concluded, King *Stephen* return'd into *Kent*, and King *David* into *Carliſle*, where he reſided, and repaired the Churches and religious Houſes of that City.

In the fourth Year of King *Stephen*'s Reign, the Empreſs *Maud* came into *England* with an Army, and was join'd by the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Gloceſter*. There continued Wars between her and King *Stephen* long Time, with ſundry Changes of Victory. Her ſecond Son *Henry*, was married to *Eleanor*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Guian*, which got great Aſſiſtance to *Maud* to carry on her War in *England*. King *Stephen* was married to *Maltidla*, Daughter to *Euſtace* Duke or Earl of *Bologn*, by *Mary* Daughter to King *Malcolm*: So that the Empreſs and King *Stephen*'s Queen, were both the Siſter's Daughters of King *David*, who did not meddle with their Diſpute, yet could not but acknowledge the juſt Right of *Maud* and her Son, in ſo far as King *Henry* had good Authority for his Poſſeſſion, which was not any Matter of Concern to the Kings of *Scotland*. However the Wars continued in *England*, and King *Stephen* was taken Priſoner; whereupon *Maltilda* his Queen ſent to her Uncle King *David* to come to her with all Speed, to conſult the Relief of King *Stephen*; and accordingly King *David* went and treated with the Empreſs, but found her ſo very unreaſonable, that he gave Aid to *Maltilda*, and ſhe beat *Maud*'s Party, and reliev'd her Husband King *Stephen*. Their Wars were ſtill renew'd, till at laſt King *Stephen* and *Henry* agreed, That *Stephen* ſhould enjoy the Crown during his Life-time, and *Henry* ſhould ſucceed afther his Death.

While the Wars laſted in *England*, *Henry* Prince of *Scotland*, the only Son to King *David*, died at *Kelſo*, *A. D.* 1152. He was a moſt mild, pious and valiant Prince, and ſo well belov'd by the People, that the Kingdom lamented his Death with exceeding great Sorrow. He was buried in *Dunfermling* among his Royal Progenitors; and the People (after the Funeral) came to condole the King upon the Death of Prince *Henry*. The King receiv'd them courteouſly, and invited them to an Entertainment, which he cauſed prepare for them; and being ſet with his Nobles, he ſaid to them, "My good Friends, "your Affliction for the Death of my Son is no leſs a Teſtimony of your "Friendſhip and Loyalty to me and my Family, than all your paſt Actions "have been. I know your Sorrow for my Son to be great, as if he was "your own: But cannot give you at this mournful Time, ſuch Teſtimonies "of my Thankfulneſs, as is due to you; only that I acknowledge my ſelf "indebted to you, my Friends, next to GOD, for what I am, and what "I have in this World. As for your coming to me upon this Occaſion, to "ſhew your Humanity towards me, I ſhall deliver my Mind in few Words. "My dear Parents (whom I believe is added to the Number of Saints) in-"ſtructed me in my Youth to worſhip GOD with all Reverence, and ſub-"mit to His Holy Will who does nothing amiſs, but diſpoſes of all Things "for the beſt Ends: And when I conſider the good Advice of my devout Pa-"rents and Siſter, I ought not to grieve at my Loſſes, but thank GOD who "gave me a Son, who has gain'd the Love of my People, which Love you "will, no doubt, continue to his Sons, that are the greateſt Comfort of my "Life. And as I muſt in ſhort Time paſs from this frail World, I truſt "in the Power and Mercy of the KING of Kings, that I ſhall be "brought to my dear Parents, Son, and other Friends, who are in a more "glorious State than all the Pomp and uncertain Vanity of this Life. "Therefore, my dear Friends, we ought to ſpend our Time in this World "with an awful Reſpect and Regard to the Great GOD our Creator, the "Paſſion and Sufferings of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, by which alone "we can attain to everlaſting Glory. You ſee we take great Trouble to at-"tain to any Pleaſure in this World, and behold the very Moment we firſt "enjoy it may end our Lives: But if we are careful to ſerve GOD and "keep His Commands, we need not be fearful of Death, but expect it

" with Hopes to ſee the Beginning of a more happy Life. As for my Sor-
" row (my dear Friends) indeed I turn it to Joy, that I have Reaſon to be-
" lieve my Son is in eternal Happineſs. My Thanks is all I can give you,
" and my Prayers to GOD, that we may all live here in ſuch Conditions,
" as we may after our Change all meet in Glory." The Nobles were ſur-priz'd at the King's Fortitude and devout Reſſiſtance of the human Frail-ties incident to Parents upon the Loſs of their beloved Children; as they knew the King loved the Prince with the utmoſt Tenderneſs and Affec-tion.

About this Time the King created *Malcolm*, the Son of *Henry*, Prince of *Scotland*, and made the People take Oaths to him, and afterwards went to *Carliſle* to viſit Prince *Henry* of *England*, Son to his Neece the Empreſs. This Prince having been four Years in the Court of *Scotland* with *David*, and in-ſtructed in all neceſſary Learning; and he being now at the Age of 13, King *David* knighted him at *Carliſle*; where the ſaid *Henry* took an Oath, that he ſhould never lay any Claim to the the three Counties belonging the *Scots*. Soon after the King return'd from *Carliſle*, he found himſelf ſomewhat indiſ-pos'd, tho' not of any heavy Sickneſs; yet went to Church and receiv'd the bleſſed Sacrament, and upon his Return had the neceſſary Aſſiſtance of his Confeſſor and other holy Men, who continu'd with him in Devotion, till he render'd up his happy Soul to GOD, with chearful Hopes of Salvation, free from any Fear or Terror of Death. He died at *Holy-Rood-Houſe* the Third Day of *May*, 1153, in the 29th Year of his Reign, and was buried in *Dun-fermling*. He was lamented by all his Subjects with exceeding Grief, as they declar'd, That they had not only loſt the beſt of Kings, but their Father and Inſtructer in all Goodneſs, by which great Character he juſtly deſerv'd to be call'd *St. David*.

MALCOLM IV. *The 92 King of* Scotland.

MALCOLM IV. the Son of *Henry*, Prince of *Scotland*, call'd the *Maiden*, was crown'd King of *Scotland* at *Scoon*, in the Fourteenth Year of his Age, in the Year of our Redemption 1163. Though he ſeem'd to be of too tender Age to take the Government, yet he was a Prince of ex-cellent Endowments, and govern'd with great Juſtice and Equity; as ſuc-ceeding to a King who had the Hearts as well as Hands of all his Subjects: And they had ſuch ſincere Reſpect for his Family, that nothing could move them to Diſobedience to the young King; but continued their Affection by giving him wholſome Advice in the Beginning of his Reign, which he fol-low'd, 'till *Henry*, King of *England*, ſeduc'd him, by ſubtile Means, to for-ſake the Advice of his Subjects: For *Henry*, being Twenty Three Years of Age, took Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*; and King *Stephen* died of Grief ſoon after.

In the Beginning of *Malcolm*'s Reign, there was a great Famine over all the Iſle, ſo that many People died of it: Upon which, one *Somereld*, ſeeing the People ſo weak by the Famine; he went about, and raiſed a Party, with which he went over the Country, pillaging the People of their Subſtance, and ſeiz'd many of the King's Officers. The King hearing of his Inſolence, ſent *Gil-criſt*, Earl of *Angus*, with a ſtrong Party, and he came upon *Somereld*, and ſlew the moſt Part of his Confederates, and drove him out of the Kingdom into *Ireland*.

Mean Time, King *Henry* of *England* ſent to King *Malcolm*, deſiring to meet him at *York*, about Matters of great Importance, as he pretended; and when King *Malcolm* met him, he decoy'd him to engage with him againſt *France*, and to go with him in Perſon. King *Malcolm* being but young was not wary of the evil Conſequences of ſuch an Engagement: For it was

Henry's

Henry's Plot to make him hateful to the King of *France*, as well as to his own Subjects, for breaking the ancient Confederacy between *France* and *Scotland*; yet *Henry* conſider'd, that by breeding Diviſions in *Scotland* he might obtain the Lands of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmorland*, with *Huntingtonſhire*, which was then poſſeſs'd by the *Scots*. King *Henry* having loſt many of his Men in this Expedition againſt *France*, return'd again into *England*, and *Malcolm* return'd into *Scotland*; and being now ſenſible of his bad Conduct, and Offences againſt *France* and his own Subjects, he conveen'd the Nobles at *Scoon*; in which Convention the Nobles told the King the dangerous Conſequences of his going with King *Henry* againſt *France*: Whereupon *Malcolm* acknowledg'd his Fault with great Concern; and having ſhewn them the Subtility of *Henry*, they freely excus'd his going, and adviſ'd him to ſend an Ambaſſador to *France*, to ſatisfy the King, that he had no Intention to break the ancient League with him; and that his being with *Henry* was not any Deſign of himſelf, but entirely owing to *Henry*'s Policy. The Ambaſſador was well receiv'd by the *French* King, who readily excus'd King *Malcolm*, (as knowing his Age, and *Henry*'s Policy) and deſir'd to continue the ancient Alliance with *Scotland*.

Henry ſeeing that his Plot had not ſucceeded, and that King *Malcolm* was reconcil'd to the King of *France* and his own Subjects; he ſent an Ambaſſador to *Malcolm*, deſiring to meet him at *York*, to rectify ſome of the Privileges of the Counties of *Huntington* and *Northumberland*; and King *Malcolm* went by the Conſent of the Nobility, being then reſolv'd to withſtand *Henry*'s Policy, and to maintain his own Properties. But while he remain'd at *York*, *Henry* accus'd him of having kept a ſecret Communication with the *French* King, to the great Loſs of his Army, which was down-right Violation of the Conditions, by which *Malcolm* held the Four Counties of *England*: Therefore *Henry* told him, he was reſolv'd to have them from him: To which *Malcolm* anſwer'd, That as he had found them, he was reſolv'd to maintain his Privileges with the utmoſt of his Power. *Henry* finding all his Threatnings in vain bethinks of another Stratagem, which prov'd more to his Purpoſe; therefore gave fair Words to *Malcolm*, and detain'd him ſome Time at *York*, entertaining him with Diverſions: But, in the mean Time, ſent ſecret Meſſengers to the Nobility of *Scotland*, who pretended, that they came as Friends, to ſhew them the Simplicity of their King; that he had renounc'd his Titles to the Counties of *Northumberland*, &c. and had made other diſadvantageous Agreements with King *Henry*, which would prove deſtructive to *Scotland*. Thoſe Agents of *Henry*'s Plots affirm'd thoſe Lies by ſuch credible Circumſtances, that the Nobility were highly offended, that the King ſhould make any ſecret Agreement without their Conſent: Whereupon, many of them arm'd themſelves to defend their Properties, in caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould come to take Poſſeſſion of them. The King coming ſoon after from *England*, went to *Perth*, where he was beſieg'd by his Subjects, without knowing the Cauſe of their Rebellion; but when they complain'd of the Agreements he had made with *Henry*, the King produc'd Evidences to vindicate his Conduct, ſo that the Nobility diſpers'd their Forces, and came to the King, and ask'd Pardon for their Faults, in believing the Deceit of thoſe People.

King *Malcolm* being offended at this Abuſe of King *Henry*, rais'd an Army, and enter'd *England*; ſo that the *Scots* and *Engliſh* had ſeveral Skirmiſhes, with ſundry Chances; 'till at laſt, *Henry* having Diviſions in his Kingdom, concluded Peace upon the former Conditions, That *Malcolm* ſhould keep the Three Counties and *Huntingtonſhire*, which he pretended he would not claim, upon the Conſideration of the Kindneſs done to him by *David*, late King of *Scotland*: But it is probable, if King *Henry*'s Ability had anſwer'd his Inclinations, that he had laid aſide the Obligations which he had ſo long forgotten.

When King *Malcolm* return'd home with his Army, he heard of *Angus*, Thane or Earl of *Galloway*, who had bred Diſturbance, and had entertain'd Thoughts of uſurping the Crown: But the King ſent *Gilchriſt*, Earl of *Angus*, with an Army againſt him, and purſu'd him and his Party to *Whithorn*,

where there was a Sanctuary at St. *Ninian*'s Abbey, into which *Angus* fled for Safety. The King ſet a Watch over him, and caus'd ſeize his Lands and Subſtance; after which, *Angus* came before the King in great Humility, and having obtain'd his Pardon, went into the Monaſtry of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, and liv'd a Religious Life. Soon after this Broil was ſuppreſs'd, the *Murrays*, by the Perſwaſion of *Gildo* their Captain, plunder'd the People of *Roſs*, and other Counties; but they were ſuppreſs'd by *Gilchriſt*, who ſlew many of them before they would ſubmit to the King's Authority; for which Rebellion moſt Part of the *Murray*-Men loſt their Lands, and it was given to *Gilchriſt*, and the other loyal Subjects. When the *Murrays* were thus puniſh'd, *Somereled* (before-mention'd) came from *Ireland* with a Number of un-arm'd Men, expecting to have found the Nation in Confuſion, and thereby revenged his former Loſs: But this Attempt was fatal to him, for he was taken and hang'd on a Gibbet.

Malcolm having ſuppreſs'd all Rebellions, liv'd peaceably, and married his Two Siſters, *Adama* and *Margaret*; the eldeſt to the Duke of *Britany*, the Second to the Earl of *Holland*, and the youngeſt, nam'd *Maud*, was married to *Gilchriſt*, Earl of *Angus*.

The King call'd a Convention of the Nobles at *Scoon*, to conſult the Safety of the Kingdom; and he being then in the 25th Year of his Age, and un-married, the Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s ſtood up, and made a Speech to the King, full of very reaſonable Arguments, entreating him to marry; but nothing could prevail with him, for he had made a Vow of Chaſtity from his Infancy, and was reſolv'd to perform it, which he did keep to the Day of his Death, which happen'd in the Twelfth Year of his Reign. He died at *Jedburgh*, the Eighth of *September*, A. D. 1165, and was buried in *Dunfermling*. He founded the Abbey of *Cowpar*, and dedicated it to the Honour of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*. He alſo repair'd the Abbey of St. *Andrew*'s, and did many other Deeds of Piety in his Reign.

WILLIAM. *The 93 King of* Scotland.

WILLIAM (call'd the *Lyon*, for his great Courage) the Son of *Henry*, Prince of *Scotland*, and Brother to King *Malcolm*, was crown'd King of *Scotland* in the Marble Chair at *Scoon*, in the Year of CHRIST 1165. In the Firſt Year of his Reign, *Henry* King of *England*, encroach'd on his Privileges of *Northumberland*, and took Poſſeſſion of it: Whereupon King *William* ſent an Herald to King *Henry*, deſiring he would reſtore to him the County of *Northumberland*. *Henry* return'd Anſwer, That if he would come to *London*, to make ſuch Acknowledgements as his Predeceſſors had done for thoſe Counties, he ſhould have them reſtor'd. King *William* went to *London* to redeem the Lands, not expecting any Deceit; but when he made Acknowledgment according to the ancient Cuſtom, King *Henry* importun'd him to go with him to *Normandy*, to which King *William* conſented, upon ſuch Conditions as *Henry* had promis'd; that he ſhould have free Leave to return when he thought proper; and for his Encouragement, promis'd to give over all Claim to thoſe Lands, on all Times coming. When King *William* had tarried long Time in *Normandy* with the Army, he came over to *England* with his Nobles, and return'd home to *Scotland*. At his coming home, he found the Country infeſted with Thieves and Robbers; but by diligent Search, they were ſoon apprehended and puniſh'd; and the Subjects enjoy'd Peace and Safety.

Some Time after the Return of *Henry* into *England*, King *William* ſent an Ambaſſador to him, deſiring he would give up the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Huntingdon*, which *Henry* refuſed to do, excepting ſome Parts of it; but *William* was reſolv'd to have it all, or none: So that there were ſeveral Skirmiſhes

Skirmiſhes between the *Scots* and *Engliſh* for ſome Time; yet becauſe *Henry* was gone into *France*, King *William* was ſo generous an Enemy, that he would not take Advantage of his Abſence, but ceaſed from War 'till the next Summer, and then he enter'd *Cumberland* with an Army: The Right Wing was commanded by *Gilcriſt*, who (for his ſingular Valour and Virtue) was married to *Maud*, the King's Siſter; the Left Wing was given in Command to a Couſin of the King, nam'd *Rowland*; and the King commanded the Center, or main Body. While this Army were thus Marſhal'd, an Ambaſſador came from *Henry*, deſiring King *William* to deſiſt from any further Hoſtility, to return his Army home, and to conclude Peace upon honourable Terms. *William* anſwer'd, That he had not raiſed an Army to plunder *England*, nor did he covet what was *Henry*'s Property; but as theſe Lands were poſſeſs'd by his Predeceſſors, he was reſolv'd to keep Poſſeſſion of them, and to diſpute his Title by Battle; yet was not ſo deſirous to ſhed Blood, but that he would diſperſe his Army, if his Poſſeſſions were reſtor'd. Mean Time, King *William* ſtay'd ſeveral Days in *Alnwick*, waiting to hear if the *Engliſh* Army were coming to give him Battle; but the *Engliſh* Army kept ſo cloſe and quiet, that the *Scots* could not have any Intelligence of them; and the *Scots* being weary of ſo long Stay at *Alnwick*, were divided into ſeveral Parties, to make Incurſions over the Country, to draw the *Engliſh* to Battle; ſo that when the *Engliſh* Army had ſure Intelligence of their being divided, and that King *William* had but a ſmall Party with him in the open Country, they diſplay'd *Scots* Enſigns, and came where the King was, before he knew they were Enemies. By that Policy they took him Priſoner, with all his Guards, and carried him to *London*, before any of his Army could have Intelligence of what had happen'd.

King *William* taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh* at *Alnwick*:

Thus was King *William* taken Priſoner near *Alnwick*, the 13th Day of *July*, in the Year of CHRIST 1174, in the 9th Year of his Reign, and was, ſoon after, carried over to *Normandy*, where King *Henry* then was. The *Scots* hearing what was become of the King, continued ſtill to make Incurſions on the *Engliſh*, with various Chances of Victory; 'till at laſt, Peace was concluded under the Conditions, that the *Engliſh* ſhould have *Northumberland*, and the Shires of *Huntington* and *Cumberland* ſhould be ſtill kept by the *Scots* as formerly. But after theſe Conditions were agreed upon, King *Henry* would not let King *William* depart, 'till a great Sum of Money ſhould be given for his Ranſome.

He is carried to *Normandy*.

While the King was thus unjuſtly detain'd, the Nation was without any Governor, and the King prevail'd with *Henry* to let his Brother *David*, Earl of *Huntington*, go into *Scotland*, to raiſe the Money ſo unreaſonably demanded, and to govern the Kingdom, 'till his Ranſome was paid. Soon after, Earl *David* came into *Scotland*, and ſent *Richard*, Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, with ſeveral other Noblemen, to *Normandy*, with great Sums of Money, and Ranſom'd the King, under the Conditions, that he ſhould pay to *Henry* an Hundred Thouſand Pounds, the One Half in ready Silver Coin, and for the certain Payment of the other Half, *Henry* ſhould have *Cumberland* and *Huntington* in Poſſeſſion, 'till the Payment thereof; and that King *William* ſhould not levy War againſt *England*: And at the ſame Time, he was oblig'd to give up Four ſtrong Caſtles into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, viz. *Berwick*, *Roxburgh*, *Edinburgh*, and *Carliſle*.

While the King was detain'd in *Normandy*, the Thane of *Galloway* rais'd ſome Diſturbance; but by the Valour and Diligence of *Gilchriſt*, he, with his Party, were routed and driven into *Ireland*. At the ſame Time, *Hugo*, Cardinal of St. *Angelo*, was ſent by the Pope to reform the Churches of *England*; and after he had ſtay'd ſome Time in *England*, he ſummon'd the Biſhops of *Scotland* to *Northampton*, and when ſome of them were reſolv'd to know his Deſire, he told them; That it was moſt proper the Biſhops of *Scotland* ſhould be under the Archbiſhop of *York*. To this, one *Gilbert*, a young Man of great Judgment and Learning, made Anſwer, That *Scotland* was a free Kingdom, and the King a Sovereign Monarch, having no Superior but GOD;

and that the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s was the Metropolitan of his Kingdom, being ſubject to no Biſhop nor Cardinal, but the chief Biſhop of *Rome*; nor could the Pope alter or diſpoſe of the Temporal Privileges, nor alter the Conſtitution of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: That therefore it was unreaſonable that the Cardinal ſhould deſire the Biſhops of *Scotland* to be ſubject to the Biſhops of *England*. That as *Scotland* had never been ſubdu'd by *England* either in Church or State: That it was contrary to the Intention of CHRIST's Vicar, to give any Occaſion of new War between the Two Nations; and charg'd the Cardinal with too great Compliance with the deceitful Deſigns of the *Engliſh* King and Subjects, againſt the Freedom and Intereſt of *Scotland*. *Gilbert*, for this learned Defence, was made Biſhop of *Caithneſs*; and, for his ſingular Piety, was added to the Number of Saints.

It was about the Time, that King *William* return'd to *Scotland*, that *Thomas Becket*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was receiv'd into Favour by King *Henry*, who had baniſh'd him ſome Time before, for his Defence of the Church, and the Privileges thereof: But this Reconciliation was fatal to the Biſhop; for while he was at the Altar, celebrating Maſs in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, Four of King *Henry*'s Domeſtick Servants, enter'd and ſlew him at the Altar: The Names of the Four Perſons were *William Brerton*, *Hugh Morvil*, *William Tracy*, and *Rignald Fitties*. This holy Biſhop was Martyr'd (by the cruel Commands of King *Henry*) on the Third Day after the Nativity of our bleſſed Saviour; in Memory of which, the 29th of *December* is call'd St. *Thomas*'s Day.

Thomas Becket, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, murder'd at the Altar of that Cathedral, by King *Henry*'s Servants.

King *Henry* coming over into *England* ſoon after, was no ſooner in Sight of St. *Thomas*'s Church, but he lighted from his Horſe, and putting off his Hoſe and Shoes, went bare-footed to his Grave, where he confeſs'd his being the Author of his Murder, and did ſevere Pennance for his Offences; and 'tis ſaid, that he ſuffer'd himſelf to be beaten with a ſharp Rod. Some Years after, *Lewis*, King of *France*, came to *England* to viſit the Tomb of St. *Thomas*.

After this Time, King *William* govern'd *Scotland* with great Juſtice and Equity, and repair'd all the Churches. He alſo built the Abbey of *Aberbrothock*, and dedicated it to St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*; and at the ſame Time, *Adama*, Mother to King *William*, founded the Abbey of *Haddington*, (where ſhe liv'd) and at her Death was buried there.

Soon after the Death of *Adama*, *Gilchriſt* ſlew his Wife *Maud*, upon Suſpicion of Adultery, and was, for the bloody Action, baniſh'd by the King's Command. This *Gilchriſt*, who was a moſt valiant General, and had done many Services for the King and Country, was, by the unhappy and evil Spirit of Jealouſy, depriv'd of his Wife, Lands, and Liberty, and went into *England*, where he liv'd in Exile, in a mean Condition. He had not been long in *England* when King *Henry*, at the Pope's Entreaty, gave up the Four Caſtles of *Scotland* to King *William*, and renew'd the Peace, upon Conditions, That neither *Scots* nor *Engliſh* ſhould ſhelter or protect one another's Rebels in their Realm: Whereupon, *Gilchriſt* was oblig'd to flee from *England*, and came into *Scotland*, where he liv'd in a poor and miſerable Condition.

Gilchriſt kills his Wife, for which he is baniſh'd.

About this Time, King *William* was married to *Ermarda*, Daughter to the Earl of *Bewmont* and *Britain*, by the Daughter of *William* the Conqueror. By this Marriage, the Peace was more firmly contracted between *Scotland* and *England*. It was about this Time, that the *Turks* invaded the *Holy Land* with great Cruelty, and ſlew 30000 Perſons, among which Number were many Biſhops, and other religious Men; and many noble Perſons were taken Captives, who ſent their Friends to all *Chriſtian* Princes, for Support to redeem them from their lamentable Captivity. Whereupon, King *William* ſent to King *Henry*, deſiring to join with him for the Relief of thoſe *Chriſtians*, but ſuch great Troubles aroſe in his Kingdom at that Time, by the Rebellion of his Son *Henry* (whom the Father had crown'd with himſelf ſome Time before, to make the People have his Son in greater Eſteem) many of the

the Nobles of *England* aſſiſted the Prince againſt his Father, and adviſ'd him to demand the Crown, which he did: After long Diſputes, the Prince took the Field againſt his Father, and had War for ſome Time; but, at laſt, they were agreed, and the Prince died ſoon after, and *Richard*, his Brother, was created Prince of *England*, and named Succeſſor. Soon after the Death of Prince *Henry*, an *Iriſh* Prince, nam'd *Dermot*, Son of *O'Murphey*, King of *Leinſter*, came into *England*, deſiring Aid againſt *Roderick O'Conner*, Prince of the Province of *Conaght*; and King *Henry* ſent over *Robert Fitz-Stephens* with 390 Men, and when he landed in *Ireland*, he took *Wexford* for *Dermot*. Soon after, *Richard*, Earl of *Chepſtow*, Sirnam'd *Strong-Bow*, ſail'd from *Pembrook* with 1200 Men, and fortify'd *Wexford*, and took *Dublin*, and was married to *Eva*, Daughter to *Dermot*. The Winter after, King *Henry* ſail'd to *Ireland*, and came to *Dublin*, the chief City of the Kingdom; where the Noblemen and Biſhops of *Ireland* conveen'd (except *Roderick* and his Party, who liv'd in the Mountains and inacceſſible Bogs) and they all conſented to receive *Henry* the Second, of *England*, as their King; and that his Poſterity, as Kings of *England*, ſhould be Titled Lords of *Ireland*, which Conſent was confirm'd by Pope *Adrian*. *Henry* built a ſtately Palace and Caſtle at *Dublin*; and the next Spring return'd to *England*.

Thus came the ancient Kingdom of *Ireland*, which had been rul'd ſo many Years by their own Native Princes, to be ſubjected to the Crown of *England*, by their unhappy Diviſions among themſelves; and inſtead of ſeeking Aſſiſtance to redreſs the Wrongs of One Man, they invited Enemies to take away their Liberty; as that Nation, ever ſince, has been depriv'd of that Profit of Trade, and other Privileges, that ſuch a plentiful and well ſituated Country might expect to have attain'd to, if it had continu'd a free Nation.

In the Time of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, our King *William* liv'd peaceably in *Scotland*, and had rais'd Forces to join King *Henry*, in order to relieve the *Chriſtians* in the Holy Land; but finding *Henry* ſo bent upon his Conqueſt of *Ireland*; he went over the Kingdom to execute Juſtice among his Subjects; and at *Bertha* he, by Chance, came where *Gilchriſt*, and his Two Sons, were at their daily Labour, digging Turffs for their Subſiſtance. The King took Notice of them, ſeeing ſomething more beautiful in the Two young Men than was common in other People. When *Gilchriſt* beheld the King taking Notice of his Children, he came before the King upon his bare Knees, uncovering his gray Head, and ſaid, "Moſt merciful Prince! If the utmoſt Miſery and Poverty of my Condition may be Puniſhment for my Crimes, thou ſeeſt me, O Prince! here in the moſt abject Condition of any Man upon Earth: Therefore I beſeech thee, for the Love of JESUS CHRIST (who ſuffer'd on the Croſs for our Sins, and forgave his Enemies) to have Compaſſion on me and my miſerable Sons." The King was ſurpriz'd at thoſe Words, but did not know *Gilchriſt*, and ask'd him who he was, and what his Crimes were. *Gilchriſt* hearing the King ask, with Compaſſion, the Cauſe of his Miſery, ſhed Tears, and wept bitterly, ſo that he could not anſwer for ſome Time; at laſt ſaid to the King, "I am the moſt miſerable and unhappy Man on Earth, juſtly puniſh'd by Heaven for innocent Blood, ſhed by the Inſtigation of Satan and his Emiſſaries: I am *Gilchriſt!* thy once faithful and beloved Subject and Servant; I cannot expect any Thing at thy Hands, O King! but yet, if thou of thy Mercy ſpare me my Life and Liberty to live among thy People; my Life ſhall be employ'd in Devotion to GOD, and Gratitude to thee my King." The King was mov'd with ſo much Tenderneſs, and Remembrance of *Gilchriſt*'s Valour and Loyalty, that he took him by the Hand, and deſir'd him to be comforted, for he would freely pardon his Crimes for his own Part, and pray'd GOD would do the ſame; and immediately cauſed get Horſes and Rayment for him and his Sons. The King brought them with him to *Forfair*, where he reſtor'd *Gilchriſt* to his Lands and Honours, and gave Poſſeſſions to his Sons; but the King having given ſome of *Gilchriſt*'s Lands to the Abbey of *Abberbrothock*, *Gilchriſt* would not accept of them again, tho' the King propos'd to have given other Lands

for them to the Abbey. *Gilchrist* continu'd in Loyalty and Favour with the King, living a devout Life for many Years; and his eldeſt Son dying without Heirs (his other Son having renounc'd the World) he gave their Lands and Subſtance to pious Uſes, and at his Death left great Legacies to the Abbey of *Abberbrothock*, where he and his Two Sons lies buried before the Altar in St. *Katherine*'s Chapel.

King *William* having finiſh'd this Abbey of *Aberbrothock*, in the Year of CHRIST 1189, he continu'd to govern the Kingdom with Juſtice and Equity, having the Love and Affection of all his Subjects; and made many good Laws to puniſh Thieves and Robbers.

In this Year of our Lord, died King *Henry* of *England*, at *Normandy*, in the 35th Year of his Reign, and was buried at *Font-Everard* in *France*; and was ſucceeded by his ſecond Son *Richard*, a valiant and virtuous Prince; who remember'd the Promiſes of his Father *Henry*, to relieve the *Chriſtians* in the Holy Land, and made Peace with all his Neighbours. He ſent to King *William* an Ambaſſador, to offer him all the Lands of *Northumberland*, *Huntingtonſhire*, and *Cumberland*, which were formerly poſſeſs'd by the *Scots*, upon Condition, That King *William* would aſſiſt him with Money to relieve the *Chriſtians* in *Jeruſalem*. King *William*, who had long'd for the Opportunity to ſend Aſſiſtance to the Captive *Chriſtians*, anſwer'd the Ambaſſador, That he would ſend Men, and all the Money he could advance, to join with him in that pious Deſign: And accordingly he ſent 10000*l.* *Sterling* to King *Richard*, and ſent his Brother *David*, Earl of *Huntington*, with 5000 well Arm'd Men with King *Richard*, who left his Brother *John* to govern the Kingdom of *England* 'till his Return; and nam'd *Arthur*, the Son of *Geoffry*, his ſecond Brother, Duke of *Normandy*, his Succeſſor to the Crown, for King *Richard* had no Iſſue of his own Body.

King *William* ſends his Brother *David*, Earl of *Huntington*, with 5000 Men, and 10,000*l.* of Money, to aſſiſt King *Richard* of *England*, in the Holy Wars.

King *Richard* rais'd an Army, and ſet them to Sea, to paſs up the *Streights* to *Marſeilles* in *France*; and he himſelf went thro' *France*, and when his Ships came up, he ſet Sail, and went towards the Holy Land: *Philip*, King of *France*, ſail'd at the ſame Time from *France*, with an Army, towards the Holy Land, and landed at *Achon*, or *Ptolomeus*, a City, which the *Chriſtians* had long beſieg'd, and *Philip* join'd them againſt the *Sarazens*. In the mean Time, *Richard* was, by a Tempeſt, driven upon the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which he ſoon ſubdu'd, and put a Garriſon in it, and ſail'd to join King *Phillip* at *Achon*. When they were join'd at *Achon*, they continu'd the Siege long Time, and broke down the outer Walls with battering Rams, and other Engines of War: But when they came to the inner Wall, there happen'd a Diſpute between King *Richard* and *Leopold*, Duke of *Auſtria*, about the placing their Standards or Colours; for *Leopold* having put up his Colours on the Wall at the firſt Breach, *Richard* caus'd pull'd them down, which occaſion'd ſome Debates. Mean Time, there was one *Oliver*, a *Scots-man*, who had been baniſh'd out of *Scotland* ſeveral Years before, and was ſo long among the *Sarazens*, that he had learn'd their Language ſo perfect, that they did not know of what Nation he was. This *Oliver* was then a Soldier in one of the Towers where *David*, Earl of *Huntington*, lay at the Siege, and knowing them to be *Scots* by their Enſigns, he took ſtrict Notice of all the Men he ſaw without the Wall; and at laſt, ſaw one *John Durward*, with whom he had been formerly intimately acquainted, and call'd him by his Name: He deſir'd him to meet at a convenient Place of the Wall, and at their Meeting he ſhew'd *Durward* a ſecret Place, where he would give Earl *David* Entry into the Town, upon Condition, That *David* would promiſe to reſtore him to his Freedom and Properties in *Scotland*. *Durward* came to Earl *David*, who freely promis'd he ſhould have what he deſir'd, if he perform'd his Promiſe. *Durward* return'd to *Oliver* with the Anſwer, and he appointed an Hour, at which Time, Earl *David* came with his Army, and enter'd without Trouble, and went over the Town with great Slaughter of the *Sarazens*. Next Day King *Richard* ſeeing the *Scots* Enſigns on the Wall, enter'd the Town, and took the ſtrong Caſtle: They ſoon ſubdu'd the whole City, and went towards

David, Earl of *Huntington*, takes *Achon*.

Jeruſalem.

Jeruſalem. Mean Time *Saladine* fearing the *Chriſtians* Succeſs, deſtroy'd ſeveral Towns of *Judea*, ſuch as *Joppa*, *Ceſarea*, *Aſhcalon*, and *Gaza*, and put the *Chriſtians* under ſtrong Guards. At the ſame Time, the Kings of *France* and *England* reliev'd all the *Chriſtians* in thoſe Countries, and came to *Jeruſalem*, to which they laid Siege, and *Saladine* was upon the Terms to ſurrender when ſome Diviſion happen'd between the Two Kings; ſo that King *Phillip* drew off his Army, and return'd Home; and *Odo* Duke of *Burgundy*, drew of his Army, and went to *Aſhcalon*. At that Time, *Guy* of *Luſignen*, was poſſeſs'd of *Tyre*, and took the Title of King of *Jeruſalem*: But King *Richard* exchang'd his Property of the Iſle of *Cyprus*, with *Guy*, for the Title of King of *Jeruſalem*, which was the Occaſion of the Kings of *England* calling themſelves Kings of *Jeruſalem* for ſome Time. When *Richard* had none to aſſiſt him at the Siege, but the *Scots*, he had Notice, That the King of *France* had invaded *Normandy* contrary to his former Promiſes; which Accounts made *Richard* conclude Peace with *Saladine* (tho' with great Reluctance) and left *Jeruſalem*. He ſent his Queen *Berengaria*, and his Siſter *Jane*, with his Army into *Cicily*, and from thence into *England*. Earl *David* alſo ſet to Sea, and was, by a violent Storm, driven on Shore upon the Coaſt of *Alexandria*, and was taken by the Inhabitants. The Ship in which he was, had been divided from the Fleet, and when they were driven upon the Coaſt, the Men periſh'd, and the Earl, with a few Servants, were narrowly ſav'd: He lay ſome Time in Priſon, 'till he was ranſom'd by the *Venetian* Merchants, and brought to *Conſtantinople*, and after to *Venice*, where he had Liberty to return to *Scotland*. But as he ſail'd from *Flanders* to *Scotland*, he was again driven by a Storm upon the Coaſt of *Denmark*, and ſetting Sail again, he was ſeveral Days toſs'd at Sea, near the Coaſt of *Scotland*: But at laſt (by the Divine Providence of GOD) he landed in the River *Tay*, with his Ship near ſunk, having neither Rudder, nor any Tackle. The Place where he landed was formerly call'd *Allectum*; but, from the Earl *David*'s landing there, it was call'd *Dundee*, or *Dei Donum*. King *William* hearing that his Brother *David* (who, he believ'd, was ſlain among the *Sarazens*) was come ſafe to *Scotland*, he went with all Speed to *Dundee*, to receive him, and when he met him, he embrac'd him with moſt tender Affection, and commanded general Thankſgivings over all the Kingdom, for the ſafe Return of his Brother, Earl *David*. Moſt Part of his Army return'd ſafe, as did the *Engliſh* Army; but their King *Richard* paſs'd thro' *Thrace*, and was, by Tempeſt, brought into *Dalmatia*, and from thence being to paſs through *Germany*, and oblig'd to paſs through Duke *Leopold*'s Dominions; he conſider'd it would be dangerous, upon Account of the old Grudge; therefore diſguis'd himſelf, and travelling ſometimes on Horſe-back, and ſometimes on Foot, came to *Vienna*, where he was diſcover'd, and was taken by the Duke *Leopold*, who carried him to his Caſtle under a Guard. The Emperor *Henry* hearing of his being taken, ſent to *Leopold*, deſiring to ſend King *Richard* to him, which he did: And he was kept in Priſon by the Emperor, 'till he would ranſom himſelf by the Payment of One Hundred Thouſand Pounds; to pay which Sum, the moſt Part of the Gold and Silver Veſſels of *England* were melted and coin'd. The Pretences againſt *Richard* (beſides taking down the Colours) was, that he had murder'd the Duke of *Conrard*, of *Tyre*: But one *Lemboldus* confeſs'd the Death of the Duke; yet *Richard* was ſtill detain'd in Priſon, 'till Sixty Thouſand Pounds was paid down; the Third to *Leopold*, and the reſt to the Emperor, and King *Richard* return'd into *England* in the Fourth Year after he began his Journey to the Holy Land.

Earl *David* is Ship-wreck'd on the Coaſt of *Alexandria*.

He is again driven upon the Coaſt of *Denmark*:

At laſt lands at *Allectum*.

Dundee ſo firſt nam'd.

After Earl *David* landed in *Scotland*, a Convention of the Nobles was held at *Dundee*, where the King gave Licenſe to *David* to build an Abbey where he pleas'd in any Part of the Kingdom, with Lands to endow it: And *David* built the Abbey at *Lindors*, after the Order of St. *Benedict*. In Memory of Earl *David*'s Landing, the King granted many extenſive Privileges to the Town of *Dundee*.

Lindor Abbey built by Earl *David*.

When King *William* heard that King *Richard* was arriv'd in *England*, he and his Brother *David*, accompany'd with many Noblemen of *Scotland*, went to *England*, to congratulate that King on his ſafe Return; and *William* knowing what great Sums had been paid by King *Richard* for his Ranſome, he gave Four Thouſand Pound *Sterl.* to him, as a Token of his affectionate Friendſhip. By this ſeaſonable Kindneſs, there was a more cordial Friendſhip contracted between the two Kings, than had been in any former Age, which continu'd without Interruption. While King *William* was in *London*, he happen'd to be ſick of a Fever for ſome time, which gave Occaſion to *Harold* Earl of *Orcades* and *Caithneſs* to raiſe ſome Diſturbance in the Nation: But upon the King's Recovery and Return, *Harold* was taken and executed according to Law. At this time there happen'd a Year of great Scarcity over *Scotland*; but the next Year produc'd the moſt plentiful Crop of Corn and all other Fruit, that ever had been ſeen in the Nation. In this Year, which was after our Redemption 1199, *Ermgarda* the Queen was brought to Bed of a Son, who was baptiz'd the 8th of *September*, by the Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and nam'd *Alexander*. And the ſame Year died the good King *Richard* of *England*, of a Wound he receiv'd in his Arm, and was ſucceeded by his Brother *John*; tho' *Arthur*, the Son of *Geoffry Plantagenet*, elder Brother to *John*, was alive; yet *John* laid aſide all Ceremony, and took the Crown, pretending *Arthur*'s Youth was a ſufficient Reaſon to deprive him of his Right.

Alexander II. born *Sept.* 8. 1199.

A Diadem and Sword ſent by the Pope to K. *William*.

When the King return'd from *London*, the Pope ſent, by his Legate, a Diadem or Hat, and a Sword, (the Hilt and Sheath whereof was ſet with precious Stones,) to King *William*; and at the ſame time the Pope granted Indulgences and many Privileges to the Church of *Scotland*, and gave King *William* the Title of, DEFENDER OF THE CHURCH OF FAITH. The King made an Act, That all over *Scotland* the People ſhould ceaſe from Labour at the firſt Hour of the Afternoon on *Saturday*, and continue in Devotion and pious and innocent Recreations till *Monday* Morning: And order'd a Bell to be rung at every Church, the ſame Hour on *Saturday*, to give Notice to all People in the Pariſhes; ordering all Perſons to be puniſh'd with great Severity, that could be found in any Labour, except Works of Neceſſity.

When *John* was crown'd King of *England*, he ſent an Ambaſſador to King *William*, deſiring he would come to *London* to make an Acknowledgment for the three Counties; and at the ſame time deſir'd he would go with him to *France*, againſt King *Philip*. King *William* return'd Anſwer, That he would make the uſual Acknowledgment by an Ambaſſador, which he would ſend: But that there was a League of ancient Standing between *Scotland* and *France*, and that he could not break it in Honour nor Conſcience. Upon the Return of the Ambaſſador, with King *William*'s Anſwer; King *John* ſent a Party to plunder all the People living in *Northumberland*; and having taken much Subſtance out of that Country, they were upon their Return to *London*, when King *John* was adviſ'd by his Nobles (who were offended at this Action) to return the Goods, and continue Peace with *Scotland*, as he was then engag'd in War with *France*; which *John* did, and the Goods were return'd to the Owners. While King *John* continu'd in *France*, there was ſuch ſtrong Froſt over all *Scotland*, that they could not enter a Plough into the Ground before the laſt of *March*; and all that Winter, Ale was ſold by Weight, in hard Ice. There was alſo great Snow with the Froſt, which was deſtructive among the Cattle.

The next Year the King of *England* return'd from *France*, (where he had concluded a very diſadvantageous Peace) and began to renew War againſt the *Scots*. He built a Caſtle near *Berwick*, to provok the *Scots* to Battle; whereupon King *William* ſent an Army to the Borders, and threw down the Caſtle. King *John* rais'd his Army, with Deſign to enter *Scotland*; but was prevented by King *William*, who came with a ſtrong Army to the Borders, and was preparing to give Battle to King *John*, when ſeveral *Engliſh* Biſhops came

came to the King, offering Conditions of Peace, to which King *William* agreed. Both Armies were diſpers'd, and both Kings met at *York*, where they concluded Peace. The Conditions were, That *Alexander* Prince of *Scotland*, the Son of King *William*, ſhould be married to *Jane* Daughter of King *John*, and that the Lands of *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Northumberland* and *Huntington* ſhould be confirm'd to the Crown of *Scotland*, and to be the Poſſeſſion of the Princes of *Scotland*: For which they ſhould make the accuſtom'd Acknowledgment to the Kings of *England*. And that the two Sons of King *John*, nam'd *Henry* and *Richard*, ſhould be married to *Iſabella* and *Margaret*, the Daughters of King *William*.

When thoſe Conditions were made, the two Kings continu'd at *York* with great Amity: And when they were together one Day, a Nobleman's Son, the only Heir of a great Eſtate in *England*, was brought before the Kings, having an ulcerous Diſtemper, which had over-run his Body, and was given over by all Phyſicians. King *William* ſeeing the Child, made the Sign of the Holy Croſs over the Child's Face and Breaſt, bleſſing him in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; and the Child recover'd immediately after. This miraculous Cure gave the People of *England* a great Opinion of King *William*'s Sanctity and great Strength of Faith, as they never had heard that this Diſtemper was cur'd but by the Prayers of St. *Edward*, who was the firſt that touch'd for the King's Evil: So this Cure, by the Bleſſing of GOD to King *William*, makes it appear, that the Kings of *Scotland* cur'd that Diſtemper as well as the Kings of *England*.

King *William* cures the King's Evil by Prayer.

King *William* return'd from *York* to *Scotland*, and dwelt at *Bretha*, at which time there happen'd ſuch an Inundation of the Rivers of *Tay* and *Almond*, that moſt Part of the Town of *Bretha* was carried away by the Violence of the Flood: Nor was the King's Palace free from the Calamity; for the King's Son, *John*, an Infant, with his Nurſe and ſeveral Servants, were carried away and periſh'd in the Night. Next Year the King built the Town of *Perth*, with a Church dedicated to St. *John* the Baptiſt, from which it is commonly call'd *St. Johnſtoun*: It was built in the Year of our Redemption 1210, and had great Privileges granted to it by the King.

Perth, or St. *Johnſton*, built by King *William*, A. D. 1210.

About this time King *John* of *England* went over to *Ireland*, and ſubdu'd that Kingdom to his Dominions; and the next Year he ſubdu'd all *Wales*, and took thirty young Children for Pledges of their future Obedience.

King *William* having erected the Biſhoprick of *Argyle*, and repair'd the Abbies and Churches of *Aberdeen*, *Newbottle*, *Melroſs*, and *Dunfermling*, he retir'd to *Stirling*, where he liv'd ſome Time peaceably, and having govern'd the Kingdom with great Juſtice and Equity, he departed this Life at *Stirling*, in the 49th Year of his Reign, on the 15th of *May*, 1214. This Year, before his Death, there appear'd Two Commets all the Month of *March*, very ſurprizing to the People; as it preſag'd the Death of that moſt pious and valiant Monarch, who had govern'd the Nation, and kept it in Peace and Tranquility all the Time. He was buried in the Abbey of *Abberothock*, before the Altar, with a magnificent Monument to preſerve the Memory of his great Actions.

In the Reign of King *William*, liv'd many learn'd Men in the World, ſuch as St. *Francis*, who begun the Order of the *Gray Fryars*: *Dominicus*, a *Spaniard*, a learn'd Man, wrote ſeveral Books; and *Jehoachim*, Abbot of *Calabria*, wrote Commentaries upon the Books of the *Apocalypſe*. *Rodulph*, Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, tranſlated the Bodies of Three Kings, from *Perſia* to *Conſtantinople*, and after to *Cologne*. In *Scotland* liv'd many learn'd Biſhops, among whom were *Euſtacius*, Abbot of *Arbroth*, and *Edward*, Biſhop of *Brichen*. At this Time, Queen *Emergarda*, founded the Abbey of *Ballmirinoch*, where ſhe retir'd after the Death of King *William*.

Ballmirinoch Abbey, built by Queen *Emergarda*.

ALEXANDER II. *The 94 King of* Scotland.

ALEXANDER II. Son of King *William*, ſucceeded his Father, and was crown'd at *Scoon*, the Year of our Redemption 1214. He accompany'd his Father's Corps to *Abberbrothock*, where he remain'd Fourteen Days at the Performance of Funeral Obſequies, and ordain'd, That no Banqueting nor Mirth ſhould be ſeen in the Kingdom for the Space of a Year, after the Death of his Father King *William*; during which Time, the King and all his Servants were cloath'd in Mourning Garments.

In the firſt Convention held by *Alexander* at *Edinburgh*, he ratified all Laws and Statutes made and confirm'd by his Father; and appointed Judges of the Laws to remain in every Town of the Nation, to decide all doubtful Caſes, and to execute Juſtice. King *Alexander* appointed a competent Maintenance for the Queen his Mother, to ſupport her Royal Dignity; and ſhew'd all Reſpect and Obedience to her.

About the Beginning of this Reign, King *John* of *England* begun to exerciſe great Severity over the Church-men in *England*, by taking away the beſt Part of their Livings; and when ſome, or moſt of them deny'd the Payment, he drove them out of the Abbies and religious Houſes, and took Poſſeſſion of all their Lands, and other Subſtance: Whereupon, thoſe diſtreſſed Men repreſented their Grievances to Pope *Innocent* the Third; and King *John* was excommunicated; but upon his Repentance, and making Satisfaction to the Pope, and the Church-men of his Kingdom, he was receiv'd again into the Church. King *John* was not ſo much concern'd at the Offence he gave to the Pope and Clergy-men, as he was for the ill Succeſs he had in obtaining Money, which was all he aim'd at; he being more inclin'd to Covetouſneſs than any former King of *England*; which Vice became the Bane of all his Happineſs, and made him odious to his Subjects: He having us'd ſo many deceitful Stratagems to get Money from his Subjects, that, at laſt, they ſollicited King *Alexander*, and the King of *France*, to ſupport them againſt the Oppreſſion of their King: King *Alexander* was willing to be a Mediator between the King of *England* and his Subjects, but would not give Aid to the Subjects againſt the King, until he knew the real Cauſe of their Complaints. In the mean Time, King *John* made all the Intereſt he could with the Pope's Legate, Cardinal *Gwalo*, who repreſenred the Grievances of King *John* to the Pope, to the beſt Advantage.

While the Nobles of *England* were at Variance with their King, they prevail'd with King *Philip*, of *France*, to ſend over his Son *Lewis*, the *Dauphine*, with an Army into *England*; and at his Landing he was join'd by the Nobles, and came to *London* without any Oppoſition; King *John* being fled to *Wincheſter*. When King *Alexander* had Notice, that *Lewis* the *Dauphine* was at *London*, he took with him ſeveral Noblemen, and a ſtrong Party, and went ſtraight to *London*, where he met the Prince *Lewis*, who was overjoy'd to ſee the King of *Scotland*; and (at the Requeſt of King *Alexander*) Prince *Lewis* ſent to King *John*, deſiring he would redreſs the Grievances of his Subjects: But King *John* anſwer'd, That he would puniſh them for their Inſolence, nor would he ceaſe, until he had reveng'd the Affronts they had given him. Prince *Lewis* deſign'd to join with the Nobles to go againſt King *John* with their Army, but King *Alexander* would not join in their Deſign, and diſſwaded *Lewis* from it, by ſhewing him what an Evil Precedent it would be to aid Subjects againſt their Sovereign; therefore advis'd the Nobles to think upon ſome proper Means to reconcile themſelves to their King, without the Force of Arms: And King *Alexander* propos'd to go into *France*, to meet King *Philip*, and to leave their Forces to protect the Nobles from the Violence of the King, 'till their Return. To this Prince *Lewis* readily agreed, and they went to *Bologne*, where they were met by King *Philip*. While they ſtay'd at *Bologne*, both Kings renew'd the ancient League between *France* and *Scotland*, with

The Kings of *France* and *Scotland* meet at *Bologne*.

with mutual Proteſtations of Amity; and King *Alexander*, with the Prince *Lewis*, return'd into *England*, where they found the Nobles ſtill at Variance with King *John*; but ſoon after, the unfortunate King died at *Newark*, the 19th of *October*, 1216.

After the Death of King *John*, his Son *Henry*, being 9 Years old, was crown'd King at *Gloceſter*, the 28th of *October*, 1216, by *Peter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Jocline* Biſhop of *Bath*, in the Preſence of *Gwalo* the Pope's Legate. Tho' *Henry* was young, yet he had Men of great Ability about him, ſuch as *William Mariſhal* Earl of *Pembroke*, the two Biſhops above-mention'd, with the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Earls of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers* and *Albemarle*, and many others.

King *Alexander* made no Stay in *England*, but came into *Scotland*, and left *Lewis* in *London*; where he was when he heard of King *John*'s Death, and made no Doubt of getting the Crown of *England* with great Eaſe: But when *Henry* was proclaim'd, many of the Lords left Prince *Lewis*, and went to the young King, which encreas'd *Henry*'s Strength to go againſt *Lewis*, who fortify'd *London*, and was beſieg'd by King *Henry*'s Army. It was propos'd by Prince *Lewis* to ſally out to give Battle, but the *Engliſh* were not willing to comply with the *French* in the Attempt, till they were at laſt attack'd with ſuch Vigour and Courage, that the King's Party got into the Town, and defeated the Prince's People, and took many *Engliſh* Noblemen Priſoners. But the *French* would not yield, till many of them were ſlain, and few eſcap'd with Prince *Lewis*: Yet he would not give over Hopes of Succeſs, but ſent to his Father King *Philip* for Supply, which was ſent: But they were defeated and turn'd back, by *Hubert de Burgh*, Governor of *Dover*-Caſtle. Soon after Peace was made between King *Henry* and Prince *Lewis*, by the Payment of 1500 Marks to the Prince, for his Charges: And King *Henry* took an Oath, before *Gwalo* the Legate, to reſtore all that had been taken from the Subjects by his Father: Whereupon *Lewis* was attended to *Dover*, where he took Shipping for *France*, and left *England*. Soon after this King *Henry*'s Army invaded *Scotland* with great Slaughter; whereupon King *Alexander* rais'd a powerful Army, and went againſt him. King *Henry* having Notice of the Strength of the *Scots* Army, return'd to *England*; and King *Alexander* came after him, and demoliſh'd ſeveral Caſtles, and carry'd great Booties out of *England*, to redreſs his Subjects of the Loſſes ſuſtain'd by the Invaſion of the *Engliſh* Army: After this *Alexander* return'd to *Scotland* with great Honour and Applauſe. *Henry* hearing that *Alexander* had diſmiſs'd his Forces; he return'd with his Army, and came through *Northumberland* to *Berwick*, which had been demoliſh'd, and enter'd *Scotland*; but coming to *Haddington*, he heard that King *Alexander* was raiſing Forces: He return'd with his Army to *England*, and ſent an Ambaſſador to King *Alexander*, to treat of Peace: To which *Alexander* ſeem'd averſe, but by the Mediation of Learn'd Prelates of both Nations, Peace was concluded, upon the Conditions, That *Henry* ſhould redreſs the *Scots* of the Goods carry'd off by his Army, and that the Strengths of *Northumberland* and the other three Counties ſhould continue poſſeſs'd by the *Scots*, as formerly. After this Peace was made, came *Gwalo* the Legate into *Scotland* (with Hopes of getting great Sums of Money) and ſummon'd the Biſhops to meet at *Berwick*, where he us'd Means to draw Sums of Money from them: But they (knowing his Character, and what Diſturbances he had bred in *England*) deny'd to comply with his Deſires: He being offended at this Diſappointment, ſummon'd them all to appear at *Rome*; expecting they would give him Money rather than undertake ſo long a Journey: But the Biſhops, with the King, repreſented the illegal Demands of *Gwalo* to the Pope, ſo that *Gwalo* was depriv'd of his Authority, and found guilty of tranſgreſſing the Pope's Commiſſion; and all the Biſhops were abſolv'd from the Penalties impos'd by *Gwalo*.

About this Time died *David* Earl of *Huntington*, Brother to King *William* and Uncle to the preſent King: He left no Sons, but three Daughters; the

eldeſt nam'd *Margaret* was marry'd to *Allan* Earl of *Galoway*, whoſe eldeſt Daughter was Grandmother to *John Baliol*; and the ſecond Daughter was married to the Earl of *Carrick*, and was Grand-mother to *Robert Bruce*, who was King, as ſhall be ſeen in the following Hiſtory.

King *Henry* of *England* being now come to perfect Age, was more deſirous of Peace with *Scotland*, and appointed a Meeting with King *Alexander* at *York*, where they conſulted the Marriage of *Alexander*, with *Jane* the Siſter of *Henry*. And to make the Alliance the ſtronger, the two Siſters of King *Alexander* were marry'd to two of the firſt Peers of *England*. At this Time was the Body of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* tranſlated from that Cathedral to *Weſtminſter*, where it remain'd till the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. when it was, by the Command of the Lord *Cromwell*, taken up and burnt. At this Time came into *Scotland* a Legate from the Pope, to gather Money to raiſe an Army to defend the Holy Land from the *Turks*: But the Legate ſpent the Money in extravagant Uſes, and told the Pope he had been robb'd by the *Spaniards*: And the next Year another Legate return'd to *Scotland*, expecting the like Sums: Whereupon the Biſhops of *Scotland* apply'd to the King; and ſhew'd him the great Injuſtice done by the Legates, both to the Pope and the Countries they came into: Therefore advis'd the King not to ſuffer the Legate to enter the Kingdom. The Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s repeated the Inſtances of *Gwalo*, and many other Impoſitions done by depraved Perſons, making Uſe of the Pope's Authority: By which Advice the Legate was not permitted to enter the Kingdom.

When *Scotland* was at Peace with *England*, one *Gileſpy Roſs* rais'd a ſtrong Party, and burnt the Town of *Inverneſs*, taking away the Subſtance of the Inhabitants, upon Pretence of an Affront given him in that Town. The King ſent *John Cummine* Earl of *Buchan* with a Party againſt him, and *Gileſpy* was taken and executed, with the Ringleaders of his Party. At this Time a ſtrange Accident happen'd in the Shire of *Caithneſs*: For the Biſhop, nam'd *Adam*, was burnt to Aſhes in his Caſtle; and Information was given the King, that it was done by ſome Villains, who had been puniſh'd by the Biſhop for their Crimes againſt the Commands of GOD; and that the Earl of *Caithneſs* had not taken Notice of them, but let them eſcape unpuniſh'd: Upon which Information, the Earl was degraded of his Honour and loſt his Lands. But on the Feaſt of *Epiphany* he came before the King in a moſt humble Condition, and obtain'd Pardon, and had his Lands and Honours reſtor'd to him; and *Gilbert* Archdean of *Murray* ſucceeded *Adam* as Biſhop of *Caithneſs*.

At this Time came into *Scotland* ſeveral Black-Friars, ſent by St. *Dominick*, and they were receiv'd by the King, and entertain'd with Reverence and Reſpect, and had ſeveral Churches erected for them: Alſo at the ſame Time came many Friars of the Order of St. *Francis* into *Scotland*; and were entertain'd with the like Reverence.

Upon the Death of *Allan* Lord *Galoway*, his Lands were divided among his three Daughters, according to his Legacy: But his Baſtard Son *Thomas*, gather'd an Army of 10000 Men, with Hopes to recover the ſaid Lordſhip by Force from the Poſſeſſors. His Attempt being againſt the Laws and Peace of the Realm, the King ſent *Walter Steuart* and the Earl of *March* with an Army againſt him; and they ſlew him, with near 5000 of his Party, and routed the reſt.

The eldeſt Daughter of *Allan* Lord *Galoway*, was married to *Roger Quency* who was made Conſtable of *Scotland*: Which Office *Allan* had in his Lifetime, and was enjoy'd by *Roger* and his Poſterity, till the Reign of King *Robert* II. at which Time the *Quincys* forfeited that Office, and it was given to the *Hays* of *Errol*, which noble Family ever ſince enjoys that Office.

While *Scotland* continu'd in Peace with *England*, there happen'd great Diviſions between King *Henry* of *England* and his Nobles, which laſted long; and at laſt King *Alexander*, with his Queen, and Siſter *Iſabel*, went to *London*, and with great Induſtry reconcil'd the King and the Nobles: And the

Earl

Earl of *Northfolk* was marry'd to *Iſabel* the King's Siſter. Soon after the Queen died at *London*, to the great Affliction of the King her Husband, and all the Subjects; for ſhe was a moſt virtuous and pious Queen, and was well belov'd in her Life-time, which caus'd great Lamentations for her Death. She died the 6th of *July*, *A. D.* 1239, but left no Iſſue. After her Death King *Alexander* return'd to *Scotland*, and ſent an Ambaſſador to *France*, for *Mary*, the Daughter of *Anguiliam* Earl of *Coucy*; a young Lady of incomparable Beauty and Virtue. The King ſtaid at *Roxburgh* till the Return of the Ambaſſador with this Lady, who was married to the King at *Roxburgh*; and the next Year was deliver'd of a Son, who was baptiz'd *Alexander*, and ſucceeded his Father. After the Baptiſm of the Prince, the King appointed ſolemn Turnaments at *Haddington*, where the King and Nobles were aſſembled for the Time; and many valiant Noblemen acquitted themſelves with great Honour and Aplauſe: But in the End of their ſolemn Mirth, a ſad Accident happen'd: *John Biſſart* murder'd *Patrick Cummin* Earl of *Athole* in the Night, and ſet the Houſe where he lay on Fire, to conceal the Murder: For which baſe Crime this *John* fled; and all the Name of *Biſſarts* were baniſh'd out of *Scotland*: At which Time many of them went againſt the *Turks* to help the Chriſtians.

About the Latter-end of this Reign, *Somerled*, Son to *Somerled* before-mention'd, rais'd great Diſturbance in ſeveral Parts of *Scotland*; but at laſt was taken by the Earl of *March*, who brought him before the King with a Rope about his Neck. The King ſeeing him in that humble Condition, pardon'd his Crimes, and reſtor'd him to the Lands and Honours of his Father. When theſe Broils were pacify'd in *Scotland*, ſome ſeditious Perſons in *England* prevail'd with King *Henry* to violate the Contract of Peace made with *Scotland*; and he came with an Army into *Northumberland*, and begun to build a Caſtle over-againſt *Berwick*, where King *William* had demoliſh'd the former Caſtle. The Nobles of *England* having been ſo very lately reconcil'd to their King, would not conſent to the violent Proceedings of *Henry* and his evil Counſellors: Therefore they diſſuaded *Henry* from his Intentions of War, and to make Peace with the *Scots* upon the former Conditions: By which Means the Wars between *Scotland* and *England* were ended, by the general Deſire of the Subjects, and Peace was again concluded.

In the next Year an Ambaſſador came from *Lewis* King of *France*, deſiring Aſſiſtance from King *Alexander* to go againſt the *Turks*: Whereupon King *Alexander* ſent the Earl of *March*, *David Lindſey* of *Glenesk*, and *Walter Stewart* of *Dundonald*, with 5000 Men to fight againſt the *Turks*: But they were all deſtroy'd by violent Diſeaſes, ſo that few or none of them ever return'd into *Scotland*.

When King *Alexander* had reign'd 35 Years, in good Eſteem with all his Neighbours and Subjects, he departed this Life, at *Argyle*, the 8th Day of *July*, 1249, and was buried at *Dunfermling* with great Solemnity.

ALEXANDER III. *The 95 King of* Scotland.

ALEXANDER III. ſucceded his Father, in the Year of our Redemption 1249; and was crown'd at *Scoon* the 15th Day of *Auguſt*, in the 9th Year of his Age. At the Coronation there came a *Highlander* and ſaluted the King by his Titles of King of *Scotland* and the Iſles, in Eloquent Mettre, in the *Goidhleig* Language, and rehears'd the Kings Deſcent from *Gathelus* his ancient Predeceſſor: Which Narration was applauded by all the People, and recorded by the King's Command.

In the ſecond Year of this King's Reign, the Biſhops and Nobles being aſſembled, the King order'd that the Bones of his Grandmother, the holy St. *Margaret*, ſhould be tranſlated from the Grave where ſhe was buried into

another Part of the Abby, and put in a rich Silver Shrine: But when they were about to remove the Body, 'tis alledg'd, that it could not be ſeparated from the Body of her Husband King *Malcolm*; whereat the People were aſtoniſh'd, and a holy Biſhop ſtood up, and ſaid, "See here the ſtrange and marvellous "Works of GOD, that, as thoſe two were undivided in all their Actions "and Inclinations, you ſee they are inſeperable when Dead: Therefore it "is in vain to offer to remove the Body of the holy Queen, without her be-"loved and holy Husband." Whereupon both Bodies were remov'd and plac'd in a rich and magnificent Sepulchre. The King being but young, the Nobles were the more careful of the Management of the Affairs of the Nation; and they ſent an Ambaſſador to King *Henry* of *England*, deſiring to continue Peace; and to corroborate the Alliance, they deſir'd *Margaret*, Daughter to King *Henry*, in Marriage for King *Alexander*. Next Year both Kings with many of the Noblemen of both Nations, met at *York*, where King *Alexander* was married to *Margaret*, with the utmoſt Solemnity and Splendor; and they came into *Scotland* ſoon after.

During the Minority of the King, the Realm was govern'd with Equity and Juſtice by the Noblemen; and when he became of perfect Age, he executed Juſtice impartially over all the Nation.

At this Time the Earls of *Athole*, *Buchan*, and the Lord *Strathbogy* (all of the Name of *Cummin*) had offended againſt the Laws, and they were denounc'd Rebels by publick Proclamation, becauſe they would not compear before the King's Court of Juſtice. The *Cummins* being thus Out-law'd, ſtudied Revenge, and took the King at *Kinloſs*, and kept him in cloſs Cuſtody for ſeveral Days. But *Walter* Earl of *Menteith*, being, by his Wife's Contrivance, poiſon'd to Death, the reſt of the *Cummins* were ſo aſtoniſh'd, that they accoſted the King with great Reverence and Reſpect, and offer'd him his Liberty; by which Means they had Pardon for all their Tranſgreſſions. It is ſaid, that at this Time there were 30 Perſons of Quality of the Name of *Cummin*, who were, the leaſt of them, Knights, and Men of Eſtates. The *Engliſhwoman* who poiſon'd her Husband the Earl of *Mentieth*, fled into *England* with one *John Ruſſel*, whom ſhe afterward married.

About this Time Pope *Urban* the Fourth of that Name, inſtituted the Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti* to be kept every *Thurſday* after *Trinity Sunday*. The *Carmelite* Friers came at this Time into *Scotland*, and erected a Chapel (dedicated to our Bleſſed Lady) without the Walls of *Perth*, to be their Church. It is ſaid, that a Monk of *Melroſs* was warn'd by a Dream, and that he found a Piece of the holy Croſs near *Peebles* in *Tweedale*, in a curious Caſe. Near the Place where it was found, they alſo found another Caſe with ſeveral Bones wrap'd up in Silk, but did not know whoſe Bones they were. And 'tis ſaid, that ſeveral Miracles were wrought by the two Caſes, containing the Piece of the Croſs and the Bones. And 'tis ſaid that *Alexander* had ſo great Reverence to thoſe Reliques, that he caus'd build a Church where they were found. At this Time the Kings of *Scotland* and *England* had an Interview at *Wark*, where they conveen'd many of the Nobility of both Realms, and the Contracts of Peace formerly made was ratify'd, and both Nations were in greater Peace and Tranquillity than they had been in former Ages.

The Kings of *Scotland* and *England* meet at *Wark*, where they ratify the former Peace.

In this Year of our Redemption 1253, *William* Biſhop of *Glaſgow* rebuilt St. *Mungo*'s Church of that City, and died ſoon After: In the ſame Year was a great Famine over all *Scotland*, by Reaſon of an unſeaſonable Harveſt, which deſtroy'd all the Corn and other Fruits of the Ground, which occaſion'd great Death among the People, and alſo all Sorts of Cattle. *Acho* King of *Norway* hearing of the diſtreſs'd Condition of *Scotland*, came with a great Fleet of Ships and a ſtrong Army to the Iſles of *Orkney* (which the *Danes* ſtill poſſeſs'd from the Uſurpation of *Donald Bane* to this Time) and from thence went about the *Ebudæ*, or Weſtern Iſles, and landed in *Arran* and *Bute* on *Lammaſs*-Day, call'd *Advincula Peteri*: He beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Air*, and took it; and paſt over the Country, deſtroying and burning all Caſtles and Churches, committing great Cruelty among the People. King

Acho King of *Norway* lands in *Scotland*.

Alexander

Alexander being of tender Age, and the Country in great Diſtreſs by the Famine, did not think it ſafe to venture the Chance of a Battle: But ſent a Learn'd Orator to the King of *Norway*, who being admitted to his Preſence, ſaid, "Had the King or Nobles of *Scotland* done any Action againſt thee or "thy Subjects, to provoke thee to War, he had met thy Army with the "Strength of his Kingdom, and not ſent an Orator to enquire the Cauſe of "thy Invaſion, and Cruelty committed among his Subjects. *Scotland* has "long defended its Liberty and Property from all foreign Powers; nor could "any of our Enemies ever accuſe our Kings with unjuſt Invaſion, or Endeavours to conquer other Peoples Poſſeſſions, notwithſtanding their noted "Valour and Succeſs in all Wars into which they have been engag'd; and "the frequent Opportunities they've had in neighbouring Kingdoms. Nor "can it be ſaid, that ever our Kings went to Battle againſt their greateſt "Enemies, without conſidering the Juſtice of the Cauſe: Therefore our "Gracious Sovereign the King, has ſent to know what Injuries has been "done to thee or thy Subjects, or what Provocations have you had to break "the Peace, which has continu'd ſo many Years between the *Scots* and "*Danes*: Or what has induc'd you to violate the Laws of GOD and Chriſtian Nations, to invade your Neighbours Property without Cauſe, to "burn and deſtroy the holy Churches of GOD, to diſturb the venerable "Bodies of the holy Saints, to murder innocent People, eſpecially Women "and Infants. If thou haſt no Regard for GOD and his Saints, nor dread "their Diſpleaſure and Revenge, yet you ought to conſider, that the Kings "of *Scotland* and *England* are join'd in ſtrong Friendſhip and Alliance, and "will not ſee this Nation invaded without reſenting ſuch Affronts, and revenging the Cruelty and Injuries done the Subjects of this Kingdom. The "King our Sovereign now offers you honourable Terms; That if you Redreſs "the Injuries done by you in the Nation, and depart with your Army from "his Kingdom, and give Aſſurance of keeping Peace, he ſhall forget what is "paſt: Which Offers if you refuſe, he is ready to meet you with ſuch an "Army, as may compel you to comply with his Demands, without Hopes "of Mercy, when you repent of your ambitious Hopes. You may remember "the many unjuſt Deſigns of your Predeceſſors, and the diſmal Events of their "Attempts; and if you perſiſt, we hope GOD will give our King and his "People Succeſs according to the Juſtice of their Cauſe; ſince they fight not "for Addition of Wealth nor Conqueſt, but in Defence of their Lives, and "the Churches and Servants of GOD.

K. *Alexander* ſends an Orator to *Acho*.

His Speech.

Acho anſwer'd the Ambaſſador, "Ye think to frighten me by your threatning Language: But know! that thereby you provoke me to greater Perſecution of your People: And my coming now is no Invaſion, but to uplift the Rents and Profits of the Iſles belonging to my Dominions, which "have been kept from me by your Kings: Therefore tell your King, If he "be deſirous of Peace, and would preſerve his Country from being deſtroy'd "and ſubdu'd by my Power, I deſire him to ſend ten Thouſand Merks, as "the Profits of our Lands uplifted by him and his Predeceſſors; and to give "us Poſſeſſion of thoſe Iſles, to be under our Dominion in all Times coming. If he refuſe this reaſonable Offer, tell him, we ſhall force him to Battle; and are reſolv'd to invade him and his People with all poſſible Advantage, and have ſuch Victory, as we hope to obtain by our Power.

Acho's Anſwer to the *Scots* Orator.

King *Alexander* hearing the Anſwer of *Acho*, reſolv'd to venture the Chance of a Battle, and gather'd an Army of 40000 Men; and divided them into three Battles: In the firſt or right Wing, the valiant Knight *Alexander Stewart* had the Command of the Men of *Argyle*, *Lenox*, *Athole* and *Galloway*; in the left Wing, *Patrick Dunbar* had the Men of *Berick*, *Mers*, *Lothian*, *Fife* and *Stirling*: In the Center or Mid-battle was King *Alexander*, with the Men of all the Northern Shires and the Iſles. The King had ordain'd all the Clans to have their own Captains or Chiftains to command and direct them in the Battle, and to exhort them in their own Languages to remember the Valour and loyal Deeds of their Anceſtors, in Defence of their Lives and Liberties.

When the King ſaw the Enemies come in Sight, he caus'd Maſs to be ſaid in all Parts of his Army, with Prayers to Almighty GOD for Succeſs. And when he had array'd them for Battle, he ſaid, "My beloved Friends, we
King *Alexander*'s Speech to his Army.
" have made our Oriſons to GOD Almighty (by Whoſe Providence and
" Power, all Things on Earth is govern'd and directed) to give us Succeſs
" and Victory over our Enemies, according to the Juſtice of our Cauſe; and
" I beſeech and exhort you all to truſt in GOD for his Divine Aſſiſtance,
" to deliver you from the Power of thoſe mercileſs Enemies, who will exer-
" ciſe the utmoſt Cruelty over you, your Wives and Children, if ye ſubmit
" to them. Therefore let us reſolve to fight with Courage, and firm Hopes
" that we ſhall be reveng'd on thoſe wicked Enemies, who would enſlave
" us and deſtroy our Wives and Children. Conſider that ye fight to be re-
" veng'd of the Abuſe done to GOD and his Saints, and your King and
" Country; and if you behave like your valiant Fore-fathers, you ſhall not
" only gain Profit and Applauſe, but alſo Life and Liberty, and preſerve
" your Country and all that is dear to you from utter Deſtruction: Then let
" us go on with Courage and good Hopes, that (in the Name of GOD
" and his holy Saints) we ſhall obtain Victory over our Enemies."

On the other ſide *Acho* exhorted his Army to fight with Courage, to gain great Profit and Applauſe by Victory; ſhewing them, that they ſhould be rewarded with all the Lands and Treaſure of *Scotland*, if they ſucceeded; adding many tempting Promiſes, to induce them to venture their Lives for ſuch great Rewards. *Acho* had ſcarce ended his Exhortation, when the *Scots* Army advanc'd, with Warlike Enſigns diſplay'd, according to the Devices and Atchievements of the Captains; and with moſt reſolute Courage they at-
The *Danes* are overcome and purſu'd by the *Scots*.
tack'd the *Danes*, and fought with ſuch Manhood and Force, that the two Wings of the *Scots* beat back the Wings of *Acho*'s Army, with great Slaughter. Mean time King *Alexander* had reſerv'd his Body of the Army to ſupply the Occaſions of the two Wings: Which, when *Acho* perceiv'd, he made towards them with the Strength of his Army; the King with his Party fought againſt the *Danes*, with great Valour and uncertain Victory, until *Alexander Stewart*, with his right Wing, came upon *Acho*, and put his Brigade to Flight. The *Danes* being broken in all Parts, took to Flight, and the *Scots* purſu'd them with great Slaughter, ſparing none they could overtake; nor did many of them eſcape, except a ſmall Number with *Acho*, who fled to the Caſtle of *Air*, which he had before taken. Next Day an Account was brought to *Acho*, that all his Fleet (conſiſting of Fifty Ships) was deſtroy'd by a Tempeſt, and that none of his Ships were ſav'd but Four; and that the Mariners who eſcap'd from the wreck'd Fleet, were all ſlain by the Inhabitants of the Country. King *Acho* being in this great Diſtreſs, repented with great Sorrow, that he had invaded the *Scots* with ſuch vain Hopes; and he fled in the Night from *Air*, to thoſe Four Ships, and went into *Orkney*. In this Battle were ſlain 24000 *Danes*, and not above 5000 *Scots*: It was fought at *Largs* in the Shire of *Cuningham*, on the 15th Day of *Auguſt*, 1263.

When King *Acho* landed in *Orkney*, he ſent for a new Army out of *Norway*, to invade the *Scots*; but his Grief for his former Loſs brought Sickneſs on him, of which he died in *Orkney*, and the Army was diſmiſs'd.

This great Victory obtain'd by the *Scots* caus'd great Joy over the Kingdom; and King *Alexander* rewarded his Army with great Gifts, beſides the Spoil of the *Danes* Camp, which was divided among the Army: Nor were they forgetful of the Divine Aſſiſtance of GOD, but gave a Part of the Spoil to repair the Churches which the *Danes* had impair'd by their Invaſion: And the King commanded ſolemn Thankſgivings over all the Kingdom, to be given to GOD for their Victory. While the King and his People were at their Devotion, giving Thanks to Almighty GOD, their Joy was augmented by the Birth of a young Prince: For Queen *Margaret*, Siſter to *Henry* King of *England*, was deliver'd the 21ſt Day of *January* of a Son, who was baptiz'd *Alexander*, and created Prince of *Scotland* and Lord of *Cumberland*, &c.

Acho

Acho, King of *Norway*, was ſucceeded by his Son *Magnus*, a moſt pious Prince, who was very ſorry for the unjuſt Attempts of his Father; and ſent an Ambaſſador to King *Alexander*, offering to quit his Claim to the Weſtern Iſles of *Scotland*, upon Condition, That he might peaceably poſſeſs the Iſles of *Orknay* and *Zetland*: To this King *Alexander* anſwer'd, That all the Iſles belong'd to him, as the ancient Poſſeſſions of his Progenitors the Kings of *Scotland*; therefore he would come to no Terms of Peace with the *Danes*, until they were all reſtor'd to him. The Ambaſſador departed with this Anſwer, and return'd the next Year and ſeveral Noblemen with him, to treat of a Marriage between *Hanigo*, Son of King *Magnus* of *Norway*, and *Margaret*, Daughter to King *Alexander*, they both being young Children, *Margaret* being only Two Years of Age. The Marriage was concluded, and King *Magnus* gave up all his Pretenſions to the Iſles of *Orknay* and *Zetland*, and all other Iſles belonging to *Scotland*, to be poſſeſs'd by the Kings of *Scotland* in all Times coming. This King *Magnus*, who, for his Sanctity, was canoniz'd a Saint, built the Cathedral Church of *Kirkwall*, in the Iſle of *Pomonia* in *Orknay*.

A Marriage concluded between *Hanigo*, Prince of *Norway*, and *Margaret*, Daughter to King *Alexander*.

About this Time, the Wars broke out in *England*, between King *Henry* and his Subjects the Barons of *England*, occaſion'd by *Simon Mountford*, and others. King *Henry*'s eldeſt Son was married to *Eleanor*, Siſter to the King of *Spain*, and his Father gave him the Title of Prince of *Wales*, which was the firſt Time that that Title was given to the Kings of *England*'s eldeſt Sons, who were after this (upon their Birth) created Princes of *Wales*, and Earls of *Cheſter*.

The Baron War breaks out in *England*.

While King *Henry*, and his Son *Edward*, were engag'd in the Wars againſt the Barons, an Ambaſſador came to King *Alexander*, deſiring Aid to King *Henry* againſt the Barons, and *Alexander* ſent *Alexander Cummin* with 5000 Men to aſſiſt him. This War continu'd long Time with various Chances, 'till they fought a Battle at *Eveſham*, where *Edward* the Prince commanded the Army for the King, and ſlew *Mountford*, and routed the Party. After this Victory, King *Henry* call'd a Parliament at *Wincheſter*, wherein he diſinherited all thoſe who would not ſubmit to him. Soon after, the War was renew'd by *Roger Mortimer*; but, at laſt, he was overcome, and the other Barons ſubmitted to the King. The chief Cauſe of this War, was the great Need of Money the King had, and the Unwillingneſs of the Lords, or Barons, to ſupply his Wants; ſo that he was oblig'd to ſell his Right to the Dukedoms of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poictu*, *Turin*, and *Main*, to the King of *France*, for 300,000 *l. Sterling*. The King of *France* being taken Priſoner afterwards by the *Sultan*, would have reſign'd thoſe Poſſeſſions to King *Henry*, for his Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*, to releaſe him; but when King *Henry* undertook his Releaſement, the Barons would not advance him Money, which occaſion'd the War. While the Conteſt continu'd, the Firſt Ranſom (which was rais'd with Difficulty) being ſent by the Subjects of *France*, to releaſe their King, was loſt at Sea; and ſoon after, the King was reſcued by the *Chriſtians*: At his Return, he was made Arbitrator between King *Henry* and his Subjects, but could not reconcile them. *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwal*, Brother to *Henry*, was elected King of the *Romans*; but, for want of Money, was diſpoſſeſs'd, and forc'd to return into *England*, a poorer King than he went out an Earl. After King *Henry* and his Subjects were at Peace, Prince *Edward*, and his Brother *Edmund*, undertook the Holy War, and *Edward* brought his Wife *Eleanor* with him, and put to Sea with his Company; and at his landing, he reſcu'd the City of *Achon* from the *Turks*. After the *Sarazen* General had ſurrender'd it upon Terms, he ſent one *Anzazim*, a *Sarazen*, upon a pretended Meſſage to Prince *Edward*, who had a poiſon'd Dagger, wherewith he gave *Edward* Six deep Wounds in the Body and Arms, which were thought mortal; but the Lady *Eleanor*, his Wife, out of Love to her Husband, ſuck'd the Poiſon out of the Wounds with her Mouth, and by the Bleſſing of GOD, ſhe cur'd them.

King *Alexander* aſſiſts King *Henry* againſt the Barons.

Edward, Prince of *Wales*, obtains the Victory over the Barons at *Eveſham*.

While *Edward* was in the Holy Land, *Henry*, his Father, paſt into *Wales*, and ſubdu'd *Llewellin*, Prince of that Country, and made him pay 32000 *l. Sterling*, and give Hoſtages for their Obedience. Mean time, King *Henry* died at *Weſtminſter*, the 16th of *October*, 1272, in the 65th Year of his Age, and 56th of his Reign: And about the ſame time died his Brother *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwal*, King of the *Romans*.

When *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, undertook the Holy War, there came a Legate from Pope *Clement* the Fourth, to raiſe Money in *Scotland*, to carry on the War againſt the *Turks*, and had a Brief to raiſe a Tax of Four Marks, *Sterling*, of every Parochial Church, and Eighty Marks of every Biſhoprick. King *Alexander* anſwer'd the Legate, That he was not willing to begin ſuch a Cuſtom as Taxing the Church, but that he would ſend an Army of Men on his own Expence, to aſſiſt the *Chriſtians* againſt the *Turks*; and accordingly, in the Year 1271, the King ſent his Couſin *Thomas*, Earl of *Carrick*, with many valiant Men, into the Holy Land, who gain'd great Honour by their Valour; but, by the Peſtilence, and other Diſtempers, the ſaid Earl, and moſt of his Company, died before they could return.

King *Alexander* ſends the Earl of *Carrick* with an Army to the Holy Wars.

King *Robert* the *Bruce* his Deſcent.

This Earl of *Carrick* married the Second Daughter of *David*, Earl of *Huntington*, and left by her One Daughter, nam'd *Martha*, who ſucceeded her Father, as Counteſs of *Carrick*. This young Lady, being about Fifteen Years of Age, delighted in Hunting; and being one Day at that Diverſion, ſhe met *Robert Bruce*, Son to the Lord of *Annandale*, and *Cleveland* in *England*, and fell ſo much in Love with this young Nobleman, that ſhe married him without the King's Conſent: The King being offended at her, ſeiz'd her Caſtle, and diſpoſſeſs'd her of her Lands; but ſoon after, ſhe, with her Husband, were receiv'd into Favour, and reſtor'd to all her Father's Poſſeſſions. The next Year, ſhe was deliver'd of a Son, nam'd *Robert*, who was Father of the invincible Hero, King *Robert Bruce*, whoſe valiant Deeds ſhall be ſeen in their Place. He was born at *Carrick*, the 2d of *June*, 1274.

At the Return of *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, (who ſucceeded his Father *Henry*) he was crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Robert Killwarby*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the 15th Day of *Auguſt*, 1274; and King *Alexander*, with his Queen, went to *London*, to the Solemnity of the Coronation, at which time were ſeveral Diverſions and Exerciſes for the Entertainment of the Court. Among the many Strangers which came to ſee the Coronation, was a *Norman* of exceeding Strength, who overcame every one with whom he encounter'd; 'till one *Ferquhard Roß*, of King *Alexander*'s Retinue, engag'd with him, and overcame him in the Preſence of the Two Kings, Queens, and all the Nobility; and for his Courage and Valour, King *Alexander* made him Earl of *Roß*, and from this *Ferquhard*, Six Earls of *Roß* ſucceeded him in lineal Deſcent.

King *Alexander* and his Queen go to *London*, to the Coronation of King *Edward* the Firſt.

Ferquhard Roß obtains Victory over a *Norman*, of exceeding Strength; for which King *Alexander* created him Earl of *Roß*.

When King *Alexander* return'd to *Scotland*, his virtuous Queen *Margaret* died, to the great Affliction of the King and all his Subjects. She bare to the King Two Sons, and a Daughter married to *Hanigo*, Prince of *Denmark*, who ſucceeded his Father *Magnus*, and at his Death left One Daughter, as ſhall be ſeen hereafter. The Two Sons were *Alexander* and *David*, the youngeſt, died while the King and Queen were at the Court of *England*.

Queen *Margaret*, her Death.

Queen *Margaret* was buried in the Abbey of *Dunfermling* with great Solemnity, and the King caus'd ſolemn Obſequies to be perform'd for her Soul. Next Year, after the Death of the Queen, her Son *Alexander*, Prince of *Scotland*, was married (at *Roxburgh*, the 6th Day of *November*) to the Earl of *Flanders*'s Daughter. The Solemnity of the Marriage was kept 15 Days with great Mirth and Diverſion; but that virtuous Prince died at *Lindors*, the 2d Year after, in the 20th Year of his Age, without Iſſue, to the great Affliction and irreparable Loſs of the Kingdom; for by his Death there remain'd no Heir of the Crown nearer than *Margaret*, call'd the Maiden of *Norway*.

Prince *Alexander* his Marriage.

After the Death of the Queen and Prince *Alexander*, the King was much afflicted, and liv'd a moſt melancholy Life: But the Nobility (conſidering there was no Heir to the Crown) prevail'd with him to marry again; and an Ambaſſador was ſent for *Joleta*, Daughter to the Earl of *Champaigne* and *Dreux*,

Dreux in *France*, to whom the King was married at *Jedburgh* the 2d day of *March*, and the Solemnity of the Marriage lasted a long time with great Splendor and Mirth: But the Joy of the Kingdom was soon chang'd to Mourning and lamentation, for upon the 18th Day of *April*, 1285, the King fell from an unruly Horse over the West Craig or Rock of *Kinghorn*, and broke his Neck, whereof he died next Day. He reigned 35 Years, and was 46 Years of Age. He was Buried in the Abbey of *Dunfermling*.

King *Alexander* is married to the Earl of *Dreux*'s Daughter.

King *Alexander*'s Death 18th of *April*, 1285.

In this King's Reign lived the famous Prophet called *Thomas Erslington*, but for his Prophetick Rhimes was call'd *Thomas Rymer*. 'Tis said, that he being with the Earl of *March*, said the Day before the King's Death, that next Day should blow the worst Wind that ever blew in *Scotland*. On the Morrow, the Earl seeing it fair calm Weather towards Evening, called for *Thomas*, saying, I think your Propheſy fails; to which he answer'd, the Day is not yet past, and that Instant came an Express to the Earl, telling him the unfortunate Fall and Danger of the King. Whereupon *Thomas* said, Alas, that is the sad Blast which shall begin the greatest Trouble that ever was in *Scotland*. This *Thomas Rymer* left many Propheſies, which have been much notic'd in late Ages and some will affirm the Truth of them at this Day.

Thomas the Rymer, a Scots Prophet or Poet.

He foretells the King's Death.

In the last Year of King *Alexander*'s Reign, a general Council was held at *Lions*, by the Pope and many Bishops from all parts of *Christendom*, wherein they reduc'd the Friars to four distinct Orders, which were approv'd by the Pope and the Council. At the same time there was War between the Turks and Christians in *Jerusalem*, so that the Christians were obliged to make Peace with the *Sultan*, and the Christian Princes return'd home: But the Turks, contrary to the Articles of Peace, invaded several Christian Countries; whereupon the Christian Princes contributed to resist them, and King *Alexander* of *Scotland* gave the Tenth Part of the Rents of all the Lands of his Kingdom, with a Number of valiant Men. Yet after maintaining the War against the Turks so long, they were oblig'd to make Peace, upon such Terms as were little to the Advantage of the Christian Faith.

K. *Alexander* gives a Tenth part of a Years Rent of the Kingdom, to maintain the War against the Turks.

Before the Death of King *Alexander* many strange and ominous Sights were seen in the Kingdom: In the Month of *February*, was seen a wonderful Commet in the Sky, which shin'd with terrible Rays; and such great Storms of Wind and Hail, that several Houses were blown down, and the Churches and Steeples of *Perth* and *Aberdeen* were burnt by Lightning: Likewise several Towns were destroy'd by Inundations of the Rivers *Forth* and *Tay*. And 'tis said, that at the Solemnity of the King's Marriage, while the King, Queen and Nobility were in the Midst of their Mirth, and some Noblemen and Ladies leading up a Dance, there appear'd a visible Skeleton to them, which was seen by all the Court, who were mightily astonish'd thereat; but the King, who was a most pious as well as valiant Prince, advis'd the People to take no Fear, but to refer the Events of all things to GOD, and be the more frequent and fervent in their Devotion.

In his Reign liv'd many learn'd Men in the World; particularly *Thomas de Aquino*, a Man of great Learning in Theologie; also *Bonaventure*, a Friar of the Order of St. *Francis*, who was, for his singular Piety, canoniz'd a Saint. In *Scotland* liv'd one *Michael Scott*, who was in great Esteem, with the Kings of *England* as well as *Scotland*, for his singular Judgment of Humane Bodies, and all Diseases incident to them, with all Sorts of Medicines.

The Death of King *Alexander* was universally lamented by all his Subjects, and the more because he died without any Heirs, nearer than his Grandchild, (by his Daughter, who was married to *Hanigo*, King of *Norway*) who was called *Margaret* the Maiden of *Norway*.

After the King's Funeral Obsequies were celebrated with all imaginable Solemnity, the Nobles of the Kingdom assembled, and acknowledg'd the Maiden of *Norway* to be the neareſt Heir to the Crown; and appointed Six Regents or Governors to Rule the Kingdom: Their Names were *William Fraſer*, Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s; *John Stewart*, Lord High Stewart of *Scotland*; *Duncan Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*; *John Cummin* Earl of *Buchan*; *Robert*

The Maiden of *Norway* declared Heir to the Crown of *Scotland*.

Biſhop of *Glaſgow*; and Sir *John Cummin*. At this Time, *Edward* King of *England*, who had been ſucceſsful in all his Undertakings, ſeeing *Scotland* without a King, begins to form Projects to bring it under his own Dominion, and knowing the Maiden of *Norway* was the only Heir to the Crown, ſent his Ambaſſador, making his Relation to the decas'd King and the ſurviving Heir, a good Pretence to be concern'd in the Government of the Kingdom; and for the more Security of the Crown, he deſir'd to corroborate their former Alliance, by a Marriage between the Maiden of *Norway*, the Heireſs of their Crown, and his Son *Edward*.

The Nobility of *Scotland* conſented to the Marriage, upon Condition, That *Scotland* ſhould remain a free and independent Kingdom, and that the Maiden of *Norway* ſhould be Sovereign Queen of *Scotland*, and the Succeſſion to be ſettled on her Iſſue, as Sovereigns of *Scotland:* That, failing her, and Heirs of her Body, the Crown ſhould return to the neareſt of the Blood Royal of *Scotland*. After King *Edward* and the Nobles of *Scotland* had agreed on theſe Conditions, they appointed two eminent Knights of *Fife*, viz. *David Weems* and *Michael Scott*, as conjunct Ambaſſadors, and ſent them (with all neceſſary Attendance and Proviſion) to *Norway*, to bring over the Princeſs: But, to their great Grief and Diſappointment, ſhe died about the Time of their landing. So that when they return'd with Account of her Death, great Contention aroſe between the Poſterity of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, Brother to King *William*, and Grand-uncle to King *Alexander* III. laſt deceas'd, who were the neareſt Heirs to the Crown. There were many Competitors, ſuch as the Lords *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Annandale*, *John Baliol*, Earl of *Galloway*, *John Haſtings*, Lord of *Abergaveny*, *John Cummin*, Lord of *Badynoch*, *Patrick Dunbar*, Earl of *March*, *John Veſey*, *Nicholas Sowlis*, and *William Roſs:* All of them were deſcended from the three Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*. When all theſe Perſons put in their Claims before the Governors and Council of *Scotland*, none were found to have a juſt Claim of Competition with *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce*, nor could the Nobles decide their Diſpute by any Precedent in the Law, as to the Succeſſion of the Crown.

The Maiden of *Norway* her Death.

John Baliol's Pretenſion was, That the eldeſt Daughter of Prince *David* was marry'd to *Allan* Earl of *Galloway*, and his eldeſt Daughter, nam'd *Dornadilla*, was marry'd to Sir *John Baliol*, Grandfather to this *John*, who ſucceeded in the Right of his Mother, to the Title and Eſtate of *Galloway*, and was the neareſt Heir of Line to the Crown.

Robert Bruce's Pretenſion was, That the ſecond Daughter of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, was marry'd to *Thomas* Earl of *Carrick*, whoſe only Daughter *Iſabella*, was marry'd to *Robert Bruce* Lord of *Annandale*, and bore this *Robert*, who ſucceeded his Grandfather in the Title and Eſtate of *Carrick*, in the Right of his Mother, whereby *Robert* grounded his Competition with *Baliol*, upon his being the ſame Degree of Blood with the Mother of *John Baliol*; and ſo he inſiſted on the Right of the Sex in the like Degree of Propinquity, as Males ought to be preferr'd before Females: So that *Robert Bruce* contended that he had better Right as a Grandſon, than *John Baliol* as a Great-Grandſon. Their Contention laſted long Time before the Governors and Council of *Scotland:* But was not decided till it was propoſed (by Means of ſome ſecret Agents from *Edward)* that the King of *England* ſhould be choſen Arbitrator to decide their Diſpute by his impartial Sentence. This Reſolution of the Council exactly anſwer'd *Edward*'s Plot, and he came ſpeedily to *Berwick*, where the Competitors and Council of *Scotland* repair'd to determine the important Affair of the Succeſſion.

I muſt obſerve here, that it is ſtrange to ſee the Ignorance or Malice of ſeveral *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, eſpecially ſo candid an Author as Sir *Richard Baker*, who ſays, *(Page 96.)* This Title King *Edward* takes upon him, pretending a Right of Superiority from his Anceſtors over that Kingdom; proving it by Authority of old Chronicles, as *Marianus Scotus*, *William* of *Malmsbury*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry* of *Huntington*, *Ralph* of *Diceto*, and others; which, tho' the *Scotiſh* Lords who ſway'd the *Inter-Regnum* oppos'd, yet are they conſtrain'd

conſtrain'd, for avoiding of further Inconveniencies, to make him Arbitrator thereof; and the ten Competitors bound to ſtand to his Award: But two are ſpecially found, between whom the Right lay. In Anſwer to this Allegation of Sir *Richard Baker*, and what ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Authors alledge, we ſay, That no Hiſtorian can produce any Proof, that ever the Crown or Kingdom of *Scotland* was ſubdu'd or conquer'd by any Prince or People of the Kingdom of *England*, at any Time. If they would conſider the Truth, and confine the *Engliſh* Superiority to the three Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, with *Huntingtonſhire*, inſtead of the ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, or any Part thereof: Then all our Hiſtorians will agree and acknowledge, That the Kings of *Scotland* made Acknowledgments to the Kings of *England* (according to the often renew'd Articles of Peace between both Kingdoms) for their Holding of thoſe Counties: But with no more Subjection of the Imperial Crown of the Kingdom of *Scotland* to the Kings of *England*, than the Kings of *England* did to the Kings of *France*, for the Dukedom of *Normandy* and other Lands held by them in *France*; over which the *French* Kings had the ſuperior Power. As for the Authors abovemention'd, it is very probable moſt of them were great Strangers to the Hiſtory of *Scotland*; except *Marianus Scotus*, who was far from acknowledging ſuch Falſhoods. He wrote the Hiſtory of *Scotland* and *England* about the Beginning of the Reign of King *Malcolm* III. of *Scotland*, when *William* the *Norman* conquer'd *England*. Nor could it be ſaid, that the *Britons*, *Romans*, *Saxons* or *Danes*, ever had any Power in *Scotland*, except at the Death of *Eugenius* I. the 39th King of *Scotland*, that *Maximus* the *Roman* General, being aſſiſted by the Treachery of the *Picts*, drove the *Scots* into the Iſles and remote Parts of the Country: But at the Return of *Fergus* II. the *Romans* were beat out of *Scotland*, and never enter'd *Scotland* after that: For in the Reign of *Eugenius* II. the Son of *Fergus* II. the *Saxons* came into *England*. Nor can it be ſaid, that ever any of the *Saxon* Princes of *England* had any Part of *Scotland* in Poſſeſſion; far leſs the whole Kingdom. As for the *Danes*, the bad Succeſs they had in *Scotland* gave them no Opportunity to pretend Superiority. Then 'tis plain, that thoſe Authors quoted by Sir *Richard Baker* and others, are groſly miſtaken in their Accounts: and even in Sir *Richard*'s Account, of this Affair of the Competition, he is miſinform'd, when he ſays, That the ten Competitors came before *Edward*: For the Council of *Scotland* found the other Eight had no Pretence to contend with *Bruce* and *Baliol*; and the moſt Part of the Kingdom were for deciding in *Robert Bruce*'s Favour: But *Baliol* had all the *Cummins* in his Party, as they had Hopes to ſucceed, in Caſe he died without Iſſue. Therefore, for Fear the Deciſion of the Council ſhould breed Diſturbance in the Kingdom, they made Choice of King *Edward*, as the neareſt Relation of the Royal Family, and a neighbouring Prince, to be Arbitrator, to give his impartial Sentence, not ſuſpecting his deceitful Deſigns.

When *Edward* came to *Berwick*, and heard the Pretenſions of the two Competitors, he told the Counſellors of *Scotland*, That ſuch a weighty Matter requir'd deliberate Time to conſider of it; as alſo, the Advice of Learn'd Lawyers, to help his Judgment. He return'd to *London*, and ſent to *France* for ſome Learn'd Men, well acquainted with the Laws of *Scotland*, as well as their own Nation. But *Edward*'s Deſign was to have their Aſſiſtance in his Plot, more than their Advice in the Deciſion of the Contention: For he ſo wrought upon thoſe *French* Lawyers to his Purpoſe, that he order'd them to judge in Favour of whom he could prevail upon to comply with his Deſigns: And accordingly, when he return'd to *Berwick*, and was met by the *Scots* Council and the two Competitors, he ſounded their Diſpoſitions, and found that the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, except the *Baliols* and *Cummins*, were for *Robert Bruce*. When *Edward* found *Bruce* a Man of more Princely Endowments than *Baliol*, he was reſolv'd to try how his Inclinations would anſwer his Deſign, to ſubject the Crown of *Scotland* to him, as King of *England*; and if he deny'd to comply with his Deſire, he would give his Sen-

tence for *Baliol:* But when *Edward* took *Robert Bruce* aſide, and came to Propoſals about holding the Crown of him, *Robert* anſwer'd, *That he was not ſo deſirous of Profit, nor ſo ambitious of Honour, as thereby to infringe the Liberty, and alter the ancient Conſtitution of his native Country.* King *Edward* finding *Bruce* to be a Perſon of too much Honeſty and ſtrict Honour, to comply with his unjuſt Deſigns, he apply'd to *Baliol*'s Party, and carry'd on his fraudulent Deſigns with them, ſo that he prevail'd with *Baliol* to become ſubject to his Authority; who, by a ſecret Contract, oblig'd himſelf to do Homage to *Edward*, for that hereditary, free, and independant Imperial Crown, to which neither *Edward*, nor any other foreign Prince, had any Pretenſion, but by the ſecret Deceit he had practis'd with the worthleſs *Baliol.* 'Tis ſaid, that the Earl of *Gloceſter* (a Man of ſingular Prudence and Piety) hearing that *Baliol* was made King, and *Robert Bruce*'s better Pretenſions rejected, ſaid to King *Edward*, *Remember, O King* Edward, *what you have done, in giving unjuſt Sentence in ſo great a Matter; tho' you keep your Plot ſecret, yet conſider, that the KING of Kings ſees all the Secrets of your Heart, and will judge you of the Wrongs you do on Earth.* After this *John Baliol* was declar'd, by the Sentence of *Edward*, to be Succeſſor to the Crown, and went in great Triumph to *Scoon*, where he was crown'd.

JOHN BALIOL. *The 96 King of* Scotland.

JOHN BALIOL was declar'd King of *Scotland*, in the Year of CHRIST 1293, being 6 Years and 9 Months after the Death of *Alexander*. The reſt of the *Scots*, being ſtudious of the publick Tranquility, led him to *Scoon*, and there crown'd him, acccording to the Cuſtom, and all ſwore Fealty to him, except *Bruce*. He, being thus made King by the *Engliſh*, and accepted by the *Scots*, being now ſecure of the Kingdom, came to *Edward*, who was at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, and, according to his Promiſe, ſwore Fealty to him; ſo did the Nobles alſo, who were of his Train, as not daring to contradict Two Kings; eſpecially, they being ſo far from home: Aſſoon as the reſt of the Nobility heard of it, they were grievouſly offended; but, being conſcious of their Want of Power, they diſſembled their Anger, for the preſent.

Baliol ſwears Fealty to *Edward.*

At which many of the *Scots* Nobles are offended.

But ſoon after, an Occaſion was offer'd to them to ſhew it; for *Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*, (who, in the Time of the *Inter-regnum*, was one of the ſix Governors of the Land) was ſlain by the *Abernethies*, which were then a rich and potent Family in *Scotland*; and the Earl's Brother being accus'd by them, and brought to his Anſwer before the Aſſembly of the States, the King gave Sentence in Favour of the *Abernethies*; ſo that *Macduff* was diſpoſſeſs'd of the Land, which was in Controverſie betwixt them: Whereupon he conceiv'd a double Diſpleaſure againſt the King; One, on Account of his own Wrong, and Another, becauſe he had not ſeverely puniſh'd the Murderers of his Brother. So that he appeal'd to the King of *England*, and deſir'd, that *Baliol* might anſwer the Matter before him. Hereupon the Cauſe was remov'd to *London*; and as *Baliol* was caſually ſitting by *Edward*, in the Parliament Houſe, and when he was call'd, would have anſwer'd by a Proctor, it was denied him; ſo that he was enforc'd to ariſe from his Seat, and to plead his Cauſe from a lower Place. He bore the Affront ſilently for the preſent, not daring to do otherwiſe; but ſo ſoon as ever he was diſpatch'd from thence, ſuch Flames of Anger burnt in his Breaſt, that his Thoughts were wholly taken up, how to be reconcil'd to his own Subjects, and how to offend *Edward*. As he was thus muſing, it happen'd commodiouſly for him, That a new Diſcord aroſe betwixt the *French* and *Engliſh*, which, preſently after, broke out into a War. Whereupon Ambaſſadors were ſent to the Aſſembly of Eſtates in *Scotland*, from both Kings. The *French*'s Errand was, to renew the old League with their new King: And the *Engliſh*'s was, upon the Ac-

Young *Macduff* complains to K. *Edward* againſt *Baliol.*

Baliol's diſguſt at *Edward.*

count

count of their late Oath to *Edward*, to receive Aid from them in the War he had undertaken: Both Embaſſies were referr'd to the Council of the Eſtates, where the Nobles, prone to maintain the Freedom of the Nation, were of Opinion, That the Requeſt of the *French* was juſt; of the *Engliſh*, unjuſt: For the League made by univerſal Conſent with the *French*, more than 500 Years before, had been kept ſacred and inviolable to that very Day, in regard of the Juſtneſs and Advantage thereof; but this late Subjection and ſurrendring themſelves to the *Engliſh*, was extorted from the King againſt his Will; and tho' (as they proceeded to allege) he had been willing, yet, it did oblige neither King nor People, it being made by the King alone, without the Conſent of the Eſtates; whereas the *King might not act any Thing, relating to the publick State of the Kingdom, without (much leſs againſt) the Advice of the States.* So a Decree was made, That Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent into *France* to renew the ancient League; and that a Wife ſhould be deſir'd for *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John*, out of the King's Royal Family. Another Embaſſy was alſo ſent into *England*, to ſignify, That the King of *Scotland* did revoke the Subjection of the Kingdom and himſelf, which he had unwillingly and unjuſtly made; and renouncing his Friendſhip, both for that Cauſe, and alſo for many and innumerable other Wrongs, which he had done to him and his, he was reſolv'd to aſſert his ancient Liberty. No Man of any Eminence would carry this Meſſage to *Edward*, becauſe he was of a fierce Nature, and was render'd more ſo, by Reaſon of the Indulgence of Fortune, which made him even almoſt to forget himſelf: At laſt, a certain Monk, or, as ſome ſay, the Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, carry'd Letters, of that Import, to him, who was grievouſly affronted for his Pains, and had much ado to eſcape home, being protected more by his undervalu'd Tenuity, than the Reverence of his Embaſſadorſhip.

In the mean Time, *Edward*, had made a Truce with the *French* for ſome Months, hoping, That, before they were ended, he might ſubdue the *Scots*, taking them unprovided; and therefore, he ſent his Fleet, deſign'd for *France*, againſt *Scotland*, commanding them to ſtop all Proviſions from being carried into *Berwick*, wherein, he heard, there was a very ſtrong Garriſon. The *Scots* fought with this Fleet in the Mouth of the River; they deſtroy'd and took 18 of their Ships, and put the reſt to Flight. *Edward*, by this Loſs, was highly enrag'd to revenge; and Summon'd *Baliol*, once and again, to appear; and he himſelf levies a great Army, and comes to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*. There alſo he gave forth an Edict for *John* to appear, legally to purge himſelf from the Crimes objected againſt him. But neither he, nor any for him, appearing at the Day appointed, he added Policy to Force, and ſent for *Bruce*, and promiſes him the Kingdom, if he would do his Endeavour faithfully to depoſe and drive out *Baliol*. To do which (ſaid he) you need be at little Labour or Coſt, only write Letters to your Friends, that, either they would deſert the King's Party; or, not be hearty or forward, if it come to a Battle. He, by great Marches, came to *Berwick*, but not being able to carry it, by reaſon of the Strength of the Garriſon, he pretended to raiſe his Siege, and caus'd a Rumour to be ſpread abroad by ſome *Scots*, of *Bruce*'s Party, that he deſpair'd of taking it; and that *Baliol* was coming, with a great Army, to raiſe the Siege, and was now near at Hand; whereupon, all the chief Men of the Garriſon made haſte out to receive him Honourably, in promiſcuous Multitudes, Horſe and Foot together; ſo that *Edward* ſent in ſome Horſe amongſt them, carrying *Scots* Colours, or Enſigns, and, ſeizing on the neareſt Gate, they enter'd the Town. *Edward* follow'd with his Foot, and made a miſerable Slaughter of all ſorts of People. Above 7000 of the *Scots* are reported to have been there ſlain, amongſt them were the Flower of the *Lothian* and *Fife* Nobility.

The *Engliſh* Fleet beat by the *Scots*.

Edward's deceitful Promiſe to *Bruce*.

Edward, takes *Berwick* by Stratagem.

Edward, by reaſon of the abounding Multitude of his Army, ſent Part of it to beſiege *Dunbar*; and a few Days after, the Caſtle of *Berwick*, deſpairing of any Relief, was ſurrender'd to him. Afterwards, he join'd all his Forces together at *Dunbar*, to fight the *Scots* Army, who came to relieve it: The

Battle was fierce; and the Victory inclining to the *Engliſh*, the chief of the Nobility fled into the Caſtle, but the Caſtle was ſoon taken, either by the Negligence of *Richard Stewart*, the Governor, or elſe, becauſe he had not Proviſions for ſo great a Multitude, as were ſhut up in ſo narrow a Compaſs: *Edward* was very cruel to all the Priſoners. Some caſt the Blame of this Overthrow upon *Robert Bruce* the Elder, in that his Friends giving back in the Battle, it ſtruck a Terror into the reſt. But our Writers do conſtantly affirm, That when *Bruce* demanded of *Edward* the Kingdom of *Scotland*, according to his Promiſe, (as a Reward of his Pains that Day) That *Edward* ſhould anſwer in *French*, of which Language he was Maſter, *What, have I nothing elſe to do, but to win Kingdoms for you?* When *Dunbar*, and ſome other Caſtles, near the Borders of *England*, were taken, the Surrender of *Edinburgh* and *Sterling* follow'd ſoon after. Then *Edward* paſſing over the *Forth*, directed his March where *Baliol* then was; and when he was come ſo far as *Montroſs*, without any to oppoſe him, *Baliol*, by the Perſwaſion of *John Cummin* of *Strathbogy*, came to him, and ſurrender'd to him, himſelf and the Kingdom. Mean Time, *Baliol* was ſent Priſoner into *England*, by Sea, and *Edward*, returning to *Berwick*, ſent a ſtrict and ſevere Summons to all the *Scots* Nobles, to attend him there; after ſome of them came, he compell'd them to ſwear Fealty to him. But *William Douglaſs*, an eminent Man, both on the Account of his Family, and alſo his own famous Exploits, obſtinately refuſing to do it, was caſt into Priſon, where, in a few Years, he died.

Baliol yields to *Edward*, and is ſent Priſoner to *England*.

Earl *Douglaſs* refuſes Obedience to *Edward*. Is made Priſoner.

Thus *Edward*, having ſucceeded in his Expedition according to his Mind, left *John Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*, as Proxy behind him; and *Hugh Creſſingham*, Lord Chief Juſtice, or Treaſurer, and ſo return'd to *London*. There he committed *John Baliol* to Priſon, in the Fourth Year of his Reign; but, a while after, at the Entreaty of the *Pope*, and his Promiſe, that he would raiſe no Tumults in *Scotland*, he was ſent over into *France*, where his Son *Edward* was retain'd as an Hoſtage. *Edward*, having prepar'd all Things for the *French* War, (which, by reaſon of the Commotions in *Scotland*, he had deferr'd) now ſails thither, with great Forces: The *Scots*, by reaſon of his Abſence, being erected to ſome Hopes of their Liberty, choſe 12 Men to govern the State; by whoſe unanimous Conſent, *John Cummin*, Earl of *Buchan*, was ſent into *England*, with a good Force; and in regard the *Engliſh*, who were ſcatter'd in Garriſons over *Scotland*, dar'd not to ſtir, he ſpoil'd *Northumberland* without Controul, and laid Siege to *Carliſle*, but to no Purpoſe: Though this Expedition did ſomewhat encourage the (before diſcourag'd) *Scots*, and hinder'd the *Engliſh* from doing them further Miſchief, yet it contributed little or nothing to the main Chance, in regard, that all the Places of Strength were poſſeſs'd by the Enemies Garriſons; but when the Nobility had neither Strength nor Courage to undertake great Matters, there preſently appear'd one *William Wallace*, a Man of an ancient and noble Family, but having little or no Eſtate; yet, this Man perform'd in this War, not only beyond the Expectation, but even the Belief of all the common People; for he was bold-ſpirited, and ſtrong-bodied, and, when he was but a Youth, had ſlain a young *Engliſh* Nobleman, who proudly domineer'd over him. For this Fact, he was fain to run away, and to skulk up and down in ſeveral Places, for ſome Years, to ſave his Life, and, by this Courſe of Life his Body was harden'd againſt Wind and Weather, and his Mind alſo fortify'd to undergo greater Hazards, when Opportunity ſhould offer. At length, growing weary of ſuch a ſlaviſh Life, he reſolv'd to attempt ſomething, tho' never ſo hazardous; and therefore gather'd a Band of Men together, of like Fortune with himſelf, and did not only aſſault ſingle Perſons, but even greater Companies, tho' with an inferior Number, and accordingly he ſlew ſeveral Perſons in divers Places. He play'd his Part with as much Conduct as Courage, and never gave his Enemy Opportunity to fight him, ſo that in a ſhort Time, his Fame was ſpread over both Nations, by which Means, many came in to him, mov'd by the Juſtice of their Cauſe, or, with the like Love of their Country; thus he made up a conſiderable Army: And ſeeing the Nobles were careleſs

Baliol is releas'd by Mediation of the *Pope*, and ſent over to *France*.

A Duodecemvirat in *Scotland*.

John Cummin marches into *England*.

The Story of *Wallace*, and his famous Exploits againſt the *Engliſh*.

careleſs in the Management of Affairs, either out of Fear or Dulneſs, this *Wallace* was proclaim'd *Regent*, by the Voice of the Multitude that follow'd him, and ſo he manag'd Things as a Lawful Magiſtrate, and the Subſtitute of *Baliol*. He accepted of this Name, not out of any Ambition, or Deſire to rule, but becauſe it was caſt upon him by the Love and Good-will of his Countrymen. With this Army, the firſt viſible Exploit he perform'd was at *Lanerick*, where he ſlew the Major General of that Precinct, being an *Engliſhman*, of good Deſcent. Afterwards he took and demoliſh'd many Caſtles, which were either ſlenderly fortified, or meanly garriſon'd; or elſe, guarded negligently; which little Attempts ſo encourag'd his Soldiers, that they ſhunn'd no Service, no not the moſt hazardous, under his Conduct; as having experienc'd, That his Boldneſs was guided by Counſel, and that Counſel ſeconded by good Succeſs.

He is made Regent.

The chief Town of *Clydſdale*.

When the Report of theſe Things was ſpread abroad, and perhaps, ſomewhat enlarg'd, as there was Occaſion for the People to ſhew Reſpect and Favour to him; ſo that all that wiſh'd well to their Country, or were afraid of their own particular Conditions, flock'd in to him, as judging it fit to take that Opportunity; ſo that, in a ſhort Time, he reduc'd all the Caſtles, which the *Engliſh* held on the other Side of the *Forth*, tho' never ſo well fortify'd, and, for fear of him, carefully guarded. He took and demoliſh'd the Caſtles of *Dundee*, *Forfair*, *Brechin*, and *Montroſs*; he ſeiz'd on *Dunoter*, unawares, and garriſon'd it: He enter'd *Aberdeen*, (which the Enemy, for fear of his coming, had plunder'd and burnt) even whilſt it was in Flames; but a Rumour being ſpread Abroad, concerning the coming of the *Engliſh* Army, prevented his taking the Caſtle; for he determin'd to meet them at the *Forth*, not being willing to hazard a Battle, but in a Place he himſelf ſhould chooſe. *Edward* of *England*, when he went into *France*, (as before menti-on'd) put *Engliſh* Garriſons into all the ſtrong Holds of *Scotland*, and beſides, having many of the *Scots* faithful to him, and unfaithful to their Country, he baniſh'd and ſent the *Scots* Nobility, whom he moſt ſuſpected, into the midſt of *England*, 'till his Return. Among whom was *John Cummin*, Lord of *Badyenoch*; and *Alan Lougan*, a Man fit both for Advice and Action; and having ſettled Matters, after this ſort, he was ſo far from fearing any Inſurrection in *Scotland*, that he carried all his Army over along with him. But, hearing of the many Exploits of *Wallace*, he thought there was Need of a greater Force to ſuppreſs him (as being only againſt a Robber, for ſo the *Engliſh* call'd *Wallace)*; and therefore he writes to *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *William Latimer*, That they ſhould ſpeedily levy what Forces they could out of the Neighbouring Parts, and join themſelves with *Creſſingham*, who as yet remain'd in *Scotland*, to ſubdue the rebellious *Scots*. *Thomas Walſingham* writes, that the Earl of *Warren* was General in this Expedition. But *Wallace*, who was then beſieging the Caſtle of *Cowper* in *Fife*, leſt his Army ſhould be idle, which he had encreas'd againſt the coming of the *Engliſh*, they being near at Hand, march'd directly to *Sterling*. The River *Forth*, no where, almoſt, fordable, may be there paſs'd over by a Bridge of Wood, though it be encreas'd by the Addition of other Rivers, and by the coming in of the Tide, too. There *Creſſingham* paſs'd over with the greateſt Part of his Army, but the Bridge, either having its Beams looſen'd and disjointed, on purpoſe, by the Skill of the Architect, (as our Writers ſay, it was) that ſo it might not be able to bear any great Weight; or elſe, being overladen with the heavy Burden of ſo many Horſe, Foot, and Carriages, as paſs'd over, was broken, and ſo the March of the reſt of the *Engliſh* was interrupted. Whereupon the *Scots* ſet upon thoſe who were paſs'd over, before they could put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence; and, having ſlain their General, drove the reſt back into the River; the Slaughter was ſo great that they were all either kill'd or drown'd: *Wallace* return'd from this Fight to the beſieging of Caſtles; and, in a ſhort Time, he ſo chang'd the Scene of Affairs, that he left none of the *Engliſh* in *Scotland*, but ſuch as were made Priſoners. This Victory (wherein none of any Eminency, among the *Scots*

And takes many Places from the *Engliſh*.

Of *Logan*.

Wallace overthrows *Creſſingham*, the *Engliſh* General, at *Sterling* Bridge.

fell, ſave *Andrew Murray*, whoſe Son, ſome Years, was Regent of *Scotland)* was obtain'd the 15th of *September*, in the Year of CHRIST 1297. Some ſay, that *Wallace* was call'd off to this Fight, not from the Siege of *Cowper*, but of *Dundee*, whither he alſo return'd after the Fight.

William Wallace had ſeveral Meſſages from all Parts of the Kingdom, offering him Support of Men and Money to defend the Kingdom from the *Engliſh*: Upon which he fortify'd the Nation, and went to *Sterling* with a Company of his Friends, to conſult the Safety of the Nation and People; and ſeeing a great Famine over the Country, by Want of Proviſion, which was occaſion'd by the laſt Year's War, he went with a ſtrong Party into *England*, over all the North Parts thereof, and return'd with great Store of Proviſion, which he caus'd divide among the *Scots*, according to their Need.

Wallace goes into *England* with a ſtrong Party.

About this Time, King *Edward* had violated his Faith with *France*, and went againſt King *Philip* with an Army; at which Time, *William Wallace* enter'd *England*, and carried off ſeveral Booties. When King *Edward* heard thereof, he ſent an Herald to upbraid *Wallace* with the Rebellion of the *Scots*, againſt his Authority; and that *Wallace* durſt not uſe ſuch Inſolence, were he in his Kingdom: To which *Wallace* anſwer'd, That *Edward* had no Pretence of Authority over *Scotland*; That what he pretended as a Right, was no more than what he obtain'd by fraudulent Deceit, when the Kingdom of *Scotland* made Choice of him, as a Neighbour and Relation, to give his Impartial Sentence, to bring the Matter in Conteſt to an amicable Agreement; inſtead of what they expected, he had violated his Faith, and had taken that Opportunity to uſurp an unjuſt Authority and Power over the Imperial Crown of *Scotland*; to which neither he, nor any Foreign Prince or Potentate, had any Right or Title: That ſince he had dealt ſo treacherouſly and deceitfully with the Competitors, he, with the whole Kingdom, were reſolv'd to aſſert their Privileges and Liberty, and revenge themſelves of the Injuries and Oppreſſions of *Edward* and his People: And *Wallace* charg'd the Herald to tell King *Edward*, That he was reſolv'd to keep his *Eaſter* in *England*, in Spite of the King, and all his Forces; and that he had taken no ſuch Advantage of *Edward*'s Abſence, as He had taken of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, when he found them without a King, and ſo acting by Fraud, what neither he, nor any of his Predeceſſors, could attempt by Force. *Wallace* further charg'd the Herald to tell *Edward*, not to imagine, that *Scotland* had acknowledg'd his Superiority; for (notwithſtanding all the Oaths which he had extorted from ſome Perſons, by his Policy and Power) there were ſome Thouſands of the People of *Scotland*, who never had, nor would ſwear to him, nor acknowledge any King ſuperior to the Lawful King or Heir of the Crown of *Scotland*; and that they, with himſelf, were reſolv'd to venture their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of the Liberty and Privileges of their native Country, and would die ſooner than ſubmit to him, or any Prince, except the Lawful King of *Scotland*.

King *Edward* ſends a threatning Meſſage to *Wallace*.

Wallace's Anſwer.

The Herald returning with this Anſwer to King *Edward*, he came over to *England*, and rais'd an Army to enter *Scotland*, and ſent a menacing Challenge to *Wallace*, to meet him at a Place and Time appointed: Which *Wallace*, with general Conſent of the Nobility and People of *Scotland*, accepted of; and with all their Strength went to meet King *Edward*, whoſe Army was twice the Number of the *Scots*. When both Armies came to the Place appointed, they array'd for Battle; and the *Engliſh* Army contriv'd to enſnare the *Scots*, by a Wile which they had concerted; for when they were ready to join in Battle, the *Engliſh* pretended to fly, for Fear of the *Scots*, and left all their Tents and Baggage ſtanding in their Camp, to decoy the *Scots* to fall upon it in ſuch Diſorder, that they might be ſlain or taken Priſoners, without much Loſs of Men: But this Bait did not take; for *Wallace*, who had diſcover'd the Policy of the *Engliſh*, rode before the *Scots* Army, and beſought them not to run on wilfully to their Perdition; for the Flight of the *Engliſh* proceeded not from any Fear, but Fraud: Therefore deſir'd they might not go near the *Engliſh* Camp, but advance in good Order, to be in Readineſs

Readineſs to receive the Enemy when they return'd upon them. And when the *Scots* by their Scouts found the *Engliſh* Army were at a great Diſtance, they took Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Camp, and return'd to *Scotland* with great Booty, to the great Honour and Applauſe of *Wallace*; by whoſe good Conduct they were ſav'd from the Stratagem of the *Engliſh*.

King *Edward*'s Hopes being fruſtrated, he ſent ſecret Agents into *Scotland*, to ſow Diviſion and Sedition among the chief Perſons in Command; eſpecially between the *Cummins* and *Wallace*; as alſo giving new Promiſes to *Robert*, the Son of the before-mention'd *Robert Bruce*, that if he would come to his Army, he ſhould have not only Command, but Aſſiſtance againſt *Wallace*, who uſurp'd the Right which belong'd to Him. *Robert* was too eaſily prevail'd with to believe *Edward*'s Sincerity, and went into the *Engliſh* Army, which march'd back againſt *Scotland*. By the Time that *Wallace* had Notice thereof, *John Cummin* had been poiſon'd (by the *Engliſh* Agents) with Antipathy and Envy of *Wallace*'s great Power and Applauſe: However they rais'd an Army to meet the *Engliſh*, and divided themſelves into three Parts or Bodies, under the three Generals, *Wallace*, *John Stewart*, and *John Cummin*, and met the *Engliſh* Army at *Falkirk*. When both Armies were ready to join in Battle, there fell out great Debates between the three Generals, who ſhould command the Van-guard or main Body of the Army. *John Cummin* objected againſt *William Wallace*, that he was but of inferior Deſcent: And when the Diſpute was agreed by the moſt Part of the Nobles in the Army, that *William Wallace* had been appointed General of all the Army, they drew up their Army and join'd Battle with the *Engliſh* Army, which was twice the Number of the *Scots*: For King *Edward* had rais'd all the Strength of *England*, beſides many *Welſh* and *Iriſh*. Alſo *Cummin* had given *Edward* Aſſurance of an Opportunity to defeat *Wallace* and obtain Victory. When the *Engliſh* advanc'd, *Wallace* and *Stewart* encounter'd them with great Valour: But *Cummin*, with all the Forces under his Command, fled out of the Field, whereby the Bodies of Troops commanded by *Wallace* and *Stewart* were ſurrounded by the *Engliſh* Army; yet fought with incredible Courage and Reſolution. *Wallace* finding himſelf environ'd with Enemies, fought with great Fury, and exhorted his Men; which enrag'd an *Engliſh* General, ſo that he rode up with great Wrath againſt *Wallace*, and thought to have ſlain him: But *Wallace* (whoſe Strength and Reſolution was ſuperior to many) ſoon overcame the Earl and ſlew him: But ſeeing his Party near ſlain, he fought a Paſſage for the few that eſcap'd to fly with him. The *Engliſh* ſeeing this General ſlain, did not follow the Chace of the *Scots*, but divided the Spoil of the Field among themſelves, till it was dark Night.

Robert Bruce, decoy'd by *Edward* to join his Army.

The *Scots* meet the *Engliſh* Army at *Falkirk*.

Diviſions among the *Scots* Generals

Cummin's Deceit.

The *Scots* defeated.

In this Battle fell *John Stewart* with moſt of his Party, *Macduff* Earl of *Fife*, with Sir *John Graham*, a faithful Friend and Companion of Sir *William Wallace*, and many other Noblemen and Commons: Nor did the *Engliſh* obtain Victory without great Slaughter, for there were ſlain many Noblemen and Soldiers, nor could they aſcribe the Victory to any Means ſo much as the *Cummins* Treachery.

'Tis ſaid, that the Night this Battle was fought, *Wallace* and *Robert Bruce* met at a Place of the River *Carron*, where they had an Opportunity to ſpeak; and *Robert Bruce* told *Wallace*, "That he was ſurpriz'd to think "what he deſign'd by fighting againſt King *Edward*, who was ſo powerful; "and that altho' he overcame the *Engliſh*, the Crown did not belong to him, *Wallace* anſwer'd, "Such baſe Villany never enter'd my Mind, as to deſire "that by Force or Fraud, which appertaineth not to me, nor any other, but "the lawful Heir by Blood: Therefore, I know no Man can defraud the "lawful Heir, by accepting of the Hereditary Crown of *Scotland*, from the "Factious Subjects, or by Force of Arms, but as an unjuſt Uſurper; "which Name, as it is hateful to all honeſt Men, I hate and diſdain it! "As for me, I never ſo much as imagin'd or thought of ſuch ambitious Trea-"chery, as to obtain or deſire the Crown: But when I ſaw the Country (by "your ſlothful Negligence, to whom the Crown doth belong by Right) de-

A Conference between *Robert Bruce* and *Wallace*.

" ſtitute of Governors, and expos'd to Slavery and the Butchery of a merci-
" leſs Enemy, I had Pity on my fellow Subjects, and undertook the Cauſe
" which you deſerted: Neither will I forſake the Liberty and Safety of my
" Country, while my Life remains. You, who rather chuſe baſe Servitude
" with Security, than honeſt Liberty with Hazard! go! follow and hugg
" the Fortune which you eſteem. As for me! I will ſpend the laſt Drop of
" my Blood in Defence of my native Country: And my Love to it ſhall re-
" main while I have Life." *Robert Bruce* hearing this Speech, took it very much to Heart, and made a Vow, never to join the *Engliſh* againſt *Scotland*, but would join in the Relief of it with *Wallace*, and all who would aſſiſt him.

This Battle was fought the 2d of *July*, 1298. After which Loſs (by the Deceit of *Cummin*) *Wallace* underſtood the Envy of the *Cummins*, and went to *Perth*, where he conveen'd all thoſe who had follow'd him as their General, and after a plauſible Speech, he laid down his Authority; and from that Day forward acted no more as General, yet never ceas'd (with a Party of his Friends and Followers, who ſtill ſtuck to him) to take all Opportunities to deſtroy the *Engliſh*; and in ſeveral Skirmiſhes ſlew great Numbers from Time to Time.

Soon after the Victory obtain'd by *Edward* at *Falkirk*, the Ambaſſador of *Philip*, King of *France*, came into *England* to ſolicit *Edward* for Peace to the *Scots*: To which, with great Reluctancy, he conſented; but under ſuch Conditions, that the *Scots* could not agree to.

As alſo the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland* were ſent to Pope *Boniface* VIII. to complain of the Cruelty and Injuſtice of King *Edward*; and the Pope ſent a Legate into *England*, entreating to forbear invading the *Scots* with War: But *Edward* would not grant Peace, but upon ſuch unreaſonable Terms, as the *Scots* could not in Honour agree to. Whereupon the Pope declar'd his Diſpleaſure againſt *Edward*, and advis'd the *Scots* to defend themſelves, and pray'd GOD to give them Succeſs, according to the Juſtice of their Cauſe.

About this Time *Edward* ſent an Army into *Scotland* of 30000 Men, commanded by the Earls of *Hartford*, *Norfolk*, and *Lincoln*; againſt which Army, the *Scots* ſent an Army of ten thouſand Men, commanded by *John Cummin* and *Simon Fraſer*, as conjunct Governors and Generals of the Army. The *Engliſh* Army had gone over a great Part of *Scotland*, and were returning into *England* with great Spoil, when the *Scots* Army encounter'd them near *Roſlin*. The *Engliſh* were divided into three Bodies or Battalions; and the firſt were engag'd and routed by the *Scots*, when the ſecond came freſh upon them; but ſtill the *Scots* encounter'd them with ſuch reſolute Courage, that they put the ſecond alſo to Flight; which when the third Body ſaw, they were ſo much diſcourag'd, and had ſo great Hopes of carrying off the Spoil, that when the *Scots* (who were grievouſly wounded and diſabled) came upon them, inſtead of taking the Advantage they had, gave Way upon the firſt Attack, and were put to Flight, when the Enemies had not Strength to purſue them. This Victory was obtain'd by the *Scots*, on St. *Matthew*'s Day, *A. D.* 1302.

The *Engliſh* are routed in three Battles.

Edward being grievouſly offended at this Loſs, rais'd all the Strength of *England*, and enter'd *Scotland* with great Slaughter of the People, when the Army were wounded and feeble by the late Engagement, in which they behav'd with ſuch ſingular Manhood, that leſs than Ten thouſand *Scots* beat Thirty Thouſand *Engliſh*: But now they were not able to reſiſt the Force of the ſtrong Army, with which King *Edward* came in Perſon, and took many ſtrong Caſtles in the Kingdom, and put Garriſons in them of his own Men. Many of the Nobility were taken, and compell'd to ſubmit to *Edward*'s Authority: But *William Wallace*, with many Noblemen and their Friends, kept in a Body, and ſhelter'd themſelves in Woods and inacceſſable Places: And in many Places came upon the *Engliſh*, both in Garriſons and in Fields, and ſlew many of them: Nor did *Wallace* ceaſe to diſturb King *Edward*'s

Friends

Friends, in all Placos where he could have any Opportunity. *Edward* ſent to *Wallace*, making great Offers to induce him to ſubmit; but *Wallace* anſwer'd, "That he never would be ſubject to any Prince but the Lawful King of *Scot-*
"*land:* That he had devoted his Life to his Country, to which it was due;
"and that he was ready to looſe it in the Defence of the Liberty of *Scotland*,
"and its ancient Conſtitution." *Wallace* ſaid, he remember'd the Advice of a wiſe and good Countryman to his Son, which he expreſs'd in theſe Words:

Edward courts *Wallace* to come over to his Party.

Wallace's Anſwer.

Dico tibi verum, Libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam ſervili ſub nexu vivito fili.

In *Engliſh.*

"My Son (I ſay) Freedom is beſt;
"Then never yield to Thral's Arreſt.

About this Time *Wallace* went over into *France*, where he was favourably receiv'd by King *Philip*, and gain'd great Fame, both in Court and Country. He commanded an Army of *French*, with his own Followers, and obtain'd Victory over the *Engliſh* in that Nation: And it is mention'd, that he took ſeveral Parts of the Country from King *Edward*, and ſubdu'd them to the King of *France*; and return'd to *Scotland*, to venture againſt the *Engliſh*, who ſtill oppreſs'd *Scotland* with great Cruelty: For *Edward* finding *Wallace* and other Noblemen reſolute in refuſing Submiſſion to him, he went over moſt Part of the Nation, deſtroying Caſtles and Churches, with many ancient Monuments of Antiquity. He ſent the Marble Chair from *Scoon* to *Weſtminſter*, where it ſtill remains. He alſo moſt maliciouſly defac'd ſeveral valuable Teſtimonies of the *Scots* Valour and Victories, they had obtain'd over foreign Invaders. He made great Search for the ancient Crown and Regalia of the Kingdom; but they were preſerv'd with great Secreſy in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. All the Books and ancient Chronicles of the Kingdom which he could get, he caus'd burn and deſtroy: Expecting to have brought the Nation to Subjection, and Forgetfulneſs of their former ancient Laws and Liberties. King *Edward* call'd a Convention of his Nobles, with all the *Scots* who had ſubmitted to him, at St. *Andrew*'s, where he made Gifts of all the Lands and Eſtates of ſuch as had not declar'd for him, to *Engliſh* Noblemen and Officers of his Army; and made many new Laws in this Convention, by which he deſign'd to rule the Kingdom of *Scotland* in Time coming: He left one *Aylmer Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, Governor of *Scotland*, and return'd to *England*.

When *Robert Bruce* ſaw the Kingdom thus oppreſs'd and diſpos'd of by *Edward*, he remember'd the Speech of *Wallace*, and ſent Notice to him, that he was reſolv'd to venture with him, for the Relief of the Kingdom. At that Time *John Cummin* had the moſt conſiderable Eſtate and Power in *Scotland*, (being the next Competitor to *Bruce* and *Baliol*) and was in great Favour with *Edward*, who had ſome Time before told him, If he would continue obedient to him and the Crown of *England*, he ſhould be made Vice-Roy, or Depute-King of *Scotland*: But that Promiſe was ſecretly given, which made *Robert Bruce* ignorant of *Cummin*'s Correſpondence with *Edward*; and at his coming down to *Scotland*, he appointed a private Meeting with *Cummin*: Where being met, *Robert* told *Cummin* all his Deſigns, and made a Contract with him, wherein *Bruce* was to give *Cummin* a Right to all his Lands in *Scotland* and *England*, for his Aſſiſtance to get the Crown. After interchanging their Contracts, *Robert* return'd into *England*, not ſuſpecting any Thing of *Cummin*'s Treachery, and ſent Notice to *William Wallace* to meet him at a Place near *Glaſgow*, on a Day appointed. But ſo ſoon as *Robert* had made this Contract, *Cummin* ſent the Copy thereof to King *Edward*; at the ſame Time adviſing him to ſecure *Robert*. When *Edward* ſaw it, he ſent for *Robert* and accus'd him of Treaſon; but *Robert* defended himſelf with ſuch Circumſtances, as made *Edward* doubt the Truth of *Cummin*'s Report, and ima-

Robert Bruce reſolves to join *Wallace*.

Is betray'd by *Cummin*.

gine it might be a Contrivance of *Cummin* to deſtroy *Robert*; therefore upon the Accuſation, *Robert* obtain'd Time till next Day to produce Proof to the Contrary of what he was charg'd with. Mean Time *Robert* was forewarn'd by the Earl of *Mountgomery*, his Father's old Friend, who ſent him a Pair of gilded Spurs and twelve Pieces of Gold, as if he had borrowed them of him: But that was the only Way that he could give Notice of the Danger he found approaching to *Robert*. And as Danger makes Men ſagacious, *Robert* interpreted the Meaning of his Meſſage, and that Night, after he had put all his houſe to reſt, except his Confeſſor and one Servant, they took three ſwift Horſes, and caus'd a Smith to ſhoe them with the Shoes turn'd backwards, that they might not be found by the Marks of the Horſe Feet (for the Ground was cover'd with Snow.) And they never reſted Night nor Day, till *Robert* came to his Caſtle of *Lochmabin* in *Annandale* in *Scotland*; where he met his Brother *Edward*, and *Robert Fleeming*; But before he had related the Cauſe of his Flight to them, they ſaw a Foot Poſt paſſing by in the Road; and when they went towards him, he went off the High-way, which made them ſuſpect him; and when they overtook and ſearch'd him, they found a Letter from *Cummin* directed to *Edward*; the Contents of it were, to *Put* Robert *to Death ſpeedily, for there was Danger in Delay: That a Man ſo nobly deſcended, having Courage and Wiſdom, might eaſily raiſe Commotions.* *Robert* having thus found out the Treachery of *Cummin*, he preſs'd the Man to tell him where *Cummin* then was; and he went ſtraight to *Drumfrice*, where he found *Cummin* in the *Franciſcans* Church, and confronted him with his own Letter; which *Cummin* deny'd with ſuch inſolent Language, that *Robert* in a Paſſion ſtab'd him in the Church, and fled out of it. As he was mounting his Horſe, he met *James Lindſay* and *Robert Kilpatrick*, his ſpecial Friends, and ſaid to them, *I trow I've kill'd* Cummin. They anſwer'd, *Haſt thou attempted ſo great a Matter, and left it uncertain.* So they went into the Church, and found *Cummin* calling for Chirurgeons to dreſs his Wounds, whereupon they diſpatch'd him with 3 or 4 deep Wounds. Thus was *Cummin* ſlain in the Church, to which he fled for Shelter, when he heard of *Robert Bruce*'s coming to the Town, as the Churches at that Time were Sanctuaries for all Crimes.

But eſcapes,

and kills *Cummin*.

After *Robert* had ſlain *Cummin*, he intended to have met *William Wallace*, whoſe Fidelity and Friendſhip he very much depended on: But to his great Diſappointment, *Wallace* was the very Night that *Robert* enter'd *Scotland*, betray'd into the Hands of the *Engliſh* Garriſon at *Glaſgow*. For ſome Time before, when *Edward* found that no fair Means could induce *Wallace* to Submiſſion, he offer'd great Lands, beſides ten thouſand Marks *Sterling* to any Man who ſhould bring *Wallace*, dead or alive, to him. And at that Time one Sir *John Menteith*, an eminent Companion of *Wallace*'s, was prevail'd upon by his Mother (who as an *Engliſh* Lady) to accept of the great Reward of King *Edward*, and to betray his Friend *Wallace*, which accordingly he did as follows. When *William* had receiv'd the Meſſage of *Robert Bruce*, he retir'd to a private Houſe, near *Glaſgow*, and had Sir *John Menteith*, and another Companion with him; and when *Menteith* found Opportunity, he made a Bargain with the Governor of the Garriſon, to deliver *Wallace* into his Hands, and appointed the Night, and the Means how they ſhould ſurprize him. *Menteith* lay that Night with *Wallace*, but had convey'd all their Arms to a ſecret Place, and left Acceſs to the *Engliſh* Officers, who came into their Chamber in the Night. When *Wallace* was ſurpriz'd, he thought to have found his Arms to defend himſelf, but found none. 'Tis ſaid, that he kill'd ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Officers with the Stools, and other Inſtruments of the Room, but, at laſt, was overpower'd and taken: They bound him, and ſent him ſtraight to *London*, where he was moſt barbarouſly butcher'd by *Edward*'s Command.

Sir *William Wallace* betray'd by *Menteith*.

He is moſt barbarouſly murder'd by *Edward*'s Order.

After they had cut off his Head in *Smithfield*, they put it up, with his Limbs, in noted Places of the City. What *Scotſman* can refrain exclaiming againſt this moſt barbarous and inhumane Cruelty! How unlike that Cha-

racter

racter given *Edward*, was this Action, that a King ſhould deſire to betray by Fraud, the Man he could not overcome by Force; and to butcher, in cold Blood, a Man that He (I ſay He himſelf) nor none of his Subjects, could venture to fight Face to Face! Such an End had this brave Man, who deſerv'd to be number'd among the greateſt Generals, in any Age; both for his Greatneſs of Mind, in undertaking the moſt dangerous Exploits; and for his Wiſdom and Valour in overcoming them. For his Love to his Country, he exceeded moſt Men: When many had ſubmitted to the unjuſt Power of *Edward*, he never could be induc'd by Rewards, or mov'd by Threats to forſake the publick Cauſe he once had undertaken. His Death was the more to be lamented, becauſe he was not fairly overcome by the Power of his Enemies, but betray'd and trapann'd by his Friend. When *Robert Bruce* had Notice of the diſmal Tragedy of Sir *Willam Wallace*, he lamented his Fate with exceeding great Grief, and vow'd to revenge his Death. Mean Time, he apply'd himſelf to his Friends, and after obtaining the Pope's Abſolution for the Slaughter of *Cummin* in the Church, he gather'd a ſtrong Party, and went to *Scoon*, where he was crown'd King.

Robert Bruce laments his Death.

ROBERT BRUCE. *The 97 King of* Scotland.

ROBERT BRUCE, the Grandſon of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, was Proclaim'd and Crown'd King of *Scotland*, at *Scoon*, the 25th Day of *March*, in the Year of CHRIST 1306. When he had gather'd all his Friends together, they were but a ſmall Number to oppoſe the Strength of *England*, and the Party of the *Cummins*, who were King *Robert*'s Enemies. When *Edward* heard what was done in *Scotlan* , and that his Correſpondent, *Cummin*, was ſlain, he ſent *Aylmer Vallance* with a great Army againſt *Robert*, and came upon him with his Party at *Methwen* in *Perthſhire*; and tho' he had but a ſmall Party of his Friends, and their Servants, yet he fought againſt the *Engliſh* Army with incredible Courage, 'till moſt of his Army were ſlain, and then made his Eſcape with a few Friends. After this Loſs, King *Robert* came to *Athole*, where he met an Army of *Engliſhmen*, with a Party of the *Cummins*, and was oblig'd to fight them, but was routed, and his ſmall Party put to Flight. King *Robert* was ſeveral Times defeated, and obliged to ſhift from one Place to another in great Fear and Diſguiſe: But his Two truſty Friends, the Earl of *Lenox* and *Gilbert Hay*, did never forſake him and his Cauſe, 'till he had ended all his Troubles, and enjoy'd the Crown with Peace and Quietneſs. As 'tis certain, that no Prince ever obtain'd a Crown with more Difficulty, never did Prince live with greater Power, Peace and Tranquillity, after he had ſubdu'd the Nation to his Government. His Brethren, *Alexander* and *Thomas*, were taken Priſoners, and moſt barbarouſly murder'd in cold Blood, by King *Edward*'s Commands: As alſo were *Walter Logan*, and *Simeon Fraſer*, Two Noblemen, fam'd for their Love to their Country.

Robert Bruce crown'd King of *Scotland*, the 25th of *March*, A. D. 1306.

Aylmer Vallance ſent with an Army againſt King *Robert*.

King *Robert* put to Flight.

He is defeated a ſecond Time.

Robert's Brethren murder'd by *Edward*: As alſo, *Walter Logan*, and *Simeon Fraſer*.

King *Robert* was reduc'd to ſuch low Circumſtances, that he was obliged to feed upon Roots and Herbs, and drink Water; yet was a Man of ſuch a hardy and healthy Conſtitution, that he endur'd all Viciſſitudes of Fortune with great Chearfulneſs, and ſtedfaſt Reſolution to gain the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and relieve the Nation from the cruel Tyranny of *Edward*.

About this Time came to King *Robert*, *James* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, or Black *Dowglaſs*: He was the eldeſt Son of *William* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, and had been bred up with *William Lambert* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s: Who, when *Edward* was in *Scotland* laſt, went to him with Sir *James Dowglaſs*, whilſt he was at *Stirling*, and when he waited on *Edward*, he entreated him to give him his Father's Eſtate, or take the young Nobleman into his Protection; at the ſame Time recommending his Qualifications: But *Edward* anſwer'd diſ-

dainfully, "That he would make no Uſe of the Son of ſo ſtubborn a Father: "As for his Eſtate, it was given to ſuch as deſerv'd it." *James* took great Notice of thoſe Words, and kept them freſh in his Mind, until he had ſufficient Revenge of *Edward*'s Poſterity and Subjects. *James* having liv'd with the Biſhop, till King *Robert* was often defeated, at laſt told him his Inclination to join King *Robert*, to relieve the Nation. The Biſhop was well pleas'd, but deſir'd he might take his Gold, Horſes, and Servants with him, as if by Force or Stealth, becauſe the *Engliſh* had ſuch Power over that Part of the Nation. When *James* had found the King, he offer'd his Service and Obedience to him, as his lawful Sovereign: Which King *Robert* accepted of, with Reſpect and Gratitude; nor did ever any King reſpect and love a Subject more; nor did ever a Subject ſerve a Sovereign with more conſtant Love and Loyalty, to the Day of his Death, in all Chances of Peace and War.

King *Robert* takes ſeveral Caſtles in the North, and make the *Engliſh* Soldiers Priſoner.

After the King was join'd by Sir *James*, many other Noblemen and others, came daily to him. And he went to the North Parts of the Kingdom, and took many Caſtles, from *Caithneſs* to *Inverneſs*, and made the Soldiers Priſoners; and many other Caſtles were taken, or ſurrender'd to him, till he had a formidable Party, and came to *Glenesk*, where *John Cummin* with an Army of *Scots* and *Engliſh* lay. Whereupon King *Robert* reſolv'd to try the Chance of a Battle: But *Cummin* hearing of the Succeſs which the King had in the North, he ſent a Meſſenger to him, deſiring a Time to conſider of his coming to ſubmit to him. *Cummin* did this only to have Time to raiſe greater Strength againſt the King; and in the mean Time ſent Notice to King *Edward* of the Strength of King *Robert*. *Edward* ſent the Earl of *Pembroke* with an Army; againſt which King *Robert* came with his Party, and routed the *Engliſh*, and purſu'd the Earl. Three Days after, King *Edward* encounter'd the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and routed his Army, and purſu'd the Earl into the Caſtle of *Aire*, and beſieg'd it. *Edward* being then at *Carliſle*, came with a ſtrong Army to ſubdue the Nation; making Vows to ſlay all the *Scots* he could apprehend. But the Divine Juſtice of the All-powerful GOD ſav'd the innocent People, by putting a miſerable End to his wicked Life: For, after many Days grievous Affliction of tormenting Pains in his Bowels, he died at the Burgh of *Carlaverock* upon *Sollway*-Sands, the ſeventeenth Day of *July*, 1308.

King *Robert* obtains Victory over the *Engliſh*.

Edward's Cruelty in *Scotland*.

Among the many Acts of *Edward*'s Cruelty in *Scotland*, he caus'd ſlay 50 Children in the Caſtle of *Killdrummy*, beſides the many Times he kill'd all the Priſoners of the *Scots*, either taken in Caſtles or in Field of Battle. When one Sir *William Oliver* had defended the Caſtle of *Stirling* againſt *Edward*, for near two Months, and their Proviſion was done, he offer'd to ſurrender upon Condition, they ſhould have Liberty to depart with their Subſtance, out of the Caſtle and Town. *Edward* agreed, and ſwore to the Conditions; yet, with an unheard-of Cruelty, murder'd all that were in the Garriſon, when he had them in his Power. He carry'd the Earl of *Athol* to *London*, and becauſe he was of noble Blood, and above the reſt that were executed, he favour'd him with a higher Gallows than the others. He put many innocent Men, Women and Children to Death with great Cruelty: And the Counteſs of *Buchan*, who was of the Blood Royal, for being at the Corronation of King *Robert Bruce*, he caus'd hang her out alive in a wooden Cage over the Caſtle-Wall of *Berwick*, to be gaz'd on by the People; tho' every Spectator (inſtead of applauding his Juſtice and Puniſhment) exclaim'd againſt his moſt barbarous and inhumane Cruelty; which made him moſt hateful to all good Chriſtian People. He carried the Wife of King *Robert* Priſoner, with his Brethren whom he executed, but the Queen was reliev'd after the Battle of *Bannockburn*. This cruel King's Life was ſpent in War and continu'd Trouble; for beſides his War with *Scotland*, the King of *France* (to whom he had done Homage for the Lands held by the Kings of *England* in *France*) ſent to him, to come over to do Homage for the ſaid Lands, to divert him from his Invaſion of *Scotland*: But *Edward* refus'd; and when King *Philip* took Poſſeſſion of all the Lands poſſeſs'd by the *Engliſh* in *France*, *Edward* made an Alliance with

with the Earl of *Flanders*, who was ſubject to King *Philip*: For which the *French* Army took all the Earl's Lands from him, and carry'd himſelf, his Wife and Daughter Priſoners to *Paris*. Whereupon King *Edward* went over to *France*, and did Homage for the Lands; and married his Son *Edward* (call'd *Edward of Carnarvan*) to *Margaret*, Daughter to King *Philip*. In the Reign of King *Edward* was *Llewelin*, the laſt Prince of *Wales*, with his Brother *David*, taken by *Edward*, and put to moſt inhumane Deaths, for defending the Privileges of their Country. Their Heads were put up on Stakes in *London*. After this, the Principality of *Wales* was govern'd by the Kings eldeſt Sons, who had the Title of Prince of *Wales*. 'Tis ſaid, that when the *Welſh* and their Prince were in Arms againſt *Edward*, they made Peace with him, upon Condition, That they ſhould have a Prince born in their own Nation to rule over them. By which Promiſe, *Edward* ſent his Queen *Eleanor* to *Carnarvan*, to be deliver'd of this Son *Edward*, whom King *Edward* appointed to rule over them; which made the *Welſh* take to their Arms, to defend their Liberty, and the Property of *Llewelin* their native Prince: But they were defeated at *Bere*-Caſtle, where Prince *Llewelin* was kill'd, and his Head cut off, and put upon *London* Tower. His Brother *David* was alſo taken, and by the Command of *Edward*, he was dragg'd thro' the Town of *Shrewsbury* at a Horſe Tail; and when his Scull was ſhatter'd and his Body torn, they burnt his Bowels and Heart, and ſent his Head to *London* Tower, to be put up with that of his Brother.

Llewelin Prince of *Wales* ſlain, and his Head ſet on the Tower.

When *Edward* found himſelf ſick, he gave Orders to his Son, to carry his Corps about with him, in his Expeditions againſt the *Scots*, promiſing him Victory. But ſo little was he inſpir'd with the Spirit of Prophecy, that the unhappy Son knew nothing of Succeſs, but the utmoſt Trouble and Miſery in Life and Death. This *Edward*, for the Length of his Legs, was call'd *Long-ſhanks*. He died in the 34 Year of his Reign, and 68 of his Age; and was ſucceeded by his Son *Edward*.

Edward II. after his Father's Death, renew'd the War againſt *Scotland*, and came to *Drumfriece* with a great Army, and ſummon'd all the Nobles of *Scotland* to ſwear Allegiance to him; but he found few ready to obey his Command, except *John Cummin* and his Party, who came to him. King *Robert* being at that Time deſperately ſick, it was by ſome reported that he was dead; which encourag'd *Cummin* to gather all the Forces he could, with Deſign to proclaim himſelf King. *Robert* hearing of his Deſigne, got his Friends and their Followers together, and came againſt *Cummin*: But was then ſo weak, that he was ſupported on his Horſe by one on each Side; yet when *Cummin*'s Party found that he was alive, they were ſo diſpirited, that they could not fight with Courage, but were routed by the King's Party: This Victory King *Robert* obtain'd at *Enverury*, ten Miles from *Aberdeen*. After this *Edward* and the *Cummins* rais'd up many of the powerful Nobles of the Nation, againſt King *Robert*, ſuch as *Alexander* Lord of *Argyle*, with ſome of the *Iſlanders*; but they were all ſubdu'd by *Robert*'s Courage and Valour. *Edward*, with his *Engliſh* Army came ſo far as *Renfrew*, but was conſtrain'd to return without any Succeſs. The next Year, being 1311, King *Robert* got Poſſeſſion of moſt Part of the ſtrong Caſtles in *Scotland*, and chac'd the *Engliſh* Soldiers out of moſt Parts of the Kingdom. On the 8th Day of *January*, the King took the Town of *Perth*, and put a ſtrong Garriſon in it; as alſo the Caſtles of *Air*, *Lenrick*, *Drumfriece*, and many other ſtrong Holds were ſurrender'd to King *Robert*; and Sir *James Dowglaſs* took the Caſtle of *Roxburgh*, and Sir *Thomas Randulph*, Earl of *Murray* (the King's Siſter's Son) took the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, in the Year of CHRIST 1313. At the ſame Time, Sir *James Dowglaſs* enter'd *England* with an Army, and return'd with great Booty; which encourag'd him to return again twice, with the like Succeſs. In this Year, *Edward Bruce*, the King's Brother, beſieg'd the ſtrong Caſtle of *Stirling*, which was defended by a valiant Captain, nam'd *Philip Mowbray*. After *Edward* had continu'd the Siege long, without any Hopes of Succeſs, he was not willing to leave it, without gaining ſome Honour,

Edward II. invades *Scotland*.

Cummin joins him.

Defeated by King *Robert*.

King *Robert* obtains Poſſeſſion of moſt of the ſtrong Caſtles of *Scotland*.

and ſent to *Mowbray*, telling him, If he would ſurrender the Caſtle, that he ſhould be receiv'd into Favour by King *Robert*, and be preferr'd to a greater Office than he had with *Edward*. But *Mowbray*, who had more Policy than *Edward*, ſent Anſwer, That if the Caſtle was not reliev'd in the Space of a Year from that Day, he would ſurrender it to King *Robert*. Which Conditions *Edward* agreed to; and altho' the Terms were Offenſive to the King, yet he would not detract from his Brother's Promiſe, but reſolv'd to ſtand to the Conditions. In the mean Time K. *Edward* having Notice of thoſe Conditions, determin'd to raiſe all the Strength of *England*, with all other Aſſiſtance, to enter *Scotland*, to take Poſſeſſion of it, and to divide it among his Subjects, as he told them. He ſent to *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Brabant*, *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Gaſcoigne*, and all other Countries to hire Men, promiſing all ſuch as would come to his Aſſiſtance, great Poſſeſſions in *Scotland*, beſides their Hire: And many Vagabounds came from all thoſe Places, nor did many Captains and Knights of Fortune refuſe ſuch great Offers. King *Edward*, at laſt, had an Army, of near One hundred and fifty thouſand Men, with the like Number of Wives, Children and Servants: They enter'd *Scotland*, with Deſign to take Poſſeſſion of it, according to their Lots. 'Tis ſaid, that *Edward* deſir'd his Nobles to conſult, by what moſt ſhameful and cruel Deaths they ſhould deſtroy the *Scots* with their King. He alſo brought a Monk with him, to write the Hiſtory of his Conqueſt in *Scotland*, having no Doubt of his Succeſs.

Conditions of Surrender of *Stirling*-Caſtle to the King.

Edward determines to ſubdue *Scotland*.

On the other Side, King *Robert* rais'd an Army, of near 40000 able Men, and train'd them with indefatigable Care, in the Military Exerciſes of their Arms, eſpecially with Broad-Swords and Targets (which was ever obſerv'd in *Scotland* ſince) And when King *Robert* heard of the great Number of the *Engliſh* Army, he made a learn'd Speech to his Army, and beſought all ſuch whoſe Deaths would be the Ruin or Loſs of a Family, to return home, and that they ſhould be freely excus'd: That none ſhould venture with him, but ſuch aswould endure all Chances of Life and Death or Miſery. after this, the Army was review'd by the King, and they were in Number about 30000 Men; all reſolv'd to die or get Victory.

King *Robert* drew his Army to a Plain, by a River call'd *Bannockburn*, near *Stirling*, and pitch'd his Camp there, making Preparation to receive the *Engliſh* Army, which were upon their March, which was but very ſlow, by Reaſon of the great Number of Carriages, of Women, Children, Servants and Goods, which they brought with them, as they firmly believ'd they ſhould then enter into Poſſeſſion of the Promis'd Land of *Scotland*. In the mean Time, King *Robert* caus'd his Army to dig deep Pitts or Trenches in the Earth, where he knew the *Engliſh* would attack his Army, and put many ſharp Stakes, and cover them over with Turffs of the Earth, and Sticks, and Graſs to keep the Parts undiſcover'd; and caus'd * Calthrops of Iron to be thrown up and down the Ground in convenient Places. When the *Engliſh* Army approach'd, *Edward* ſent 8000 Men to relieve the Caſtle of *Stirling*: But *Robert* ſent Sir *Thomas Randulph* againſt them, with 5000 Men, to keep the Caſtle from being reliev'd; and they engag'd with great Valour on both Sides. When Sir *James Dowglaſs* fear'd the Number of the Enemy, and that they would over-power Earl *Thomas*, he begg'd Leave of the King to aſſiſt him with a Party, and went ſpeedily to help him: But when he came near, and ſaw the Victory inclining to the Earl, he return'd, and would not be ſo diſhonourable, as to rob his dear Friend of ſo golorius a Victory. This Victory was of great Advantage to the *Scots* Army; for the *Engliſh* having this Proof of the *Scots* Valour, were not ſo forward to venture in Parties.

* Small Iron Engines with ſharp Spikes ſtanding up, to ſtick in Mens or Horſes Feet.

The next Day (being the Feaſt of St. *John* the Baptiſt's Nativity) King *Robert* drew up his Army about a Moat, and commanded that every Man ſhould confeſs their Sins to GOD and the Prieſts; and receive the bleſſed Sacrament: And accordingly *Maritius* Abbot of *Aber een*, ſaid Maſs for the King and the Nobility; and all over the Army, the other Biſhops and Prieſts ſaid Maſs, and adminiſter'd the Sacraments to the whole Army: And after

Prayers

Prayers to GOD for their Succeſs, they were all call'd to hear the King's Exhortation, which he ſaid after theſe Words: "Moſt valiant Friends and "Countrymen, ye ſee what Need we have this Day to fight againſt our "Enemies, to deliver our afflicted Nation from the Tyranny of thoſe cruel "Enemies, whoſe Hopes of Succeſs, are grounded on our Deaths, and the "utter Deſtruction of *Scotland*. They are come with their Wives and Chil- "dren, as if this Nation were a barren Country uninhabited: Or, they only "conſider us as feeble Perſons, fit for nothing, but their Paſtime, to torment "us to Death, as they have invented new Tortures; which would be to us "the moſt inſufferable Pain and Miſery, beſides the Diſgrace: Therefore, let "us appeal to the great GOD of Juſtice, who knows the Juſtice of our "Cauſe, and to CHRIST, who ſuffer'd on the Croſs for us; and let us pray "to them to deliver us from their Power, and ſend us Victory; which, if "we can firmly believe, we need not doubt the Aſſiſtance of GOD, with "our own good and honeſt Endeavours. Be not ye diſcourag'd (my Friends) "at the Numbers of the Enemies, for they are not honeſt reſolute Men, who "come to fight for Honour and Glory; but are (for the moſt Part) vicious "People, who, by their extravagant Lives, have ruin'd their Eſtates in "other Countries, and come now to prey upon ours; being encourag'd "by the vain Promiſes of King *Edward*, who does not imagine that we "are ready to loſe our Lives in Defence of our Country, rather than ſub- "mit to his Tyranny and Cruelty; which he has vow'd to exerciſe over us. "Let us not be afraid of their feeble Multitudes, but truſt to the Divine Aſ- "ſiſtance of GOD, that we ſhall not only ſave our Lives, but alſo gain Ho- "nour and Riches by our Valour." On the other Hand, *Edward* made a Speech to his Army, ſhewing them, what great Glory and Poſſeſſions they ſhould obtain by their Courage and Valour: Whereas, if they did not fight valiantly, but let the *Scots* overcome them, it would not only diſappoint them of the Poſſeſſions, but would alſo be remember'd by all ſucceeding Ages, to their laſting Shame and Diſgrace. After this the *Engliſh* Army advanc'd with their Archers in the Front. And when King *Robert* drew up his Army, he commanded the Center or main Body himſelf, and Sir *Thomas Randolph*, Earl of *Murray* the right Wing, Sir *James Dowgaſs* the Left and *Edward Bruce* the King's Brother, commanded a Company with Long-Spears, to be as a Reſerve-Guard, to ſupport any Part of the Army, where there might be Occaſion. When the *Engliſh* Army was advanc'd near, the whole *Scots* Army kneel'd down, to reccommend themſelves to the Protection of GOD; and the holy Abbot *Maritius*, advanc'd with a Crucifix, erected like a Banner. The *Engliſh* Army ſeeing the *Scots* all fall down on their Knees, imagin'd they had yielded themſelves to their Mercy, without fighting. But they ſoon ſaw them riſe, and advance with Courage. At the firſt joining of the Battle, the *Scots* were annoy'd with the *Engliſh* Archers; but *Edward Bruce* came with his Long-Swords and Spears, and ſlew many of them: And then about 30000 *Engliſh* Horſe-men advanc'd againſt the *Scots* Army. Mean Time, King *Robert* rode up and down before his Army, to keep them in their Ranks, and being diſtinguiſh'd by a Baton or Trunchion in his Hand, and ſome other Marks of Royalty, a certain *Engliſhman* knowing him, ran at him with his Spear; but *Robert* avoiding the Blow, ſtruck the Rider dead with his Baton: This Accident, tho dangerous, yet encourag'd the *Scots* Army, ſo that they ruſh'd eagerly upon the Enemy: Then the *Engliſh* coming into thoſe Pits, ſo contriv'd by the *Scots*, they were put into ſuch Confuſion, that they were ſoon cut off by the *Scots* Foot. The *Engliſh* Army advanc'd all together, and continu'd in cloſe Engagement for moſt Part of the Day; and the Carriage-men and Women, ty'd Napkins and Towels to Polls, as Banners, and advanc'd to frighten the *Scots*: But it rather encreas'd their Rage and Reſolution, ſo that they ſlew the *Engliſh* with redoubl'd Cruelty; till they had entirely routed all the *Engliſh* Army, and driven them out of the Field of Battle, and purſu'd them with great Slaughter; and took more Priſoners than ever was taken in the Iſle of *Britain*.

King *Robert*'s pious Exhortation to his Army.

The *Engliſh* are entirely defeated by the *Scots*.

King *Edward* fought with great Courage in this Battle; but at laſt, when his Army was routed, he could not get a ſufficient Body of them together to guard his Perſon, and fled with Fifteen Noblemen to *Dunbar*, being purſu'd by Sir *James Douglaſs* ſome Way, who did not think they were any Perſons of Note, and ſo let them eſcape when he might eaſily have taken them.

King *Edward* flies to the Earl of *March* for Shelter.

King *Edward* coming to the Earl of *March* in that diſtreſſed Condition, he had Compaſſion on him, and ſent a ſmall Boat with him by Sea, and landed him ſafe in *England*. By this Example, we may conſider the Uncertainty of human Circumſtances; for King *Edward*, who one Day was at the Head of the greateſt Army that ever was ſeen in the Iſle of *Britain*, is the next Day in ſuch Diſtreſs, that he owes his Life and Safety to an Enemy, and could not truſt himſelf to paſs to *England* by Land, nor had a better Veſſel than a ſmall Fiſher-Boat. This Battle was fought at *Bannockburn*, on St. *John* the Baptiſt's Day, in the Year of CHRIST 1314. Conſidering the vaſt Odds of both Armies, a more compleat Victory was never obtain'd on Earth, for there were near 50000 *Engliſh* ſlain, beſides the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and 200 Noblemen and Knights, among whom was Sir *Giles Argenton*, who was very much lamented by King *Robert*, he having been his intimate Friend in former Times: He lies buried in St. *Cuthbert*'s Church near *Edinburgh*. Among the great Number of Priſoners was *Humphry Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *John Seagrave*, and Sir *Roger Northbrook*, Standard-bearer to King *Edward*, *William Latimer*, and *John Claveringham*: The Earl of *Hereford* was exchang'd for King *Robert*'s Queen, who had been kept Priſoner in *England* 8 Years.

The Battle of *Bannockburn* fought the 24th of *June*, A. D. 1314.

Of the *Scots* were not above 4000 ſlain in this Battle, with few Perſons of Account, except Sir *William Weapont*, and Sir *Walter Roſs*, Two worthy Knights. In this Battle, the *Scots* got all the Spoil of the *Engliſh* Camp; for thoſe that eſcap'd carried nothing away but their Lives. The Riches was very great, beſides the Money paid for the Ranſom of the *Engliſh* Priſoners, there being many Noblemen, beſides Knights and Gentlemen: Yet, all this Spoil and Ranſom-Money, King *Robert* gave among his Army, except the Cloaths of Gold and Silver, which were in King *Edward*'s and the *Engliſh* Noblemens Tents, which the King caus'd to be given to the Churches, for Altar Cloths and other neceſſary Ornaments. It is ſaid, that the *Engliſh* came rather to make a fine Appearance with their gay Apparel, than endure Fatigue, and fight a reſolute Enemy; which occaſion'd the *Scots* to make a jeſting Verſe, ſaying,

King *Robert* divides all the Spoil of the *Engliſh* among his Army, and to the Churches.

Gay Coats graceleſs, Long Beards witleſs;
Painted Hoods heartleſs, makes England *thriftleſs.*

By this Victory, King *Robert* had not only the Kingdom of *Scotland* free from the *Engliſh*, but alſo the Four Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and moſt Part of *Yorkſhire* and *Durham*, were brought under Subjection to the *Scots*; and King *Robert* repair'd all the ruin'd Places in *Scotland* with Spoils carried out of *England* from Time to Time. 'Tis ſaid, That at that time Ten *Scotſmen* would engage a Hundred *Engliſh*, and defeat them; and that a Hundred *Engliſh* durſt not offer to attack Ten *Scots*. The Monk, who was brought by King *Edward* to write the Hiſtory of his Conqueſt of *Scotland*, was taken Priſoner in this Battle, and brought to King *Robert*; and he commanded him to write the Hiſtory of the Defeat of the *Engliſh* Army, as he had ſeen, which he did in *Latin* Verſe. 'Tis ſaid, that the Night before this famous Battle, the Abbot of *Glaſſenbury* in *England* ſaw in a Viſion, Two Men, who told him, they were ſent to aſſiſt the *Scots* Army: Alſo in *Aberdeen* was ſeen, the Day of the Battle, a ſtrange Knight in ſhining Armour, who told the People of King *Robert*'s Victory, before the Battle was ended at *Bannockburn*, which is above 86 Miles diſtant; and that the ſame Knight was ſeen paſſing thro' ſeveral Places to St. *Magnus*'s Church, in *Kirkwall* in *Orkney*; upon which Report, King *Robert* order'd 60 Marks out of the Cuſtoms of *Aberdeen*, to be every Year paid to St. *Magnus*'s Church in *Orkney*, to find Bread, Wine, and Wax, for ever.

Vid. *Baker*'s Hiſt. of *England*, Page 108.

After

After this glorious Victory, King *Robert* rewarded his Friends and Followers with ſeveral Lands, and reſtor'd all the lawful Heirs to the juſt Poſſeſſions of their Anceſtors. *Robert Fleeming*, for his faithful Service, got the Lands of *Cumernald*, and was the Firſt of the noble Family of *Wigton*, of whom deſcended many worthy Men, noted for their Loyalty to their lawful Kings, and Love to their native Country: And many other noble Families took their Beginning at this Time.

Robert Fleeming, Predeceſſor of the Earl of *Wigton*.

Among thoſe who came from *Germany*, to aſſiſt King *Edward* againſt the *Scots*, were Two Knights of *Brabant*, who came with the *Engliſh* Army; but hearing of the Valour of King *Robert*, they took an Opportunity to ſpeak of the Wrongs done him; and the Night before the Battle, they were heard to pray for King *Robert*, that he might obtain Victory: Information whereof being made to King *Edward*, they fled to the *Scots*, and *Edward* offer'd a Reward of 200 Marks to any who would bring their Heads to him. King *Robert* hearing the great Dangers they riſqued for his Sake, he rewarded them with Part of the Spoil of the Field; and they return'd to *Brabant*, and built the City of *Antwerp*, and caus'd Engrave King *Robert* the *Bruce*'s Effigy over all the Gates of it, as a Memorial of his Benevolence to the Two Knights.

Soon after the Battle of *Bannockburn*, King *Robert* call'd a Parliament at *Aire*, where, by the unanimous Conſent of the Three Eſtates of *Scotland*, the Crown was ſettled on King *Robert* and his Heirs forever, according to the Proximity of Blood. King *Robert* was firſt married to *Iſabella*, Daughter to *Donald*, Earl of *Mar*, by whom he had a Daughter nam'd *Margery*, who was, by the Conſent of the Parliament, married to *Walter Stewart*, Lord High Steward of *Scotland*, and Father of King *Robert* II. as ſhall be ſeen hereafter.

After the Death of Queen *Iſabella*, the King was married to *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Richard de Burgo*, or *Burk*, Earl of *Ulſter*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; who bare to him *David*, Prince of *Scotland*, (who ſucceeded his Father) and Two Daughters, nam'd *Margaret* and *Maud*: *Margaret* was married to the Earl of *Sutherland*, and bore a Son, nam'd *John*; and *Maud* died while ſhe was young.

After the Marriage of *Margery* with *Walter Stewart*, the King made a Progreſs over all the Kingdom and Iſles, viewing every Town, Fort, and Seaport: And at the ſame Time, he not only confirm'd their ancient Laws and Privileges, but alſo gave many profitable new Privileges to ſeveral Towns, eſpecially to *Aberdeen*, *Dundee*, and *Perth*; as appears by their ancient Charters granted by King *Robert* the *Bruce*, A. D. 1314.

The Princes of *Ireland* being (at this Time) oppreſs'd by the *Engliſh* Governors; and hearing of the great Victory obtain'd by the *Scots*, they ſent over to King *Robert* ſeveral learned Orators to repreſent their Grievances, and to deſire he would either accept of their Crown himſelf, or ſend his Brother *Edward* to be their King.

The *Iriſh* ſend to King *Robert*, to offer their Kingdom to him or his Brother.

Tho' King *Robert* would not accept of any Crown to draw him away from the Defence of the Kingdom, which he had obtain'd with ſo much Honour and Juſtice of Title; yet his Brother *Edward* would not refuſe the Offer, but went over with a ſmall Number of *Scotſmen* to *Ireland*, and ſubdued the Province of *Ulſter*, with moſt Part of *Leinſter*, and was proclaim'd King by the unanimous Conſent of all the Princes of the Kingdom.

Edward Bruce goes over into *Ireland*.

When *Edward* was made King, he went over the whole Nation, and deſtroy'd all the *Engliſh* Garriſons, and ſlew many of the Soldiers in all Places, where they would not ſubmit; but when he had reign'd Three Years in *Ireland*, the Primate of *Armagh*, and the Lord *Bermingham* revolted from his Government to the *Engliſh*, and ſent over to *England* for an Army, which arriv'd ſpeedily, and came upon *Edward* before he could raiſe a ſufficient Force to reſiſt them. King *Robert* hearing of his Brother's Danger, went over with an Army to aſſiſt him, and appointed Sir *James Dowglaſs* Governor of *Scotland* in his Abſence: But *Edward* was conſtrain'd to give Battle to the *Engliſh* at *Dundalk*, before his Brother could come to his Aid, wherein he was

Edward Bruce is ſlain, and his Army defeated at *Dundalk*.

ſlain, and all his Army routed, and the *Engliſh* repoſſeſs'd of all the ſtrong Towns in the Kingdom. After King *Robert* landed in *Ireland*, he found the Country ſo ſpoil'd and depopulated, that he could not have any Proviſion for his Army; and when he heard of his Brother's Death, and the Overthrow of his Army, he conſider'd the Danger he expos'd his Kingdom of *Scotland* to, and return'd with all poſſible Expedition; nor could he ſubſiſt his Army with Proviſion 'till his Return, without being reduc'd to the greateſt Extremity of Want; for they were oblig'd to feed on Horſe-Fleſh for want of better Proviſion, which was occaſion'd by the great Oppreſſion of the Natives by the *Engliſh*, ſo that they had not any Encouragement to labour the Ground, or keep Cattle, but liv'd on Herbs and Roots.

When *Edward*, King of *England*, heard of King *Robert*'s being gone to *Ireland*, he took that Opportunity to be reveng'd on the *Scots* for his laſt Loſſes, and rais'd a great Army, with which he came to *Yorkſhire*; but was met by Sir *James Douglaſs*, who gave him Battle, and routed his Army at *Northallerton*. In this Battle the Earl *Douglaſs* ſlew Three of the moſt valiant Captains in *England*, with his own Hand. King *Edward* return'd to *London*, and ſent a Fleet of Ships to invade *Scotland* by Sea; and ſome of them landed in the *Forth*, but were oppos'd by *Duncan*, Earl of *Fife*, who, with 500 Men, drove a great Number of the *Engliſhmen* to their Ships; and at the ſame Time, *William Sinclair*, Biſhop of *Dunkell*, with 60 valiant Men, encounter'd near 500 *Engliſhmen*, who were plundering the Country, and beat and drove them with ſuch Fury, that they were drown'd by over-loading their Boats. This *William Sinclair*, for his ſingular Courage in this Action, was ſtill after call'd, *The King's Biſhop*.

In the Year of CHRIST 1318, when King *Robert* return'd from *Ireland*, his Daughter *Margery* was deliver'd of a Son, who was baptis'd *Robert*, by the Name of the King his Grandfather. In the ſame Year, Sir *Thomas Randulph* enter'd *England*, and return'd with a great Number of Cattle, and other Goods. *Edward* call'd a Parliament at *London*, and had Aid given him to invade *Scotland*; for every County and Town in *England* were oblig'd to raiſe a certain Number of ſenſible Men. With this Army King *Edward* came as far as *Berwick*, and put a Garriſon in the Caſtle; but there happening a Mutiny in his Army, by the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and others, *Berwick* was recover'd to the *Scots* by one *Peter Spalding*, who was rewarded for that Action with ſeveral Lands in *Angus*, which his Poſterity enjoy'd many Years. The next Year, King *Edward* ſent an Army, and beſieg'd *Berwick*, but it was ſo valiantly defended, that the *Engliſh* Army return'd Home without Succeſs.

In the Year 1320, King *Robert* call'd a Parliament at *Perth*, where he intended to try the Rights or Holdings of ſome Lords, who were ſuſpected to keep too great a Correſpondence with *England*; and when the King deſir'd to know by what Right they held their Lands, they drew out their Swords, and ſaid, *That was the Right they had*. The King was unwilllng to accuſe them without ſome Proof, therefore diſmiſs'd them at that Time, but ſet cloſe Watches at the Borders, to intercept all Letters, and to examine them; and there were ſome found from Sir *William Sowlis* to King *Edward*, containing treaſonable Advices: Whereupon, the King conveen'd thoſe Lords, and confronted them with their own Hand-writings, and puniſh'd ſeveral of them, according to the Law. Then he order'd a Meſſenger to arreſt Sir *William Sowlis*: But the Meſſenger fearing the Greatneſs of Sir *William*, was backward in executing his Office; whereupon the King took the Mace out of his Hand, and arreſted him with his own Hand. Soon after, a Parliament was call'd at *Perth*, (call'd *The Black Parliament*) where ſeveral Conſpirators were condemn'd to die, ſome of whom were executed, and others ſpar'd by the King's Mercy. This Year died *Margery*, the King's Daughter, Mother to *Robert Stewart*, who was after King.

King *Edward* of *England* ſent an Ambaſſador to the Pope, complaining of the Cruelty of the *Scots*, and the Injuſtice done to him by King *Robert*: That he was often invaded by them, which hinder'd him to paſs with an Army

Army againſt the *Turks* into the *Holy-Land*, as his Predeceſſors had done formerly: That while the *Scots* were ſuch cruel Enemies, he could not give any Aid to the *Chriſtians* againſt the Enemies of the Church; and deſir'd his Holineſs (if he wiſh'd Peace among Chriſtian Princes) to interpoſe his ſpiritual Authority to redreſs the Wrongs done him by *Bruce*, whom he call'd an unjuſt Uſurper of his Right. With ſuch falſe Repreſentations he mov'd the Pope to great Hatred againſt King *Robert*, who was no leſs a true Obſerver and Defender of the Catholick Faith, than he was the lawful King; and *Edward* was the firſt Beginner of all the Wars, by his unjuſt Invaſions of *Scotland*. Whereupon the Pope excommunicated the *Scots*, and ſent a Legate into *Scotland* with great Complaints of the Injuries done by them to the *Engliſh*; ſhewing, How much the *Turk* deſir'd that Chriſtian Princes ſhould be in War againſt one another, that he might have the better Opportunity to deſtroy the *Chriſtian* Faith, and conquer all the Countries where it was profeſs'd; and declaring the great Diſpleaſure of the Pope, at the ſuppos'd Unjuſtice done by King *Robert* to the King of *England*, according to the Complaint of King *Edward*. The Legate being remov'd, the King call'd a Council of his Nobles, and drew a Proteſtation in Anſwer to the Complaint of *Edward*, and the Pope's Sentiments of Diſpleaſure: Which Proteſtation was ſign'd by the King and ſeveral of the Nobility. It contain'd an entire Submiſſion to the Pope's Authority in all ſpiritual Matters, and Affairs of the Church; but that no Churchmen had Authority over temporal Princes; and an Anſwer to all the Complaints of King *Edward*; with a true Repreſentation of the late and preſent King *Edward*'s unjuſt Pretenſions to the Crown of *Scotland*; with the Oppreſſion and cruel Murders and Sacrileges committed by them and their People in *Scotland*. The Legate return'd home with this Anſwer, with which the Pope was ſatisfy'd, and abſolv'd and applauded King *Robert* and his Subjects, and blam'd King *Edward* for his unjuſt Complaint.

The *Scots* excommunicated by the Pope.

The King and Subjects of *Scotland* proteſt againſt the Pope's Authority in Temporal Affairs.

King *Robert* and his Subjects abſolv'd by the Pope.

In the Year 1323, King *Robert* had Notice of the Preparations of King *Edward*, who was coming againſt *Scotland* with a numerous Army: Whereupon King *Robert* rais'd an Army with all poſſible Expedition, and enter'd *England*, and took the Caſtles of *Harbottle*, *Wark*, and *Mitford*, and came through *Yorkſhire*, and took *Knaresburgh*, *Northallerton*, and *Burrowbridge*, and *Skipton* in *Craven*. At laſt the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Armies met at *Byland* near *York*, where they fought a deſperate Battle, and the *Engliſh* were routed, and many of them, with a great Number of the *Normans*, were ſlain. This Battle was call'd the *White Battle*, from the Number of Church-men which were in it. There were many Priſoners taken and carry'd to *Scotland*, and afterwards ranſom'd with great Sums of Money. The *Scots* had the Queen of *England* in their Power, but being lately deliver'd of a Child, King *Robert* commanded, that ſhe and her Servants ſhould not be diſturb'd, but us'd with all Courteſy and Reſpect, due to her Sex and Dignity.

The *White Battle* fought at *Byland* near *York*.

The Queen of *England* taken Priſoner by the *Scots*, but releas'd by the King.

Soon after this Victory obtain'd at *Byland*, King *Edward* rais'd another Army, and enter'd *Scotland* with ſuch great Expedition, that King *Robert*'s Army could not be in Readineſs till the *Engliſh* came ſo far as *Tiviotdale* and *Mers*, where King *Edward* comitted great Cruelty, by burning the Abby of *Melroſs* and other Churches, and ſpulzied the ſacred Veſſels out of them, without any Reſpect to the Laws of the Chriſtian Church. After *Edward* had ſpoil'd many Caſtles, Abbies and Churches, he was returning to *England*, when King *Robert* overtook him, and in *Blackmore*-Foreſt routed his Army, and took moſt Part of them Priſoners: Beſides the *Engliſh* taken in this Battle, there were alſo the Earls of *Britany* and *Salice*, and the *French* Ambaſſador, with many *Normans* of great Account. After this laſt Defeat, King *Edward* begun to conſider the little Succeſs he had in all his Attempts againſt King *Robert*, and that it was in vain to expect the *Scots* could be conquer'd by the Power of *England*: He therefore deſir'd to be at Peace with the *Scots*. King *Robert* took little Notice of his Offers of Peace, but ſent an Ambaſſador to *France* to renew the ancient League with that Kingdom, and added ſuch

K. *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an Army.

He is routed by K. *Robert*.

King *Robert* renews the League with *France*.

new Articles to the former Alliance, That if the Succeſſion of either *France* or *Scotland* fail'd, and there happen'd any Diſpute about the next Succeſſor, the Right of Claim ſhould be determin'd by the Nobles of both Kingdoms, before the King of either Kingdom; and that *France* and *Scotland* ſhould mutually aſſiſt one another againſt all Enemies.

At this Time one Sir *William Hamton*, third Son to the Earl of *Liceſter* (deſcended from the Earl of *Mellant* in *Flanders*) came into *Scotland*, to ſhun the Malice of King *Edward*. This Sir *William* was in ſome Office in *Edward*'s Houſe at *London*; and on a time ſpoke largely in the Praiſe of King *Robert* of *Scotland*, commending his great Valour and Virtue: When one *Spencer*, being another Officer, and familiar with King *Edward*, hearing him ſpeak ſo, gave him a Blow, with many reproachful Words; which was ſuch an Affront, that *Hamton* challeng'd *Spencer*, and for failing to fight him, he kill'd him. The Friends of *Hamton* knowing *Spencer*'s great Intereſt and Power about King *Edward*, they advis'd him to fly from *England*; and accordingly he fled into *Scotland*, and was kindly receiv'd by King *Robert*, who, for his Favour and Affection to him, rewarded him with the Lands of *Cadzow* in *Clydſdale*. He chang'd his Name from *Hamton* to *Hamilton*, and thoſe Lands were call'd after his Name. Of this Sir *William Hamilton* deſcended the moſt ancient, noble, and illuſtrious Family of the *Hamiltons* in *Scotland*; of which, his Grace, the Duke of that Name, is the Chief, and the Firſt Peer of the Kingdom, as alſo the neareſt Relation of the Royal Family of the *STEWARTS*. 'Tis ſaid, that when this Sir *William* fled from *England*, he was cloſe purſu'd into a Wood, where he, with his Servant, chang'd Coats with two Wood-cutters, and took a Wood-Saw, and were cutting thro' an Oak-tree when the Purſuers paſs'd by him, and that ſeeing his Servant take Notice of them, he call'd in an angry Tone, THROUGH: Which Word became the *Motto* of the Family, and the *Saw cutting through the Oak-tree*, the *Creſt*.

The Original of the moſt noble and illuſtrious Family of *Hamilton* in *Scotland*.

About this Time the King and Nobles of *England* were at great Variance, about the Preferment of *Spencer*, who ſucceeded one *Gaveſton*, in King *Edward*'s great Eſteem and Favour. The Nobles were ſo incenſed againſt the King, that they broke out into open War, and rais'd an Army againſt him and the King rais'd another to defend himſelf. After ſundry Chances the Barons ſubmitted: But afterwards they arm'd, and compell'd the King to baniſh *Hugh Spencer* and his Son: Yet he ſoon repented of it, and recall'd them. Mean time ſeveral of the Barons ſubmitted, and were put in Priſon, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Spencer* (call'd Earl *Wincheſter*) the Lords *Clifford*, *Warren*, *Touchet*, *Fitz-Williams*, *Mordant*, and *Mowbray*, were drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd at *London*, and others at *Windſor*. This was the firſt Blood of the Nobility that was ſhed after that Manner, ſince the Conqueſt of *William* the *Norman* in *England*: And the King was compell'd to ſit in Judgment and hear Sentence paſs'd on them, to his great Grief and Affliction. After this the Queen went into *France*, and ſlighted the King for the Love of one *Roger Mortimer*. She treated a Marriage, which was afterwards concluded, between her Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and *Philippa*, Daughter to the Earl of *Henault* in *Flanders*. The Queen of *England* return'd from *France*, and rais'd an Army againſt King *Edward* for her Son. The unhappy King was taken Priſoner at the Monaſtery of *Nethy*, with *Spencer* and others: And a Parliament was call'd, wherein they depoſed King *Edward*, and compell'd him to reſign the Crown to his Son: Afterwards they put him in cloſe Priſon, firſt in *Kenelworth*-Caſtle, after in *Corff*-Caſtle, and laſt to *Barkley*-Caſtle: In which two laſt Places the Keepers abus'd the unfortunate King, for they cut his Hair and Beard, and ſhav'd him with Puddle-Water; the Barber ſet him on a Hillock, and told him Cold-Water muſt ſerve for that Time; whereat the afflicted Prince look'd ſternly on them, and ſaid, That whether they would or not, he would have Warm-Water to waſh him; and to make good his Word he ſhed plenty of Tears, bewailing his moſt unhappy Condition: For never was a Prince put from a Throne

with

with ſo much Diſgrace, nor more inhumanly us'd: For after they ſtarv'd him for Want of Food in Priſon, and attempted his Death by Poiſon; but finding that did not prevail, they went the ready Way to Work, and threw him upon a Bed, and putting great Weights over him, ſmother'd him, and to make quick Diſpatch, they put a red-hot Iron through a Pipe up his Fundament, to conceal outward Marks of Violence. Thus ended the unhappy King *Edward* II. in the 19 Year of his Reign, and 43 Year of his Age; being in the Year of CHRIST 1327. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Edward*, call'd *Edward* of *Windſor*, being born there. He took the Crown when his Father reſign'd it, and was proclaim'd King the 20th Day of *January* 1327.

To return to the Affairs of *Scotland*: Our King *Robert* (after renewing the Alliance with *Philip* the Fair, King of *France*) ſent Sir *James Dowglaſs* into *France*, with Sums of Money, to ſubſiſt the late King, *John Baliol*; and at the ſame time deſiring him to ceaſe his Claim to the Crown of *Scotland*. *John* was then blind of his Eyes, and could not ſee; but return'd Thanks to the King, and before all his Friends in that Place, renounc'd all Claim or Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, for himſelf, and his Heirs for ever: And confeſs'd ingeniouſly, *That his Behaviour to his native Country deſerv'd the greateſt Puniſhment and Diſgrace; and that he was juſtly depriv'd of the Crown; that he was willing his Couſin King* Robert *ſhould enjoy the Crown, as his high Valour and Induſtry, beſides his Right (which he own'd as good as his own) deſerv'd it, ſince he had reſtor'd it to its ancient Splendor; and that he rejoic'd that they who deceiv'd him, had not enjoy'd the Reward they promis'd themſelves by their Treachery: Declaring, he never ſhould make any Claim for himſelf nor his Poſterity; beſeeching King* Robert *and his Country to forgive him, as he would pray that GOD would bleſs* Robert *and the Kingdom of* Scotland.

John Baliol reſigns his Title to the Crown of *Scotland*.

Sir *James Dowglaſs* being return'd into *Scotland* with this Anſwer, King *Robert* conveen'd all the Noblemen at *Cambuskenneth*, and ſettled the Succeſſion on his Son Prince *David*, and his Heirs; and failing him, to *Robert Stewart* his Grandſon, by his Daughter *Margery*: To which Settlement all the Nobles conſented, and took their Oaths to perform their Allegiance accordingly. After this Settlement, King *Robert* made Sir *James Dowglaſs* and Sir *Thomas Randulph* conjunct Commanders of the Army, and betook himſelf to a pious retir'd Life, at his Caſtle of *Cardroſs*.

King *Robert* ſettles the Succeſſion upon his Son and Grandſon *Robert Stewart*, and retires to his Caſtle of *Cardroſs*.

Edward III. ſent an Ambaſſador to *Scotland* to contract Peace with King *Robert*, only to amuſe the *Scots*, till his Army was near entering *Scotland*; and when they expected to have done great Feats, they were routed by Sir *James Dowglaſs*, with a Party of *Scots*, at the Border of *Mers*. After this Victory the *Engliſh* King rais'd a great Army, and came againſt the *Scots*: And the two Generals drew them from Place to Place, till at laſt the *Engliſh* being weary with Toil, were careleſs in keeping Watch, and Sir *James Dowglaſs* took 200 valiant Knights, and mounted them on ſwift Horſes, and in the Night came upon the *Engliſh* Camp, and to the King's Tent without Interruption, where he had near taken King *Edward*, before he was awake, but Sir *James* not knowing his Tent, did not take ſo much Care to have the King taken Priſoner as he might have done; but he ſlew ſeveral *Engliſhmen*, and carry'd off ſeveral Cattle and other Goods, and return'd to his Army; who departed from their Camp to an advantageous Mountain, where they lay encamp'd. The Soldiers threw away ſome thouſand Pairs of old *Highland* Shoes, call'd *Brogues*, and next Day the *Engliſh* ſeeing them gone from their former Encampment, they came to the Ground, and found nothing but thoſe old Shoes, which they thought the *Scots* had thrown away to eaſe their Flight: But ſeeing them encamp'd on an adjacent Hill, they knew the *Scots* would not return home for Fear. Therefore the *Engliſh* Army with their King return'd home, without any Succeſs, after they were once routed and frighten'd by the Surpriſe of *Dowglaſs* in their Camp.

King *Edward* ſeeing that it was impoſſible to obtain any Advantage of the *Scots*, he call'd a Parliament at *Northampton*, where, by the Advice and Conſent of his Nobles, he renounc'd all Pretenſions of Superiority over the King

King *Edward* III. renounceth all Pretenſion of Superiority over *Scotland*.

or Kingdom of *Scotland*, and ſent an Ambaſſador to treat of Conditions of Peace with King *Robert*, which was concluded by a Marriage between *David*, Prince of *Scotland*, and *Joan*, Siſter to King *Edward* III. The Conditions of Peace were, That the Kings of *Scotland*, in all Times to come, ſhould have all the Northern Counties, of which the Kings of *Scotland* had formerly been in Poſſeſſion. This Peace was concluded, and Articles ſign'd and interchang'd before many Noblemen of both Nations, on the 17th Day of *June*, 1328.

King *Robert* being at his Caſtle of *Cardroß*, fell into great Infirmities of Body, in the 24th Year of his Reign, and call'd his Council together, and told them, that he ſhould ſoon leave them, and depart to a more glorious Kingdom, therefore would make his Laſt-will; and thereby he left the Crown to his Son *David*, and to *Robert Stewart* his Grandſon, failing Heirs of *David*. After making his Will, he left his Advice to his Counſellors, deſiring them, That the Kings of *Scotland* ſhould never give the Government of the Weſtern-Iſles to one Perſon. 2dly, That *Scotland* ſhould never hazard all their Strength with the *Engliſh* in one Battle. 3dly, That the *Scots* ſhould never make long Peace; becauſe by long Peace People grow dull and unactive, and are generally enervated by looſe and irregular Living. Other Reaſons he gave for not making long Peace, Becauſe the *Engliſh* would never ſtand to break their Contracts, Promiſes or Conditions of Peace, when they found any Opportunity or Advantage of the *Scots*; and when they had leaſt Provocation to War, they would begin it: Therefore the *Scots* ought always to be vigilant in their own Defence, and never to diſſolve the Alliance with *France*, by Advice, or at the Requeſt of *England*. King *Robert* had once determin'd to go with an Army into the *Holy-Land*, againſt the *Turks* and *Sarazans*, but finding himſelf overcome with great Infirmity, he order'd his Heart might be carry'd to *Jeruſalem*, and buried near the holy Grave: Which Charge, Sir *James Dowglaß* look'd upon as an honourable Employment, and undertook it; by which he atchiev'd the ancient and paternal Coat of Arms of this Family, being *Pearl* a Man's Heart *Ruby*, enſign'd with an Imperial Crown *Topaz*.

King *Robert* makes his Will,

On the 9th Day of *June*, 1239, the moſt valiant and pious King *Robert Bruce*, of ever glorious Memory, gave up his Soul to GOD Almighty, in the 24th Year of his Reign, and the 65th Year of his Age, being lamented by all his Subjects: He was buried in *Dunfermling*, by his Queens, in a moſt magnificent Tomb. I may ſay, with many others, that King *Robert* was certainly a very great Prince; and could hardly be parallell'd in any Age, for his Virtues and Valour. No Prince on Earth ever endur'd greater Hardſhip than he did, nor obtain'd greater Victory with leſs Numbers againſt ſuch ſuperior Forces. Tho' he was often repuls'd and reduc'd to the moſt intollerable Extremity and Exigency, yet he never gave over his Hopes of obtaining the Kingdom; which, according to his juſt Right and Merit, he gain'd and poſſeſs'd 24 Years, and left it in Peace and Plenty to his Son *David*; whom he committed to the Tuition of the valiant General Sir *Thomas Randulph* Earl of *Murray*, who was appointed Governor or Regent of *Scotland*, during the Minority of *David*.

and dies.

HisCharacter

King *Robert* had not only the Love of his own Subjects, but alſo of many Strangers, and even of his Enemies the *Engliſh*: For it ſeems King *Edward* II. being merry with his Nobles at an Entertainment, deſir'd to know from their Mouths, who were the three greateſt Heroes or Champions of theſe laſt Ages. None of the Nobles made Anſwer; but they deſir'd a Herald, who was King at Arms, to anſwer the King, becauſe he had been a great Traveller, and knew the Hiſtory of all the Princes of *Europe*, as well as all their moſt memorable Deeds. The Herald ſaid, The firſt valiant Champion which liv'd in our Age, was *Henry* the Emperor; for he ſubdu'd three Kings and three Realms, and defended his own Imperial Dignity to the Day of his Death.

The ſecond Champion was *Giles* of *Argenton*; for he was victorious in three ſeveral Battles againſt the *Turks* and *Sarazens*, and kill'd three of their principal Captains or Generals with his own Hand, in the Field of Battle.

The

The Third (if it be not offenſive to my Prince to ſpeak the Truth) is *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*. Upon which Saying, a great Clamour aroſe among the Nobles, becauſe the Herald would preſume to praiſe the declar'd Enemy of his Prince in his Hearing. The Herald ſaid, "If it pleaſe my Prince "to ask any Queſtion, he expects I ſhould tell Truth, and not a Lye; and if "the Truth muſt appear, of the Three nam'd, King *Robert* exceeds the other "Two in every Reſpect. For the valiant Deeds done by the Emperor were not "by his own Valour, but by the Advice and Concurrence of all his Nobles "and powerful Army: Whereas King *Robert* being exil'd and forſaken, yet, "by his own ſingular Courage and Conduct, recover'd the Kingdom againſt "the whole Strength of *England*, and the Aid of other Nations, beſides the "*Cummins* in his own Kingdom; nor could any one reproach his Honour, for "he was not only among the ſtrongeſt Men of the Age, but alſo had Judg-"ment to govern all his Actions; nor could his Enemies ever ſay he violated "his Word or Promiſe for Intereſt's Sake, for he was equally Generous, Mer-"ciful, and Faithful, as Valiant and Powerful when a King".

This, with the Sentiments of the Knights of *Brabant*, and Sir *William Hamilton*'s Behaviour, were Evidences of the Eſteem he had among Men of Worth, even amongſt his Enemies.

After King *Robert* was dead, and his Heart taken out, his Body was Embalm'd, and his Nephew Sir *Thomas Randulph*, with the reſt of the Nobility, having, with the greateſt Magnificence, perform'd the Funeral Obſequies, they brought *David*, the King's Son, to *Scoon*, where, with great Solemnity, he was crown'd and anointed by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, on the 30th Day of *November*, being St. *Andrew*'s Day.

DAVID II. *The* 98 *King of* Scotland.

DAVID II. Son to King *Robert Bruce*, ſucceeded his Father in the Year of CHRIST 1330. He was but Eight Years of Age when he was crown'd, and Sir *Thomas Randulph*, Earl of *Murray*, was Governor or Regent of the Kingdom, appointed by the late King's Will.

Sir *James Douglaſs* takes his Journey to *Jeruſalem*.

According to King *Robert*'s Requeſt, Sir *James Douglaſs* undertook his Journey to *Jeruſalem* with the King's Heart; taking for his Companions, *William Sinclair* and *Robert Logan*, Two eminent Knights, with ſeveral other valiant Men: And as he paſs'd thro' *Spain*, he join'd the King of *Arragon* againſt the *Sarazens*, and obtain'd Victory over them in ſeveral Battles. He paſs'd with his Companions to the *Holy Land*, and buried the King's Heart with great Solemnity and Reverence, at the Holy Grave; and there join'd the *Chriſtians* againſt the *Turks* and *Sarazens*. He fought ſeveral Battles, and was victorious in all he engag'd in. He left the *Holy Land*, return'd to *Spain*, and again join'd the King of *Arragon* againſt the *Sarazens*; but having ſo often had Victory, he was the leſs careful of his Perſon, ſo that he was ſlain by a Party which lay in Ambuſh for his Life. In their Attack he defended himſelf with great Courage and Bravery; but, by the Numbers of the Enemies, he and his Companions were overpower'd and ſlain. His Victory and Death.

'Tis averr'd, that he was victorious againſt the *Turks* and *Sarazens* Thirteen ſeveral Times, and Seventeen Times againſt the *Engliſh*, in Field of Battle. Thus ended the moſt noble and valiant Sir *James* Earl of *Douglaſs*, who might be reckon'd among the moſt famous Warriors of any Age; and was the greateſt Ornament to that noble Family and Sirname, of which it is ſaid, His Character.

So many and ſo Good as of the Douglaſſes *have been,*
Of one Sirname was ne'er in Europe *ſeen.*

He, with the Earl of *Murray*, were Knighted under the King's diſplay'd Banner, after the Battle of *Bannockburn*; which Title, in former Times, was eſteem'd more Honourable than Peerage, by which they always were call'd, by the Titles of their Knighthood. He was ſlain the 26th Day of *Auguſt*, 1331. See his Life and Actions at large in the Hiſtory of the *Douglaſſes*, written by Mr. *David Hume*, of *Godſcroſs*.

Sir *Thomas Randulph* being Governor of *Scotland*, he ſent an Ambaſſador to *Edward*, King of *England*, to continue the Peace, before contracted, for Three Years longer, according to the former Conditions, to which King *Edward* readily agreed; and Sir *Thomas* employ'd his Time and Care to repair the Loſſes of the Kingdom, and ſee that the Laws and Statutes of the Land were duly executed in all Parts of the Nation.

Scotland being free from Wars, the People encreas'd in Wealth and Plenty of all Neceſſaries of Life, and the Regent was ſo diligent in ſearching for Thieves and Robbers, and puniſhing all Sort of Theft and Robberies, that the Nation was never more quiet and peaceable than during his Government. He order'd the Sheriffs of every Shire to take Notice of all Thefts committed in their Diſtricts; and becauſe the People were given much to cultivating the Ground (whereby they not only ſuſtain'd the Nation with Corn and Fruit, but alſo exported much Corn to bring Riches from Abroad) the Regent ordain'd, That they ſhould not be oblig'd to carry home their Plough-Inſtruments, but might leave them in the Fields, to eaſe their Labour; and that they might be ſafe, he ordain'd the Sheriffs to be accountable for them when ſtolen; giving them Power to ſearch, and when they were found, to hang the Perſon who ſtole them, and the Sheriff to have the Forfeiture of his Lands and Subſtance for his Reward. When this Act was put in Force, a Gentleman, had Variance with a Sheriff, ſtole his own Plough-Shares to have Payment for them from the Sheriff, which he had; but ſuch diligent Search was made, that the Inſtruments were found to be ſtolen by the Owner for the aforeſaid Purpoſe: And when the Tryal came before the Regent, Sentence was given, that the Gentleman ſhould ſuffer according to the Law, by which he was executed as an Example to others, to deter them from committing Theft or Fraud. By this exact Execution of Juſtice, the Kingdom was freed of all Thieves and Vagabonds, and the People encreas'd in ſuch Wealth and Plenty of Riches, that they were envy'd by their Neighbours of *England*.

Laws made by the Regent.

Edward, King of *England*, envy'd the Felicity of the *Scots*, but knew the Diligence and Care of Earl *Thomas* in Defence of the Country was ſuch, that it was impracticable to attack him by Force, therefore conſider'd all fraudulent Means to diſturb the Quiet of the Nation; and to that End ſent ſecret Agents to foment Rebellion among the Heirs of thoſe who had been juſtly puniſh'd by King *Robert* in the *Black Parliament*; as alſo the Heirs of the *Cummins*, who ſtill pretended a Right to the Crown, eſpecially *Edward*, the Son of *John Baliol*, who liv'd then in *France*: But as the Death of the Regent would be the greateſt Step to advance their treacherous Deſigns, King *Edward* hir'd a wicked Monk to poiſon him. This Monk went into *Scotland*, and gave out, That he had exceeding great Skill in curing the Stone or Gravel (with which the Regent was grievouſly afflicted) and he was introduc'd to the Regent, which gave him Opportunity to execute his villainous Deſign. After he had given the Poiſon to Sir *Thomas*, he pretended to have a more Sovereign Cure, which he had forgotten in *England*, and would go ſpeedily and fetch it: Upon which he departed, and came to *Edward*, aſſuring him, that he had done his Buſineſs effectually. Whereupon *Edward* rais'd his Army, and came with great Expedition to the Borders of *Scotland*: Nor was Sir *Thomas* leſs expeditious in raiſing the *Scots* to meet him; for the Poiſon having yet but little Effect on the Strength of his Conſtitution, he came forward with the Army in Perſon; but not being able to ride, he was carried in a Litter. When *Edward* heard that Sir *Thomas* was in Perſon with the Army, he ſent an Herald, under Pretence of ſeeking Peace, to ſee if the Earl was really

King *Edward*, of *England*, envies the Felicity of the *Scots*.

He hires a wicked Monk to poiſon the Regent.

really with the Army, or by Report. The Herald was brought before the Regent, who receiv'd him with an auſtere Countenance, reproaching King *Edward* for his perfidious Violation of the Conditions of Peace, and ſolemn Promiſes given by him. When the Herald return'd, and certify'd to King *Edward* that he had ſeen and ſpoken to the Regent, who ſeem'd to be in perfect Health, he return'd Home to *London* with his Army, and ſeiz'd the Monk (to whom he had given great Rewards, upon the Account of the Poiſon being given) and caus'd him to be burnt to Aſhes.

King *Edward* cauſes the Monk to be burnt to Aſhes.

The Regent finding himſelf in great Pains (without Knowledge of the Treachery) return'd with his Army to *Scotland*, and died at *Muſſelburgh*, and was buried in *Dunfermling* with great Solemnity. He govern'd the Kingdom with great Equity and Juſtice for the Space of Three Years; and after his Death, the Nobility met, and appointed *David*, Earl of *Mar*, and *Patrick*, Earl of *March*, Governors of the Kingdom.

The Regent dies at *Muſſelburgh*.

When King *Edward* had Notice of the Regent's Death, he found one *Treyname Lauriſon*, a wicked Wretch, who had been guilty of many heinous Crimes againſt the Laws of the Church and State in *Scotland*, for which he had fled into *England*, and was ſhelter'd by *Edward*, who now makes Uſe of him, as a fit Agent, with *David Cummin* and *Edward Baliol*, who were both in *France*: Alſo the *Cummins* Faction, and other diſaffected Perſons in *Scotland*, were prevail'd upon, by *Edward*'s Means, to rebel againſt their Lawful Prince, and ſent ſecret Aſſurances to *Edward Baliol*, that if he would come over to *Scotland*, they would aſſiſt him to obtain the Crown; and *Edward*, King of *England*, promis'd his Aſſiſtance, upon Condition, That he would conſent to what his Father had done, in acknowledging the King of *England* his Superior, and do Homage to him for the Crown of *Scotland*.

King *Edward* prevails with *Edward Baliol* to invade *Scotland*.

Edward Baliol knowing his Title bad, and his Party uncertain, was more covetous of Wealth and Power than Honour, and therefore refus'd nothing which the Subtilty of King *Edward* could invent or propoſe.

Thus, by the Treachery of *England*, and a rebellious Party in *Scotland*, *Edward Baliol* got a Fleet of *Engliſh*, and hir'd Ships, with which he landed in the River *Forth* at *Kinghorn*, where he was encounter'd by *Alexander Seaton* with a ſmall Party, who ventur'd to fight *Baliol* with all his Strength, and loſt his Life, with the moſt Part of his Company, in that too couragious Attempt.

Edward Baliol lands in *Scotland*.

Baliol being proud of this Victory, went with his Army towards *Perth*, and encamp'd by the River *Ern*, where (beſides the Earl *Stafford*, and many *Engliſh* Noblemen, and others) he was join'd by many of the *Cummins* Faction, and had a ſtrong Army.

Mean time, the Regents rais'd their Army, and came to the other Side of the River *Ern*, within Sight of *Baliol*'s Camp; but truſting too much to the Number of their Forces, did not take due Care to guard againſt their Enemies: But after Mirth and Carouſing in their Camp all the Evening, they went to Sleep in the Night, and did not ſet proper Watches. *Baliol*'s Spies diſcover'd their negligent Poſture; and he, with his Army, went over in the Night with great Silence, and came to the Earl of *Mar*'s Tent, and ſlew him, with many other Noblemen, in their Sleep. When the Camp were alarm'd with the Groans and Cries of the dying People, they got to their Arms, and fought in great Confuſion, ſo that many fell in the Dark, by the Hands of their Friends: But *Baliol* had caus'd all his Army to wear White Rags on their Arms, to diſtinguiſh them in the Dark. The Regent's Army were broken with great Slaughter, ſo that when Day-light appear'd, they were put to Flight, yet return'd upon *Baliol*'s Army, and fought with great Courage, 'till moſt of them were ſlain or wounded.

He ſurprizes the Regents Camp in the Night.

Baliol obtains Victory.

In this Battle, which was fought the 3d of *Auguſt*, 1332) there were ſlain the Earls of *Mar*, *Hay*, (Conſtable of *Scotland*) *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, *Alexander Fraſer*, *Robert Keith*, (Marſhal of *Scotland*) *David Lindſay* of *Glennesk*, *Alexander Seaton*, *George Dunbar*, *Robert Strahan*, *Thomas Haliburton*, *John Scriminger* (all Knights of *Scotland*) beſides many Gentlemen,

and above 3000 Common-men; and the Earl of *Fife* with many others were taken Priſoners.

Is crown'd King.

After this great Victory obtain'd by *Edward Baliol* at *Dupline*, he went to *Perth*, which he took, and went with his Army to *Scoon*; where he got himſelf proclaim'd and crown'd King.

EDWARD BALIOL. *The 99 King of* Scotland.

EDWARD, the Son of *John Baliol*, by the Help of *Edward* III. King of *England*, uſurp'd the Crown of *Scotland*, in the Year 1332; and fortify'd the Town of *Perth*, where he kept Garriſon for ſome Time.

The Earl of *March* having been at *Auchterarder*, when the Camp of *Dupline* was ſurpriz'd and overthrown, he came to *Perth* with all the Men that he could raiſe, and beſieg'd the Town; but left it (when he might have taken it in few Days after by Storm) to put the Kingdom in a Poſture of Defence; and ſent King *David* and his Queen to *France*, that they might be ſafe from all Danger. They were receiv'd by King *Philip* with all Reſpect and Affection, according to the ancient Amity between *France* and *Scotland*: And ſoon after the King went to *France*, the Town of *Perth* was taken, by *Robert Keith* and *Alexander Lindſay*; who reveng'd the Deaths of their Friends, ſlain at *Dupline*, by great Slaughter of the *Engliſh*; and many *Scots*, who had gone over to *Baliol* were executed, and the Town was given in keeping to *John Lindſay*. After this Victory, *John Randulph* Earl of *Murray*, the Son of Earl *Thomas* late Regent, with *Archibald Dowglaſs* Lord of *Galloway*, Son to Sir *James* the Earl ſlain in *Spain*, came with an Army againſt *Baliol*, and routed his Forces in *Annandale*; and *Baliol* was purſu'd on a ſwift Horſe to *Roxburgh*, where he eſcap'd the Purſuit. In this Battle were taken many of the *Scots* Nobility who had been compell'd by *Edward Baliol* to ſubmit to his Authority; and they were pardon'd, and join'd King *David*'s Party.

King *David* and his Queen ſent over to *France*.

Baliol routed by the Earls of *Murray* and *Galloway*.

Sir *Andrew Murray* of *Tulibardin* made Regent.

After this Victory *Andrew Murray* of *Tulibardine* was made Governor, with the Earl of *March*, inſtead of the Earl of *Mar* ſlain at *Dupline*.

The Governors having Notice that *Edward* King of *England* was coming againſt them with a ſtrong Army, they ſent *Alexander Seaton*, with many other Gentlemen of Note, to keep the Fort of *Berwick* from the *Engliſh*; and *Andrew Murray* with an Army beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Roxburgh*, and took it: After which he met *Baliol*, who was coming to relieve it, and fought him and routed his Party, and purſu'd them with great Slaughter: But *Andrew* was ſo forward in the Purſuit, that he was taken Priſoner by *Baliol*'s Party. At the ſame Time *William Dowglaſs* Lord of *Lidiſdale* (call'd, for his ſingular Manhood, *The Flower of Chivalry*) alſo Son to Sir *James* before-mention'd, came with a Party into *Annandale*, and fought againſt the *Engliſh* Army with great Courage, and had the Better of the Battle; but by too eager Purſuit of the Enemy he was alſo taken Priſoner; and ſoon after, he, with *Andrew Murray* the Regent, were ranſom'd with great Sums of Money.

While the Nation was thus divided into two Factions, the One being the moſt part of all the Nobility of *Scotland*, and their Vaſſals, Tenants and Servants, were for King *David*'s Right to the Crown, and the *Cummins*, and ſeveral others, were for *Edward Baliol*'s Pretenſions. And King *Edward* of *England*, (notwithſtanding the Contract made at the Marriage of his Siſter with King *David*) aſſiſted *Edward Baliol* with Men and Arms, upon the Conditions before-mention'd; without any Regard to the Contract of Peace, or his Oaths and Promiſes, or the Tyes of Honour and Friendſhip to his Siſter. He ſtudied all Means to accompliſh his unjuſt Deſigns, of bringing the Kingdom of *Scotland* under the Dominion of *England*; and with a powerful Army came to *Berwick*, which was defended by Sir *Alexander Seaton*, with ſuch great Valour and Bravery, that *Edward* was oblig'd to quit the Siege, and

and went into *Scotland*. The Nobility ſeeing themſelves beſet with ſuch great Numbers of Enemies on all Sides, ſent *John Randulph* Earl of *Murray* to *France*, to deſire King *David* might obtain Support from King *Philip*, to defend his Kingdom. In the mean Time the Governors rais'd all the Strength they could againſt King *Edward*, to ſtop his Progreſs. *William Seaton*, Son to Sir *Alexander* the Governor of *Berwick*, encounter'd King *Edward*'s whole Army with a Party, and fought with great Courage, till he was ſurrounded and taken Priſoner. His Baſtard-brother *Alexander Seaton*, a Man of ſingular Courage, got a Party of Men, with which he invaded the *Engliſh* Fleet, and burnt many of their Ships; but by a Fall from a Ship Side he periſh'd in that Attempt.

King *Edward* return'd to the Siege of *Berwick*, which Sir *Alexander* defended all this Time, and ſlew great Numbers of the Beſiegers, by frequent Sallies out of the Caſtle: But now his Proviſion being ſpent, he ſent an Herald to King *Edward*, to tell him, If he would grant a Ceſſation of Arms for ſix Weeks, if he was not reliev'd in that Time, he would ſurrender the Town to him. *Edward* anſwer'd, That if he would ſend him his other Son, to be kept as a Pledge, with the Son he had Priſoner, he would grant his Deſire: Whereupon Sir *Alexander* ſent his Son, and *Edward* promis'd to ceaſe from the Siege till the Time agreed was expir'd: But hearing that the Nobles of *Scotland* had appointed *Archbald Dowglaſs* Governor, in *Andrew Murray*'s Place, and that he was coming with an Army to relieve the Town of *Berwick*, *Edward* ſent an Herald to Sir *Alexander*, deſiring he would ſurrender the Town, and if he refus'd, he would hang his two Sons in his Sight. *Alexander* anſwer'd, That the Time was not yet expir'd, therefore deſir'd the King to keep his Promiſe and Faith: But *Edward* having little Regard to his Oaths or Promiſes, caus'd ſet up a Gallows before the Caſtle-wall, and carry out the two young Gentlemen to Execution in their Father's Sight. The afflicted Gentleman was in great Trouble what to do, between the Compaſſion he had for his Children, and the ſtrict Regard he had to his own Honour and the Safety of his Country. But his Wife, the Mother of the two Sons, ſeeing her Husband in ſuch great Concern, ſhe addreſs'd herſelf to him, ſaying, *My dear Husband, conſider your Fidelity to your lawful King, and Love to your native Country, and the Character of your Family. If the Children are put to Death, we have more Children alive; or if they ſuffer, neither of us are ſo old, but we may (by the Bleſſing of GOD) have more Children. If they eſcape Death at this Time, they may chance to die ſoon, and not ſo honourably, as to fall a Sacrifice for the Safety of their Country: But if you betray the Truſt given you by your Country, conſider the Infamy which will ſtick to the Family of* Seatons. *It will be an indelible Blemiſh for ever to your innocent Poſterity, which no after Service or Action can make Atonement for. And as for the cruel Tyrant* Edward, *he hath violated his Faith ſo often, and even to your ſelf hath broken his Faith; then what Hopes can you entertain of his Fidelity, or Inclination to fulfil any future Promiſe?* She therefore intreated her Husband, not to prefer an Uncertainty, and (if it ſhould be obtain'd) a momentary Advantage, to a certain and perpetual Ignomy. This Advice prevaild with Sir *Alexander*, and he refus'd to give up the Caſtle. Whereupon the mercileſs Tyrant caus'd murder the two young Gentlemen; who ſuffer'd with great Reſolution and Chearfulneſs, and eſteem'd it a great Glory to ſuffer Death in Defence of their Father's Honour and their Country's Liberty

Sir *Alexander Seaton*'s Lady her Heroick Speech to her Husband.

The two young Gentlemen are executed.

After this inhumane and barbarous Murder and Perfidy, *Archibald Dowglaſs* came with an Army to be reveng'd of the *Engliſh*; and drove *Edward* from the Siege of *Berwick*, and he retir'd with his Army to *Halydown-Hill*. Some Days after *Archibald Dowglaſs* march'd after the *Engliſh*, and attack'd them with great Fury, fighting moſt courageouſly till near Night, when the *Scots*, being but a few in Number, were routed, and many taken Priſoners.

The *Scots* defeated at *Halydown-Hill*.

In the *Scots* Army *Hugh* Lord *Roß*, and *Kenneth* Lord *Sutherland* commanded the Right Wing; and *John Randulph* Earl of *Murray*, with *Axexander*

Lindſay, **** *Gordon*, **** *Graham*, *John Fraſer*, and *Robert Keith* the Left; and *Archbald Dowglaſs*, having with him *James*, *John*, and *Allan*, Sons of *Walter*, High Steward of *Scotland*, commanded the Center or Mid-Battle. The *Scots* fought with great Courage, but they were a ſmall Number againſt an Army of 50000 *Engliſh*, *Normans*, and other hir'd Soldiers. In this Battle were ſlain *Archbald Dowglaſs* the Governor, *John*, *James*, and *Allan Stewart*, the Earls of *Roſs*, *Carrick*, and *Sutherland*. All thoſe who were taken Priſoners were beheaded, except ſome Perſons of Diſtinction, who were kept to bring great Sums of Money for their Ranſom. This Battle was fought at *Halydown-Hill*, the 8th Day of *June*, 1333.

After this Victory *Edward Baliol* join'd with King *Edward*'s Army, took many Caſtles in *Scotland*: But that of *Dunbarton*, was defended by *Malcolm Fleming* of *Cumbernald*, and that of *Killdrummy* by *Chriſtopher Bruce*, and *Berwick* by Sir *Alexander Seaton* before-mention'd; theſe Caſtles never ſubmitted nor ſurrender'd to *Edward Baliol* or the *Engliſh* Army.

At this Time *Philip* King of *France* ſent an Ambaſſador to the Pope, deſiring he would interpoſe his ſpiritual Authority, to make the *Engliſh* forbear invading of the *Scots*, The Pope ſent his Legate to ſolicit King *Edward* to ceaſe from giving Aid to *Baliol* againſt the lawful King. But King *Edward* and his Nobles found Means to excuſe themſelves for not admitting the Legate, and he was conſtrain'd to return without any Succeſs.

About this Time *Edward Baliol* call'd a Convention at *Perth*, wherein ſeveral did him Homage as their King; tho' ſtill the moſt Part of the Nobility of *Scotland* ſtood firm to the Intereſt of King *David*, and never forſook his Cauſe till he was reſtor'd.

Edward Baliol having given great Poſſeſſions of Lands in the *Merns* to *Engliſhmen*, two Noblemen, *viz.* *Henry Hotſpur* or *Beaumount*, and *Alexander Mowbray*, quarrell'd about ſome of the Lands given them, and after long Contention *Alexander Mowbray* got the Lands by *Baliol*'s Decree and Sentence: Whereupon *Henry Beaumount* relinquiſh'd *Baliol*'s Intereſt, and conſpir'd a Plot to take away his Life, and fortify'd the Caſtle of *Dunotter*, and ſtor'd it with Proviſion, for a Siege: But *Baliol* caus'd the Sentence to be revers'd, and gave the Lands to *Beaumount*. About this Time *Baliol* went to *Renfrew*, and call'd a Convention there; where he would needs make all thoſe that were in his Power ſwear Fealty and Allegiance; but few comply'd with his Deſire, except ſome Common-men.

At this Time *Robert Stewart* the Grandſon of King *Robert* the *Bruce*, took the Caſtles of *Bute*, *Rothſay* and *Dunoon*, and after went to *Dunbarton*, where he was reſpectfully receiv'd by *Malcolm Fleeming* the Governor thereof.

In the mean time *Edward Baliol* rais'd an Army to take all the Strengths of the Kingdom, and ſent *John Stirling* with a Party to beſiege the Caſtle of *Lochlevin*, which is ſituated in an Iſland in the Loch, being a great Way encompaſs'd with deep Water. When *Stirling* had continu'd the Siege long time without Succeſs, he contriv'd how he might either make them yield or periſh; and to that Purpoſe he caus'd dam all the Paſſages from the Loch, that no Water could get from it; and brought all the Brooks he could by other Currents into the Loch, that it might overflow the Iſland. But after he and his Army, which conſiſted of *Engliſhmen* for moſt Part, had labour'd ſeveral Weeks with exceeding great Induſtry, to ſtem up the Water with Mud or Earth Walls, made ſtrong with Timber and Stones, when *John Stirling* went to *Dunfermling* to conſult Affairs with *Edward Baliol*, *Allan Wepont* and *James Lamby*, who defended the Caſtle, came in the Night with ſmall Boats, and broke down the Wall, where the *Engliſhmen* lay at their Work in a careleſs Poſture (they being then all aſleep after the Fatigue of their Labour) and the Water having gotten a Vent, run upon them with ſuch Violence, that they were moſt Part of them drown'd, and their Tents and working Inſtruments carry'd off to the Sea. The Few that eſcap'd took to Flight, and all their Horſes and Carriages were carry'd off and loſt.

John

John Stirling hearing the great Loſs of his Army, made a Vow, That he would never ceaſe 'till the Caſtle was taken, and every one that was in it put to Death: Yet, after long Siege and great Slaughter of his Men by the Defenders, he was driven from it by a Party of King *David*'s Forces, commanded by *Robert Stewart*, and *John Randulph*, Earl of *Murray*, who took *Stirling*, with moſt of his Party, Priſoners. Afterwards they took ſeveral Strengths of the Kingdom from the *Engliſh*, who kept them for *Edward Baliol*.

In the Year 1335, *Edward*, King of *England*, came with an Army of 40000 Men, to aſſiſt *Baliol*, or ſubdue the Country to himſelf. He alſo brought 80 Ships about, to invade *Scotland* by Sea as well as Land; but the Ships being deſtroy'd by a Tempeſt at *Inchkeith*, in the River *Forth*, the few that were ſav'd return'd to *England*, without any Attempt on *Scotland*; and the Land Forces were divided into Parties, and moſt of them return'd with their King without any Exploit, except taking ſome of the Caſtles from the *Scots* Noblemen, which they held for King *David*. King *Edward* invades *Scotland* again, but without Succeſs.

About this Time, *David Cummin*, Earl of *Athole*, was made Commander of the *Engliſh* Army in *Scotland*; and went over the Kingdom, 'till he came to *Murray*, and took Poſſeſſion of all the Lands of *Murray* and *Buchan* belonging to *Robert Stewart*, and compell'd the Inhabitants to ſubmit to *Baliol*'s Authority. Afterwards, he came and took the Caſtle of *Dunoon*, and put a Garriſon of *Engliſhmen* in it. *Robert Stewart* hearing the Inſolence of *David*, conveen'd all his Friends; and, with the Advice and Aſſiſtance of *Donald Campbell* of *Lochow*, he retook the Caſtle of *Dunnoon*; and, with 300 Men, he encounter'd one *Allan Lyle*, the Governor of *Bute*, and ſlew him, and took his Men Priſoners. This Victory drew a great Number of People to *Robert*; and at that Time, *John* Earl of *Murray*, return'd from *France*, with Aſſurance of Aſſiſtance from the *French* King, and join'd *Robert Stewart*.

They came with a good Army into the South-weſt of the Country, and took all the Strengths of *Clydſdale*, *Renfrew*, *Kyle*, *Cunningham*, and *Air*. They went North, and recover'd *Caithneſs*, *Roſs*, and *Murray*, to King *David*'s Authority; by which *David Cummin* was deſerted by his Army, 'till the *Engliſh* fled into their own Country, and the *Scots* join'd *Bruce* and *Randulph*. *David Cummin* being in great Diſtreſs, came in a moſt humble Condition, and ſubmitted to *Robert Bruce*, who, with the other Noblemen, receiv'd him into Favour, and took his Oath of Allegiance and Obedience to King *David*. At this Time, *William Douglaſs*, Lord of *Lidiſdale*, and *Andrew Murray*, were ranſom'd from the *Engliſh*, after Three Years Impriſonment; and when they came to *Edinburgh*, a Convention of the Noblemen appointed *Robert Stewart* and *John Randulph* to be Governors of the Kingdom; and many *Scotſmen*, of great Account, left *Baliol*'s Party, and declar'd for King *David*: Among whom were Sir *Laurence Preſton*, *John Herron*, *John Haliburton*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, who never deſerted King *David*'s Intereſt while they liv'd; but *David Cummin*, who had before ſubmitted, again revolted, and join'd *Baliol*. *Edward*, King of *England*, hearing the Attempts of *Bruce* and *Randulph*, came again to *Scotland* with an Army, and a great Fleet of Ships. The Ships came to St. *Columb's-Inch*, and ſpoil'd the Abbey, and burnt ſeveral of the Sea-coaſt Towns near it; but this Sacrilege was ſoon puniſh'd by a Tempeſt, which drove their Ships on the Rocks and Shallows of the River; ſo that thoſe which were not ſplit, were deſtroy'd by the *Scots*, who came upon them. Thoſe who eſcap'd from the Rage of the Elements and the People's Fury, deſir'd Leave to repair the Abuſe done to the Abbey, which they did, and went thither to pray to GOD to forgive their heinous Crimes of Sacrilege and Abuſe done to His Church and Saints. About the ſame Time, the Duke of *Guelders* (who came to aſſiſt King *Edward* of *England*, and commanded the Army) was met by the Governors Army of *Scots* at the *Burrow-mure* near *Edinburgh*, where they fought a ſharp Battle, and the *Engliſh* were routed and purſu'd with great Slaughter to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which they held, and were follow'd ſo cloſe, that the *Scots* got in with them, and kept the Gates, 'till the Duke, and all that were in the Ca-

David Cummin, and others, ſubmit to the King.

King *Edward* returns to invade *Scotland*, with like Succeſs.

Duke of *Guelders* routed by the *Scots*, and taken.

ſtle, were taken Priſoners. The Earl of *Murray* took the Duke into Cuſtody, and treated him with great Reſpect, and gave him all his Goods; for which Favour he was very thankful, and declar'd his Concern for being engag'd in ſo unjuſt a Cauſe. He having Leave to depart, ſwore an Oath never more to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* againſt the *Scots*. Among the Priſoners there taken, was found a Woman of exceeding great Stature and Strength, who had fought with great Courage in the Battle.

The Duke of *Guelders* being a near Relation to King *Philip* of *France*, and formerly acquainted with the Earl of *Murray* in *France*, the Earl, after he ſet him at Liberty, went with him over the Borders of *England*, where, as he return'd, he was taken Priſoner by a Party of *Engliſhmen*, who lay in Ambuſh for him, and carried to King *Edward*. *David Cummin* hearing of the Earl being taken, went to *Perth*, and join'd *Baliol*, againſt his Oath to King *David*. He was again made General, and exercis'd great Cruelty over the People of *Merns* and *Angus*.

Earl of *Murray* taken.

David Cummin revolts,

He laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Killdrummy*; but hearing that *Robert Stewart* was coming with an Army, he left the Siege, and gave Battle to *Robert* near the Caſtle. When they had fought long Time with uncertain Victory, *John Craig*, Captain of *Killdrummy*-Caſtle, came out with 300 freſh Men, and join'd *Robert Stewart*, which gave him the Victory, with great Slaughter of the Enemy, ſo that *David* was ſlain, and his Army put to Flight, and purſued with great Slaughter. Sir *Alexander Gordon* of *Huntley*, was the Perſon who ſlew *David Cummin*; beſides him were ſlain of his Party, *Walter Bryde*, *Thomas Cummin*, and Sir *Robert Cummin* was taken Priſoner and beheaded. After this Victory the Nobles conveen'd, and again made *Andrew Murray* Governor, inſtead of the Earl of *Murray*, who was Priſoner in *England*; and as he was going to beſiege *Cowpar*, he was met by a Party of the *Cummins*, who fought him, but they were routed, and moſt Part of them ſlain or taken Priſoners. After this, *Andrew Murray* took all the Caſtles 'till he came to *Dunnotter*, which was defended by *Henry Beaumount*, Couſin to *David Cummin*, Earl of *Athole*, beforemention'd. At laſt, the Caſtle was taken, and all the *Engliſhmen* put to Death in it, except *Henry*, the Governor, who was ſet at Liberty, and gave his ſolemn Oath, never to return to fight againſt King *David*'s Intereſt. The Governor laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Lindores*, where Earl *David Cummin*'s Wife was, and ſhe ſent to King *Edward* of *England*, and *Baliol*, deſiring Support, otherwiſe the Caſtle would be taken.

But is routed and ſlain by *Huntly*.

Edward, with *Baliol*, came with an Army againſt the Governor's Army, and rais'd them from the Siege. *Andrew Murray* having but a ſmall Party, could not encounter the *Engliſh*, therefore retir'd to the Mountains, and ſent Notice to *Robert Stewart* to join him. In the mean Time, *Edward* and *Baliol* went over the Country with great Cruelty, and burnt ſeveral Towns and Caſtles, and ſet Fire to *Aberdeen*; but *Edward* commanded it to be repair'd at the Expence of the Six Abbies of St. *Andrew*'s, *Lindor*'s, *Cowpar*, *Balmarinoch*, *Dunfermling*, and *Abberbrothock*. *Edward* return'd to *Perth*, and made *Henry Beaumont*, beforemention'd, Governor of St. *Andrew*'s Caſtle, *Henry Ferrier* of *Lindores*, *William Mountague* of *Stirling*, and *William Felton* of *Roxburgh*. While King *Edward* remain'd in *Scotland*, his Brother *John* of *Eltham*, Duke of *Cornwal*, came to him with Supply of Forces. This *John* having got Command, went over the Country with great Cruelty, and burnt ſeveral Churches, and murder'd many innocent People. He burnt St. *Bride*'s (or *Bridget*'s) Church, with a great Number of People in it at their Devotion; for which Action his Brother, King *Edward*, was ſo offended at him, that he ſtabb'd him, with his own Hand, to the Heart, and he died inſtantly. 'Tis ſaid, that when he came before his Brother, he was accus'd of this barbarous Action, which enrag'd *Edward* ſo, that he run at him with a drawn Sword; whereupon *John* fled into a Church, and *Edward* ſtabb'd him before the Altar, ſaying, *This holy Place ſhall be no more Refuge to thee than the other Churches have been to the poor* Chriſtians *which thou murder'd in them.* After this, *Edward* return'd to *England*, and left *Edward Baliol* at *Perth*; at which Time,

Time *Henry Beaumount* went over Part of the Country, committing great Slaughter among the People. *Andrew Murray* being join'd by *Robert Stewart*, came into *Aberdeen* with a good Body of Men, and retook ſeveral Caſtles from the *Engliſh*; and hearing that *Henry Mountford* was come from King *Edward* with 4000 Men, to aſſiſt *Baliol*, and was join'd by *Henry Beaumount* with a great Army in *Angus*, the Governors rais'd all the Men of *Murray*, *Roſs*, *Sutherland*, *Caithneſs*, and *Orknay*, and came againſt the *Engliſh* Army, and fought and routed them at *Pannure* in *Angus*. In this Battle were ſlain *Henry Montford*, *Henry Beaumount*, and above 400 *Engliſh* Noblemen, beſides 4000 common Soldiers. As the Loſs of ſo many Noblemen and Soldiers was much lamented by the *Engliſh* and *Baliol*'s Faction, the Victory was of great Advantage to the *Scots*, for they recover'd moſt Part of all the ſtrong Caſtles lying beyond *Forth*.

The *Engliſh* routed at *Panmure*.

Moſt of the Caſtles reduc'd.

Next Year King *Edward* ſent *William Talbot* with an Army into *Scotland*, to aſſiſt *Baliol*: But the Governors ſent *William Keith*, *Lawrence Preſton* and *Robert Gordon* with an Army of *Scots* againſt him, and routed the *Engliſh* Army, and took *William Talbot* Priſoner; who paid 200 Marks *Sterling* for his Ranſom. Soon after, King *Edward* ſent *William Montague* Earl of *Saliſbury* with a new Army into *Scotland*; and he laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, which was ſo valiantly defended by the Counteſs of *March*, (call'd *Black Ann*) that he was conſtrain'd to leave it without any Succeſs, after he had beſieg'd it 22 Weeks.

The *Engliſh* routed again.

Such great Famine was in *Scotland* at this Time, that many of the *Engliſh* Soldiers left their Garriſons and fled into *England*; and one *Robert Pendergaſt* came to *William Dowglaſs*, ſhewing him the careleſs Poſture of the *Engliſh* Army in the Town and Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; whereupon the Earl *William* went with a ſtrong Party in the Night, and ſlew above 400 Men, and retook the City and Caſtle for King *David*. After that, *William* recover'd all the Lands of *Tiviotdale*, of which he was made Lord. King *Edward* ſent a valiant Nobleman, nam'd *Thomas Barclay*, with an Army of *Engliſh*, againſt *William Dowglaſs*, and they fought at *Blackburne*, where the *Scots* obtain'd the Victory. Soon after this, *William Dowglaſs* paſſing through *Tiviotdale* with 40 Men in his Company, was beſet by *John Stirling* (who before be-beſieg'd *Lochlevin*) with 500 *Engliſhmen*, but *Dowglaſs* and his Company fought with ſuch Courage, that they put *John Stirling* and his Party to Flight, and ſlew moſt of them. After this *William* rais'd his Army, and beſieg'd and took the Caſtle of *Hermitage*, and put a Garriſon in it for King *David*.

A Famine in *Scotland*.

Edinburgh recover'd, with other Places.

In the Year 1338, *Andrew Murray* the conjunct Governor, died in *Roſs*, and was buried in the Abby of *Roſmarknay*: His Death was much lamented, as it was a great Loſs to the Kingdom. After his Death *Robert Stewart* took the whole Government on himſelf, which he kept till the Return of King *David* from *France*. In the mean time *William Dowglaſs* was continu'd in the Command of an Army; and next Year he fought a Battle againſt *Laurence Abernethy*, chief Captain to *Edward Baliol*, who routed *Dowglaſs*, yet he was not diſcourag'd, but gave him Battle three ſeveral Times more, with uncertain Victory; but in the fifth Battle, which they fought with, as it were, ſo often redoubled Fury and Hatred, the *Scots* obtain'd the Victory, and *William Dowglaſs* took *Laurence Abernethy* Priſoner, with all the Men of Note of his Army, and carry'd them to *Dunbarton*-Caſtle to *Robert Stewart*; who order'd great Solemnity and Rejoicing for the Victory, to the great Honour and Praiſe of Earl *William*, who was greatly eſteem'd by all King *David*'s Party. Soon after, all the Nobles conveen'd with the Governor, and appointed the ſaid Earl *William* Ambaſſador, to go into *France* to King *David*, to bring him over to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. And at the ſame time *Robert Stewart* went with an Army and beſieg'd *Perth*, which was the only Town that *Baliol* and the *Engliſh* had in their Cuſtody, to the North of the River *Forth*.

While *Robert* continu'd the Siege, *William* return'd from *France*, in ten Weeks time, and arriv'd in the River *Tay* with a good Number of *Frenchmen*, and great Supply of all Warlike Store. At the Time of his landing, the Town of *Perth* was ſurrender'd to the Governor *Robert Stewart*, on the firſt Day of *March*, 1341. This Year ſuch a great Famine was in *England* and the South of *Scotland*, that the People were conſtrain'd to eat Horſe and Dogs.

Perth reduc'd

After the Town of *Perth* was ſurrender'd, the Governor and *William Dowglaſs* beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Stirling*, which was ſurrender'd to them in eight Days time, upon Condition, That *Thomas Faulks* the Commanding-Officer, ſhould have his Life, and Liberty to depart to *England* with his Wife, Children and Servants. Which Conditions *Robert Stewart* granted.

Stirling ſurrender'd.

After the Surrender of *Stirling*-Caſte, *Edward Baliol* fled into *England* with all his Friends, for ſeeing the Governor ſo ſucceſsful in all his Attempts, did not think it ſafe to venture a Battle without the Help and Advice of King *Edward:* All *Scotland* being in the Governor's Hands, except the ſtrong Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which had been re-taken by the *Engliſh*, and kept by a ſtrong Garriſon: *William Dowglaſs* went againſt it, with him were *Walter Fraſer*, *John Sandilands*, and *Walter Towris*; they knew it was impoſſible to take this Caſtle ſuddenly, therefore contriv'd a Stratagem, to ſend *Walter Towris* as a Merchant to offer Wine to ſell, who brought with him two Gallons, to let thoſe in the Caſtle taſte the Goodneſs of it. The Steward of the Caſtle knowing the Goodneſs of that Wine, deſir'd him to have a Quantity of it at any Rate; and *Towris* agreed to bring ſome Tuns of it next Morning early, which pleas'd the Steward extremely; for they had not any good Wine of a long Time. When *Towris* found this Opportunity, he ſent Notice to his Maſter *William Dowglaſs*, who came, by his Appointment, near the Caſtle by the Evening; and by the Break of Day next Morning, came *Towris* to the Caſtle-Gate with a Cart-Load of Wine, which he had purchas'd. And when he got within the Gate, he mark'd well the ſhutting of it for his own Purpoſe; And when the Gate was ſtop'd (for he had let the Cart fall down in the very Gate, by which Means he kept it open, till *Dowglaſs* and his Party enter'd; and after ſlaying the Porters, with the Steward, who was to receive the Wine, they took all the Soldiers Priſoners, with the Governor and ſeveral *Engliſh* Noblemen, whom they alſo made Priſoners. After this Caſtle was gotten, all the *Engliſh* were driven out of all Parts of *Scotland*, and and the Kingdom entirely poſſeſs'd by *Robert Stewart*, for King *David*'s Intereſt. And to make the Nation more ſafe, King *David* with his Queen *Jane*, came over, through all the Watches of the *Engliſh* Ships, and landed ſafely at *Innerbervey*, the 3d Day of *May*, 1332. The King and his Retinue were convoy'd to *Perth* in great Triumph, and receiv'd by all the Noblemen and Commons with the utmoſt Demonſtrations of Joy.

Baliol flies into *England*.

Edinburgh-Caſtle re-taken by the *Engliſh*, but recover'd by a Stratagem.

The *Engliſh* driven out of *Scotland*.

King *David* reſtor'd.

After the King's Return, *Alexander Ramſay* of *Dalhouſie* went with a ſtrong Party of Men to *Northumberland*, and took ſeveral Caſtles and Towns from the *Engliſh*. *William Montague* (who had beſieg'd *Dunbar*-Caſtle) came with an Army of *Engliſh* againſt him, but in a Battle they were routed, and *Montague* their General was taken Priſoner, with ſeveral Noblemen of leſs Account. After this Victory *William Ramſay* came with ſcaling Ladders to the Caſtle of *Roxburgh*, and went over the Walls, and took the Captain with all the Gariſon Priſoners. For which brave Action, King *David* made *Alexander Ramſay* heritable Governor of *Roxburgh*, Sheriff of *Tiviotdale*, and rewarded him with ſeveral Lands in the *Lothians*. *William Montague*, with the *Engliſh* Captain taken in *Roxburgh*, were exchang'd for *John Randulph* Earl of *Murray*, who had been ſeveral Years Priſoner in *England*.

Makes Repriſals in *England*.

When King *David* ſaw the Kingdom free from the *Engliſh* and *Baliol*'s Party, he call'd a Parliament at *Perth*, where he order'd a Liſt of all thoſe who had ſuffer'd for the Defence of the Kingdom, and whoſe Fathers were ſlain in the Battle of *Dupline*, and upon other Occaſions, that he, with the Advice of his Nobles, might conſider on proper Rewards for their Loyalty.

The Loyaliſts rewarded.

And

And when they were all conveen'd, and the King inform'd of their Loyalty and Sufferings, he caus'd every one to be rewarded according to their Merit, by Lands, Offices, Money and Jewels; that they might forget their paſt Grief and Affliction, and be ready in all Times coming to ſhew the like Courage and Loyalty in Defence of the Kingdom. Nor could any Man certify any valiant Deed done by himſelf or his Parents, but he had a due Reward of the King's Bounty. Among the many valiant Men who were rewarded, was *Hugh Boece* (or *Boetius*, Grandfather to the Learn'd *Hector Boetius* our Author) who was rewarded with the Lands of *Babbrid*, which Lands were long poſſeſs'd by his Poſterity.

The *Scots* reveng'd on *England*.

King *David* having rewarded his Subjects, thought proper to revenge the Injuries done by the *Engliſh* to his People, and order'd all the fencible Men of *Scotland* to be ready at a Day appointed, with neceſſary Proviſion to invade *England*. When the Army was ready, *Robert Stewart* Earl of *Murray* was appointed General under the King, who went with the Army to *Northumberland*, where he remain'd a Month, and without any Shew of Oppoſition, took moſt of the ſtrong Caſtles, and put Garriſons in them, and return'd to *Scotland* with great Riches and many Priſoners. Next Year King *David* enter'd *England*, and the People ſeeing their King unwilling to reſiſt the *Scots*, gather'd all their Subſtance and put them in Places of Strength: Whereupon five Knights of King *David*'s Army follow'd after them ſo careleſly, that they were taken Priſoners; their Names were *Stewart*, *Eglington*, *Cragy*, *Boyd*, and *Fullerton*; but King *David* ſent immediately a Sum of Money and ranſom'd them. At this time King *Edward* rais'd an Army, and ſent them againſt the *Scots*; but there fell ſuch great Quantities of Hail and Rain, with prodigious Storms of Wind, that they were retarded in their March; and mean time, King *David* having demoliſh'd ſeveral Caſtles, return'd home with great Spoil, which he divided among his Army, and diſmiſs'd them to cultivate the Ground, to produce neceſſary Subſiſtance for the People.

The Wars between *France* and *England*.

In the Year 1346, *Philip* King of *France* (upon the Account of his Alliance with *Scotland*) rais'd an Army, and recover'd the Poſſeſſions of King *Edward* in that Kingdom: Whereupon King *Edward* with a great Army went over to *France*, and begun the Wars, which laſted many Years after. King *Philip* ſent his Ambaſſador to King *David*, to invade *England*: Upon which he call'd a Council of his Nobles, where they were divided in their Opinions; and while they were aſſembled, came an Ambaſſador from King *Edward* of *England*, offering to give up *Baliol* to King *David*, and to reſign the Town of *Berwick*, with the Northern Counties, formerly poſſeſs'd by the Kings of *Scotland*, if the *Scots* would forbear invading *England*, and giving Aid to King *Philip*. This Embaſſy occaſion'd great Debates among the Noblemen: For the more cautious Party were for accepting of the advantageous Offers of King *Edward*; but the more reſolute and honourable Party, were for aſſiſting King *Philip* and invading *England*: With the latter, did the King keep in his Sentiments of Gratitude, for the great Friendſhip of King *Philip*, during his Reſidence at his Court, and the Supplies of Men and Materials given to aſſiſt him at his Return: In Remembrance of which, the King ſaid to his Nobles, "My moſt faithful Friends and Counſellors, the Memory of "the great Favours and Affection of our dear Brother the King of *France*, "are ſuch a ſtrong Obligation on Us, that we cannot forbear ſhewing our "ſelves grateful for ſuch great Services, as receiving us when in Danger, and "defending us from the Hatred of our Enemies, when they deſir'd our De"ſtruction. Beſides thoſe Obligations, the Contract and Conditions made "by our dear Father King *Robert*, oblige us to aſſiſt the King of *France*. If "we ſucceed againſt *England*, we not only aſſiſt our beſt Friends, but alſo "revenge our ſelves of the many Injuries done us by the *Engliſh*: If we are "unſucceſsful, and ſuſtain Loſs in our Attempt, 'tis far more honourable to "ſuffer in a right and juſt Cauſe, than gain Wealth and Eaſe with the Infamy "of Ingratitude and Violation of our Fore-fathers Oaths and Contracts."

The King reſolv'd to aſſiſt *France* againſt *England*.

The Nobles were ſo much pleas'd with this Speech, that they unanimouſly conſented to aſſiſt the King of *France*, and invade *England*.

The Ambaſſador of *England* was diſmiſs'd, and the Ambaſſador of *France* had Aſſurance of the Requeſt of his King, and return'd home. At which time, the King commanded all the fencible Men in the Kingdom, to be ready at a Day appointed. When the Nobles of the Kingdom came with their Men to *Perth*, and were muſter'd before the King, a Diſpute happen'd between the Lord of the *Iſles* and the Earl of *Roſs*, which they warmly debated; but the Earl was not ſatisfy'd till he had his Revenge, by a moſt barbarous Murder of the Lord of the Iſles, with 70 of his Kinſmen, as they were aſleep in the Night. After which, the Earl fled from the Puniſhment of the King's Laws. The King was much afflicted at this ſad Accident, but could not delay his March, to purſue the Earl, and bring him to condign Puniſhment; yet proclaim'd him Traitor and Rebel, and forfeited his Title and Eſtate.

Invadeth *England.*

The Army being rais'd, King *David* march'd with them towards the Borders of *England*, and at his entring *Northumberland*, he created ſeveral Noblemen, and made ſeveral Knights. Of the new-made Noblemen, was *William*, the Son of *Archibald Dowglaſs*, ſlain at *Halydown-Hill*, who was created Earl of *Angus*, and had the Command of a ſtrong Party to make Incurſions: Alſo *David Graham*, was made Earl of *Strathern*, and had the Command of another Party to the ſame Purpoſe.

When King *Edward* had Notice (in *France)* of the *Scots* Army being rais'd to invade his Kingdom, he ſent over *Henry Piercy* the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the greateſt Part of his Army, and Commiſſion to raiſe all the fencible Men of *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland:* Which the Earl did with great Expedition, and came againſt the *Scots* with a numerous Army of *Engliſh*, *Welſh*, and *Iriſh*.

When King *David* enter'd *England*, his Army had been very violent in many Actions, ſuch as burning and deſtroying Churches, Abbies, and Religious Houſes, which was never the Cuſtom of the *Scots*, in any Country where they had War, for they were always careful to preſerve Churches and Religious Places from Violence. At which time, 'tis ſaid, that King *David* was admoniſh'd in a Dream, that, if his Army committed any Violence in the Lands appertaining to St. *Cuthbert*, his Wars ſhould terminate in great Loſs: But the King took no Notice of his Viſion, and let his Army plunder the Abby of St. *Cuthbert* at *Durham*, and ſeveral other Places thereabouts.

When the Earl of *Northumberland* came to *York*, he ſent a Herald to King *David*, deſiring he would return to *Scotland* with his Army, and accept of Conditions of Peace from King *Edward*. The King would not hear his Meſſage, but challeng'd the Earl to Battle; and in the mean time he divided the Army into three Bodies, giving the Command of his Right Wing to his Nephew *Robert Bruce* (to whom the King gave the Title of Prince of *Scotland*, and in caſe he died without Iſſue, to ſucceed him in the Throne) and *Patrick* Earl of *March*; and the Left Wing he gave to *John Randulph* Earl of *Murray*, and *William* Earl of *Dowglaſs:* In the main Body or Center, were the King, with the Farl of *Sutherland*, and many other Noblemen of the Nation, with the Officers of his Houſhold. When they were drawn up, the King ſent *William* Earl of *Dowglaſs* (who was Warden of the Borders) with a Party, to obſerve the Motion of the *Engliſh* Army: He went forward with ſo little Care, that he fell in among the *Engliſh* Army, and his Party were all cut off, and he eſcap'd narrowly with his Life. After him went *David Graham*, (newly created Earl of *Strathern*) with his Party, and fell upon the Skirts of the *Engliſh*, expecting to annoy them; but he was ſuddenly beſet with ſuch a Number of the *Engliſh* Archers, that his Party were ſlain or wounded, and he eſcap'd with great Difficulty.

King *David* hearing the Loſs of both Parties, would not again divide his Army; but march'd forward with great Fury, and attack'd the *Engliſh*, who were drawn up in a very advantageous Poſture. When the Battle begun, they fought

fought moſt furiouſly on both Sides: But the *Scots* were more reſolute and couragious than circumſpect in their Conduct, by which the *Engliſh* had great Advantage, beſides their great Superiority of Numbers. After they had fought long Time, *Robert Stewart* and the Earl of *March*, with their Wing, were put to Flight by the Multitude and Force of the Enemy; and the like Fate had the Left Wing, for the Earl of *Murray* being ſlain, and the Earl of *Dowglaſs* taken by the Enemies, who ſurrounded them, their Wing was entirely cut off The King, with the Centre, being left to maintain the Battle againſt the whole *Engliſh* Army, he fought with intrepid Courage and Valour, 'till he had Two Spears ſticking in his Body: Whereupon, one *John Copeland* beg'd of him to ſurrender himſelf Priſoner to ſave his Life. The King (who then had loſt his Weapons) ſtruck *Copeland* on the Mouth with his Hand, ſo hard, that he ſtruck out Six of his Teeth, and was ſo deſperate, that he fought with his Gauntlets, 'till he was enclos'd with a Number of the Enemies, who took hold of him with great Reſpect and Reverence. The King being taken, all his Army fled; for they had, all this Time, fought againſt Three Times their Number, which gave the Victory to the *Engliſh*, with great Loſs of the *Scots*.

But is routed and taken at *Nevil's-Croſs*.

In this Battle were ſlain of the *Scots*, the Earls of *Murray*, *Strathern*, the High Conſtable, Marſhal, Chancellor, and many others of the Nobility, and Men of leſs Account. With the King were taken Priſoners, the Earls of *Dowglaſs*, *Fife*, *Sutherland*, *Monteith*, and *Wigton*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen. This Battle was fought at *Nevil's-Croſs* in *Durham*, the 17th Day of *October*, 1346. When King *David* was taken Priſoner, there were Two Spears ſtuck in his Body, the one in his Arm, the other in his Thigh: That in his Arm was taken out, and the Wound cur'd; but that in his Thigh could not be taken out by any Chirurgeon, 'till one Day being at his Devotion at St. *Ninian*'s Church, it fell out as by Miracle, and the Wound was ſoon cur'd. Among the many Things loſt by King *David* in this Battle, nothing was of ſo much Concern to him, as the Crucifix of his holy Predeceſſor, King *David* I. which the *Engliſh* Officers took from him, with many other Jewels. After this Victory, the *Engliſh* took *Roxburgh* Caſtle and *Hermitage*, and made Marches at *Cockburnſpeth* and *Sowtry-Hedge*, between them and *Scotland*; and *Edward Baliol* was again aſſiſted to enter *Scotland* with an Army. At his coming, *Robert Stewart* was made Governor; and *James Dowglaſs*, the Brother of Earl *William*, return'd from *France*, (where he had been ſent with Aid to King *Philip*) and rais'd all his Friends in *Scotland*, and chas'd the *Engliſh* out of *Douglaſdale*, *Tiviotdale*, *Tweedale*, and *Etterick*-Foreſt. *John Copeland*, who was Captain of *Roxburgh*-Caſtle, came with an Army againſt him; but *Copeland*, with his Army, were routed and purſu'd to the Caſtle.

Balid returns to *Scotland*, but his Party, is routed.

In the Year 1349, there were many violent Diſeaſes in *England* and *Scotland*, ſo that many of the People died ſuddenly of Peſtilential Fevers in many Parts of the Kingdom.

A Peſtilence in both Kingdoms.

In this Year, one *John* St. *Michael* ſlew Sir *David Barclay* at *Aberdeen*, being hir'd by *William Douglaſs*, Earl of *Lidiſdale*, who was Priſoner in *England*; for this Sir *David* had before ſlain *John*, the Brother of this Earl *William Dowglaſs*, and Father of *John Dowglaſs* of *Dalkeith*. Next Year, the ſaid *William* of *Lidiſdale* was ſlain, as he was hunting in *Etterick*-Foreſt, by *William* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, his Godſon and Couſin. The Cauſe of this great Diviſion and Hatred between the *Dowglaſſes*, was the Slaughter of *Alexander Ramſay* by *William* of *Lidiſdale*.

In the Year 1347, a *French* Captain, nam'd *Euginus Garaniers*, came into *Scotland* with 60 Knights well accouter'd, and brought 40000 Crowns to the Governor, to ſupport the *Scots* in their Wars againſt *England*; and the *Scots* rais'd an Army to enter *England*, and the Earls of *March* and *Dowglaſs* went with the Army to the Borders, where they halted, and ſent Sir *William Ramſay* with a Party into *England*, to view the *Engliſh* Army, which they diſcover'd, and went another Way to bring Spoil out of the Country, and Sir *William* having gotten much Cattle and other Goods, return'd, and

was purſu'd by the *Engliſh* Army 'till they came where the *Scots* lay, before they could diſcover them. By this Means, the *Scots* fell upon the *Engliſh*, and fought them with great Fury, 'till they routed them, and obtain'd a compleat Victory over the *Engliſh*, and purſu'd them with great Slaughter, taking many Priſoners, 'till they came to *Berwick*, which the *Scots* took, by ſcaling the Walls with Ladders. They enter'd it, and ſlew many *Engliſhmen* in it. In this Battle, and in the Town of *Berwick*, were ſlain, of *Engliſhmen*, Sir *Thomas Gray*, *John* of *Danas*, *Alexander Ogle* (Captain of *Berwick*) *Thomas Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Edward Gray*, with many other Noblemen, and many Commoners. Of the *Scots* were ſlain *Andrew Scot*, of *Ballwary*, *Thomas Vans*, *John Gordon*, *William Sinclair*, *Thomas Preſton*, and ſeveral Men of leſs Account. When the *Scots* had taken the Caſtle of *Berwick*, they had Notice, that *Edward*, King of *England*, was come over from *France*, and was coming againſt them with a powerful Army: Whereupon, the *Scots* demoliſh'd the Town and Caſtle of *Berwick*, with all the Walls, and left it uſeleſs to the *Engliſh* for any Strength.

The *Engliſh* routed, and *Berwick* taken,

And demoliſh'd.

When *Edward* enter'd *Scotland* with his Army, *Baliol* came to him at *Roxburgh*, and made a formal Reſignation of his Pretences to the Crown of *Scotland*, in Favour of King *Edward*, and beg'd of him to purſue the *Scots* with War, 'till he ſubdu'd the Nation; for *Baliol* declar'd his Reſolution never to deſire that Crown, as knowing how odious he was to all the *Scots*. King *Edward*, after this, came to *Haddington*, and order'd his Navy to come about to invade *Scotland* by Sea. When the Fleet came to *Scotland*, they landed in *Lothian*, and burnt the Church of St. *Mary White-church*, and carried all the Veſſels and Ornaments thereof to their Ships, but did not long enjoy the ſacrilegious Prey; for ſuch a terrible Tempeſt aroſe, that all the Ships were either drown'd, or ſhatter'd on the Rocks and Sand-Banks in the Night: None of the People were ſav'd, but ſuch as ſwam to Land; and they were taken by the Country People, and brought Priſoners to the Governor. King *Edward* hearing of the Loſs of his Ships, was ſo enrag'd, that he ſpar'd neither Church nor Abbey, but burnt and plunder'd them. It was remark'd, at that Time, of a blaſphemous Wretch, who was plundering the Images about the Altar, as he was taking away ſome of the Ornaments of our bleſſed Lady's Image, a large Crucifix fell from the Top of the Tabernacle, and kill'd him.

King *Edward* enters *Scotland*, and *Baliol* reſigns to him:

His Fleet loſt.

Edward hearing the bad Condition of his Affairs in *France*, left *Scotland* without any Action in the Field; for the *Scots* Army were long time in gathering together from the Northern Countries: And when *Edward* with his Army departed, he left Garriſons in all the South Parts of *Scotland*, 'till he might return again from *France*. In the mean time, *William Dowglaſs* of *Nidſdale*, went with an Army of *Scots* over all the South Countries, and recover'd them from the *Engliſh*, and took all the Caſtles.

King *Edward* leaves *Scotland*.

In the Year 1350, *Philip*, King of *France*, died, after he had continu'd War againſt the *Engliſh*, with various Chances of Succeſs; and his Son *John* ſucceeded him in the Crown: In the Beginning of whoſe Reign, the Prince of *Daulphin*, nam'd *Humbert*, died, and left *Charles*, the eldeſt Son of King *John*, to be his Heir. After which, the eldeſt Sons of the Kings of *France* were call'd the *Daulphins* of *France*.

Philip, King of *France*, died.

The *Dauphin* of *France*.

In the Year 1355, *Edward*, King of *England*, ſent over his eldeſt Son *Edward*, call'd *The Black Prince*, with a ſtrong Army into *France*: And, at the ſame Time, *William* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, went over from *Scotland*, with ſeveral Noblemen, and 3000 well arm'd Men, to aſſiſt King *John* againſt the *Engliſh*: And, on the 20th Day of *September*, in this Year, the *French* and *Engliſh* fought at *Poictiers*, where *John*, King of *France*, was taken Priſoner, and brought over to *England*. *William*, Earl of *Dowglaſs* made his Eſcape by the Valour of his Friends, who reſcu'd him after he was taken Priſoner; but *Archibald*, his Brother, was taken, and got off by the Contrivance of Sir *William Ramſay* of *Cullothy*, who ſeeing him with Golden Armour among the *Engliſh*, went up to him, and ſaid, *Thou Traitor, haſt thou murder'd thy Maſter, and*

King *John*, of *France*, taken by the *Engliſh*.

and put on his Armour? and gave him a Blow with his Hand: Whereupon they took the Armour, and turn'd him off to be among the common Priſoners, whereby he made his Eſcape.

After this Victory obtain'd over the *French*, King *Edward* had two Kings his Priſoners; for *David* King of *Scotland* had been now 9 Years Priſoner in *England*: The Reaſon why he was ſo long unranſom'd was, that *Edward* would accept of no Offer, till *David* would give ſuch a baſe Conſent as the *Baliols* had done, to ſubmit to the Crown of *England*. Yet King *David* ſtill reſiſted all Temptations and Trials; till, by the Advice of his Friends, he promis'd to *Edward*, that if he had no Succeſſion of his own Body, he would allow the Crown to be ſettled on King *Edward*'s Son, with the Proviſion of the *Scots* Nobility giving their Conſent. By this Means, and the earneſt and aſſidious Entreaty of *Jane*, Queen of *Scotland*, and Siſter to *Edward*, King *David* was ſet at Liberty, upon Payment of an hundred thouſand Marks *Sterling*; and other Conditions, to demoliſh the Caſtles of *Drumfrees*, *Dunſdeer*, and *Dalſwinton*, and to give two young Noblemen as Pledges for the Payment of the Ranſom, and Performance of the Conditions; and at the ſame time King *Edward* and *David* concluded Peace between both Nations for 14 Years; and *Edward* gave his Oath never to invade *Scotland*, nor to aſſiſt the Pretenſions of *Baliol* or any other.

As King *David* of *Scotland* was before.

King *David* ranſom'd.

Peace between them.

When King *David* return'd to *Scotland*, he call'd a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, and when they were conveen'd, the King declar'd his great Diſpleaſure at thoſe who had fled and deſerted him at the Battle of *Durham*, where he was taken Priſoner. He was ſo inſens'd againſt his Nephew *Robert Stewart* the Governor, that he would have the Settlement alter'd, and the Crown entail'd on the Earl of *Sutherland*'s eldeſt Son by the King's youngeſt Siſter *Jane*. The Earl hearing the King's Reſolution (to make himſelf a ſtrong Party) gave the moſt Part of his Lands among the *Gordons*, *Ogilvies*, *Hays*, *Sinclairs* and others, to take his Part: But his Son dying ſoon after in *England* (where he was among the Pledges) the Earl's Hopes were fruſtrated, and he loſt thereby moſt Part of his Lands. In the mean time *Robert Stewart* was receiv'd into the King's Favour, and the Entail was again confirm'd to him, with the Title of Prince of *Scotland*, if King *David* had no Iſſue of his own Body. At this time the King ſhew'd the Nobles the Promiſe he had given *Edward* of ſettling the Crown on his Son, if the Parliament of *Scotland* would conſent; and in that Parliament they all ſign'd a Proteſt againſt that Promiſe; which exoner'd the King, and cancel'd the Promiſe, which was alſo, in a Manner, extorted from him, when in Captivity.

When *John* King of *France* had been 5 Years Priſoner in *England*, he renounc'd all the Rights he had to *Gaſcoigne*, *Poictou*, *Angouleſm* and *Callice*, with ſeveral other Parts of his Kingdom, and gave them up to King *Edward*. When *John* return'd into *France*, the Nobles of the Kingdom were highly offended at his Simplicity, in giving up all thoſe Places to the King of *England*. King *John* was much afflicted at the Reſentment of the Nobles, and return'd into *England*, where he had left his two Sons; and that he might deal the more effectually with *Edward*, he ſent to King *David* of *Scotland*, to interpoſe his Mediation, to releaſe him from the Conditions which were ſo offenſive to his Nobles and his Son the *Daulphin*.

The *French* King ſet at Liberty.

King *David*, out of Reſpect to the Friendſhip of King *Philip*, and ancient Alliance, went in Perſon to *London*, with a Royal Attendance, having his Queen and many of the Nobility with him; and was reſpectfully receiv'd and entertain'd by King *Edward*. The three Kings were ſeveral Days together, and had daily Diverſions, till at laſt King *John* fell ſick of a peſtilential Fever, which then rag'd at *London*: and after ſome Days Sickneſs, King *John* of *France* died at *London*, and his Corps was carry'd into *France*, and buried at St. *Denis*'s Abby. Soon after King *David* return'd to *Scotland*, and went over all the Kingdom, executing Juſtice, and repair'd all the ruinous Places deſtroy'd by the Wars.

The three Kings have an Interview in *London*.

The *French* King died there

In the Year 1351, *Jane* Queen of *Scotland* went into *England*, to visit the Tomb of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*; and at her Return to *London* she died, and was buried at the Expence of her Husband King *David*, at *Westminster*-Abby. Soon after Queen *Jane*'s Death, King *David* was advis'd to marry *Jane Logy*, Daughter to Sir *John Logy*, being a young Lady of exceeding great Beauty: But soon after, the King repented that he had married so far below his Dignity, and was offended at those who advis'd him to it. Nor had the Queen that Respect shew'd her as she expected by her Marriage. Upon which she went with some few Women to the Pope, who then was at *Avignion*, and complain'd to his Holiness of the King's Behaviour to her. Whereupon the Pope gave Sentence, that the King should respect her as his lawful Wife, and that she should have a Royal Maintenance, as the Queens formerly had. But as she was upon her Return through *France*, she died at *Bourdeaux*; and her Attendants brought over her Corps to *Scotland*, where it was royally interr'd, by the King's Directions, at *Glasgow*.

And the *Scots* Queen.

King *David* marries again

But his new Queen also dies,

After this the King went over the Nation, and repair'd all the ruinous Places, which had been impair'd by the last Wars. He rebuilt all the Churches and Abbies which had been destroy'd by the *English*; and at his Return built the Tower of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, call'd *David*'s Tower. He fortify'd all the Strengths of the Kingdom, and settled the whole Nation in Peace and Tranquility.

When King *David* had thus brought the Nation to Peace and Felicity, after such long continu'd Wars, he intended to go to the Holy Grave at *Jerusalem*, to perform Devotions, and offer Relief to the *Christians*: But while he was preparing for that Journey, he was seiz'd with a hot Fever, of which he died in his Castle of *Edinburgh*, the 29th of *February*, 1370, and was buried in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-House*.

And himself soon after.

In his Time were many Learn'd Men in *Scotland*, as *John Duns*, call'd *Duns-Scotus*, a Man well skill'd in Theology: He was a Friar of the Order of St. *Francis*. Also *Richard Middleton*, and *William Oram*, with others.

End of the FIFTH *Book.*

BOOK

BOOK VI.

The History of the Kings, from the Accession of ROBERT II. *the first King of the Royal Sirname of* STEWART, *continu'd to the Reign of* JAMES *the* Sixth *of* Scotland, *and* First *of* England. A. D. 1604.

ROBERT STEWART. *The* 100 *King of* Scotland.

ROBERT II. sirnam'd *Stewart*, Son of *Walter* Lord High Steward of *Scotland*, by *Marjory* Daughter to King *Robert Bruce*, and Sister to King *David* II. was proclaim'd King of *Scotland*, upon the Death of his Uncle, in the Year 1370, and the 57th Year of his Age. *A. D.* 1370.

Here I think proper to give an Account of the Descent of the Royal Family of the Sirname of *STEWART*, as they were descended from the Royal Line, and did succeed by Lawful, Hereditary Right. *Duffus*, King of *Scotland*, left a Son nam'd *Grimus*, who contended with *Malcolm* II. and kept the Crown during his Lifetime: But having no Issue, the Crown came to *Malcolm*, by the Laws made in the Reign of *Kenneth* III. whereby Hereditary Monarchy was establish'd. King *Duffus* had also a Daughter who was married to the Thane of *Loquhaber*, to whom she bore *Banquho*, who was General of the Army, and general Receiver of the King's Revenue of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the Reign of King *Duncan* or *Donald* VII. This *Banquho*, after the Murder of that King, was slain, as before-mention'd, by *Macbeth*'s Confederates; and his Son *Fleance*, who escap'd (when the Usurper *Macbeth* intended to have murder'd him also) and fled into *Wales*, where he married *Nersta*, the Daughter of *Griffith*, Prince of that Country; and by her had a Son nam'd *Walter*, who return'd to *Scotland* after the Restoration of *Malcolm* III. and for his Valour and good Conduct (besides his being the nearest Branch of the Royal Family) was by King *Malcolm* created Lord High Steward (as Receiver of all the King's Revenue) of *Scotland*; the Name of which Office became his Sirname. This *Walter* had a Son nam'd *Allan*, who succeeded his Father, and had a Son nam'd *Walter*; which *Walter* had two Sons, the eldest nam'd *Alexander*, the other *Robert*, of whom descended the Family of *Lenox*. *Alexander* succeeded his Father in the Office of High Steward, and had a Son nam'd *John*, who was Father to *Walter*, who married *Mariory Bruce*, and begot on her *Robert*, who is now made King, by lawful Succession: But yet, at the Death of King *David*, *William* Earl of *Dowglass* claim'd the Crown, in the Right of *Baliol*; which was the first Act of Disloyalty that ever any of that noble Family had been guilty of. This *William* had dealt privately with *Baliol*, and procur'd an Instrument of Resignation from him, and the like from *Cummin*, the Heir of the third Competitor. This Instrument he produc'd to *George Dunbar* Earl of *March*, and *John Dunbar* Earl of *Murray*, Sister's Son to *John Randulph* Earl of *Murray*; whom *Dowglass* took to be his true Friends and Confidents: But they were such

The Royal Family of the *STEWARTS* descended from *Duffus* King of *Scotland*.

William Earl of *Dowglas* claims the Crown.

A. D. 1370. loyal Subjects to the lawful King, and Well-wiſhers to their native Country, that they went immediately and conveen'd the other Noblemen of the Kingdom, and caus'd *Robert Stewart* to be crown'd King at *Scoon*, by the Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, on the 25th of *March*, 1370. The Earl *Dowglaſs* ſeeing his Hopes fruſtrated, ſubmitted to King *Robert*, and acknowledg'd his Faults: And after they were reconcil'd, King *Robert* gave his eldeſt Daughter *Eupham* in Marriage to the Earl of *Dowglaſs*; by which there was laſting Amity between the King and the Family of *Dowglaſs*.

Robert Stewart crown'd King.

King *Robert* was firſt married to *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of Sir *Adam Mure* of *Abercorn*; by whom he had three Sons and three Daughters, and after the Death of *Elizabeth Mure*, he was married to *Eupham*, the Daughter of *Hugh* Earl of *Roſs*, and by her had two Sons: All of them were born before King *Robert* came to the Crown; and after his Coronation, he call'd a Parliament at *Scoon*, wherein he created his eldeſt Son, by his firſt Marriage (whoſe Name was *John*) Earl of *Carrick* and Prince of *Scotland*; the Second, nam'd *Robert*, Earl of *Monteith* and *Fife*; his third Son *Alexander*, Earl of *Buchan* and Lord of *Badynoch*; and the two Sons of the ſecond Marriage, were *Walter*, created Earl of *Athol* and Lord of *Brichen*; and *David* Earl of *Strathern*. The three Daughters were marry'd, the eldeſt to *William* Earl of *Douglaſs*, the ſecond to *John Dunbar* Earl of *Murray*, and the third to *John* Lord *Glams*. And at this time the King created *James Lindſay* of *Glenesk*, Earl of *Crawford*.

In the third Year of King *Robert*'s Reign, died *Eupham* the Queen, and was buried in *Dunfermling*. After her Death the King call'd a Parliament at *Scoon*, the 4th Day of *April*, 1373, on Purpoſe to ſettle the Succeſſion, and to prevent all Diſorders that might afterwards ariſe about the Title to the Crown. It was enacted by the ſaid King *Robert* II. with the Advice and Conſent of the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, That the King's Sons, then born by his firſt and ſecond Wives, and their Heirs, ſhould ſucceed to the Crown in Manner after ſpecify'd: That is to ſay, his eldeſt Son by the firſt Marriage, *John* Earl of *Carrick*, and his Heirs, ſhould immediately, after the Death of the King his Father, ſucceed; and in caſe the ſaid *John* died without Iſſue, that his Brother *Robert* Earl of *Fife* and *Monteith*, the ſecond Son by the firſt Marriage, ſhould ſucceed: Failing him and his Heirs, *Alexander* Earl of *Badynoch*, third Son by the firſt Marriage, ſhould ſucceed: Failing him and his Heirs, *David* Earl of *Strathern*, the King's fourth Son, and firſt of his ſecond Marriage, ſhould ſucceed: Failing him and his Heirs, *Walter* Earl of *Athole*, the King's fifth Son, and ſecond by the ſecond Marriage, and his Heirs ſhould ſucceed: And that if the five Sons died without Iſſue, the Daughters and their Iſſue: Failing them, the next of the Royal Line, according to Proximity of Blood, ſhould ſucceed. Which Act all the three Eſtates of Parliament, conſiſting of Biſhops, Nobles, Abbots, Priors, Free-holders, and Burghers, did, for themſelves and their Heirs and Poſterity for ever, ſolemnly ſwear to obſerve.

A Parliament call'd at *Scoon*, *April* 4. 1373.

There ſeems to be ſome Miſtake in *Boetius*'s Hiſtory, and other Authors concerning this King's Marriages, but the Learn'd Sir *George Mackenzie* of *Roſehaugh*, has ſo Learn'dly diſcuſs'd that Point, that I think it would be moſt abſurd to offer any thing to vindicate the ſame; therefore I agree in Sir *George*'s Sentiments, and am convinc'd with his clear Proofs in that Diſpute.

Vid. Jus Reg. *Part.* II. *Page* 196.

King *Robert* govern'd the Kingdom with great Juſtice, and preſerv'd Peace and Concord among his Subjects, and with his Neighbours, till the fourth Year of his Reign, ſeveral *Engliſh* Borderers came to *Roxburgh* Fair, and in a Fray kill'd ſeveral Friends of *George* Earl of *March*. The Earl being griev'd to ſee his Kinſmen ſlain unjuſtly, he ſent to *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, the Warden of the Borders, to deliver up thoſe Murderers: But *Piercy* gave no ſatisfactory Anſwer, which enrag'd the Earl of *March* ſo, that he with his Brother the Earl of *Murray*, went with their Servants and Tenants into *Roxburgh* the next Year, and ſlew all the *Engliſh* Merchants in the Town. The *Engliſh* came ſoon after, and burnt ſeveral Lands belonging to Sir *John Gordon* of *Lochinvar*, and murder'd the Men, with their Wives and Children; and

A Scuffle between *Scots* and *Engliſhmen* at *Roxburgh* Fair.

and they return'd with great Plunder into *England*. Sir *John*'s Lands being join'd to the Earl of *March*'s, the Earl knew that the *Engliſh* had fallen upon Sir *John*'s Lands inſtead of his own, therefore offer'd his Aid to Sir *John*, to be reveng'd of the *Engliſh*; and they rais'd a ſtrong Party, with which Sir *John Gordon* enter'd *England*, and paſs'd over a great Part of the Country without Oppoſition, and had gotten great Spoil; but as he was returning, one *John Lilburn*, with an Army, came to reſcue the Goods and Priſoners which the *Scots* had taken. Sir *John Gordon* was not afraid of the great Number of the *Engliſh*, (who were Three Times the Number of the *Scots*) but with great Courage and Reſolution fought them; and after a moſt terrible Conflict, the *Engliſh* were routed and purſu'd with great Slaughter; and their Captain *Lillburn* was taken Priſoner, and brought into *Scotland*. *A. D.* 1376.

Henry Piercy, Earl of *Northumberland*, hearing of this Defeat, enter'd *Scotland*, as far as *Duns*, with an Army of Horſemen; and being in the Night encamp'd in a Valley near *Duns*, it was contriv'd by the Country-People and Herds, to tye ſeveral dry Skins about Sticks, being ſtretch'd, and ſmall Stones put in them, they went in the Darkneſs of the Night near the *Engliſh* Camp, and ſuddenly made ſuch a rattling Noiſe with thoſe Things, that all the Horſes were frighten'd, broke from their Holds, and trampled many of their Riders under Feet; by which the Army loſt all their Horſes, ſo that they were oblig'd to return Home on Foot: And when *Thomas Muſgrave*, the Captain of *Berwick*, came with Men to aſſiſt the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Party, they went to ſearch for their Horſes, which became a Prey to the Country People, ſo the *Scots* came upon them, and routed them with great Slaughter; and brought *Thomas Muſgrave* Priſoner to Sir *John Gordon*. And about the ſame Time, *John Johnſton* of That Ilk, with his Kinſmen and Tenants, had ſeveral Skirmiſhes with the *Engliſh*, and had Victory over them.

In the Year 1376, Pope *Gregory* XI. ſent a Legate into *Scotland*, forbidding the King to intromitt with the Revenue of Churches or Church-Lands after the Death of the Biſhops, before new Biſhops were Ordain'd. The ſame Year was the Cathedral Church of St. *Andrew*'s burnt by the Negligence of the Plumbers, who left Fire in the Steeple in the Night, which took Fire, and could not be ſtop'd next Day.

John Earl of *Carrick*, married to *Annabella Drummond*, A. D. 1376.

In this Year 1376, *John* Earl of *Carrick*, who was married to *Annabella*, the Daughter of Sir *John Drummond* of *Stobb-hall*, had by her a Son, who was baptis'd *David*. On St. *Andrew*'s Day, Sir *John Goraon* took the Caſtle and Town of *Berwick* from the *Engliſh*, and brought the Captain, with all the Soldiers, Priſoners to *Edinburgh*. Soon after, *William* Earl of *Dowglaſs* enter'd *England* with an Army of 2000 Men, and came to *Penrith-Fair*, and carried off all the Merchants Goods, which they eſteem'd as a great Prey; but the Plague being then in *England*, ſome of thoſe Goods were ſo infected, that the Infection was thereby brought to *Scotland*, whereof many People died in ſhort Space: But it pleas'd GOD, that it ceas'd in ſhort Time. Next Year, the *Engliſh*, to revenge their Loſſes at *Penrith*, enter'd *Scotland* with an Army near *Solkway*, and went over the Country with great Cruelty. The *Scots* of that Part of the Country took to their Arms, and gave Battle to the *Engliſh* near *Solkway*-Sands, where the *Engliſh* were defeated, and many of them ſlain: And thoſe who eſcap'd the Battle were purſued over the Sands to a deep Quick-Sand, where they periſh'd.

King *Charles* of *France* hearing the Victory that the *Scots* had obtain'd againſt the *Engliſh*, ſent an Ambaſſador to King *Robert*, to congratulate him on the Birth of his Grandſon, and deſir'd that he might not forbear proſecuting the Wars againſt *England*: For now, in the Year 1377, *Edward* III. of *England*, died at his Mannour of *Skeen*, (now *Richmond*) and was ſucceeded by *Richard*, his Grandſon; for *Edward*, call'd the *Black Prince*, died in *France*, in the Third Year of King *Robert*'s Reign. *Edward* III. reign'd 50 Years, and liv'd 64. He was the moſt victorious Prince that ever reign'd in that Nation. It was in his Reign, that the Order of the GARTER firſt begun in *England*. The King being at a Ball, the Counteſs of *Salisbury* dropt

The Order of the GARTER inſtituted in *England*, by *Edward* III.

A. D. 1377.

her Garter in the Dance, and the King taking it up, and putting it into his Boſom, ſome of the Nobles ſmil'd to ſee the King ſo amorous: Whereupon, the King ſaid ſeriouſly, That e'er long, great Honour ſhould be done to that Garter; and, in Anſwer to the Lord's Suſpicion, ſaid in *French*, HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE: Whereupon, the King inſtituted the Order of the GARTER. The Number of the Knights of this Order are 26, the King always being One and the Preſident. The Feaſt is always celebrated on St. *George*'s Day, he being the Titulary Saint of the Order. *Edward* being dead, his Grandſon *Richard* was crown'd King at *Weſtminſter* the 16th Day of *July*, 1377: At which Time, the War with *France* was renew'd; and afterwards, this Ambaſſador came over to *Scotland*, deſiring King *Robert* to invade the *Engliſh*, to draw the Forces of *England* from *France*. The King of *France* offer'd a Yearly Sum of Money to be paid to the *Scots*, if they would aſſiſt them againſt *England*: Whereupon, *Walter Wardlaw*, the Biſhop of *Glaſgow* and Cardinal, with many Noblemen, were ſent over to *France*, to renew the ancient League with King *Charles*; and the King of *France* contracted a Sum of Money to be given the King of *Scotland*, for an immediate Supply of Forces to invade *England*, which they granted.

James Earl of *Lindſay*, kills *John* Lord *Glams*, for which he is Outlaw'd:

In this Year 1377, happen'd the Earl *James Lindſay*, of *Crawford*, to quarrel with *John Lyon*, Lord *Glams*, and Chancellor of *Scotland*; and the ſaid *John* was ſlain by the Earl *Crawford*, for which *Crawford* was outlaw'd and baniſh'd for ſeveral Years; 'till, by the Interceſſion of the Earls of *Dowglaß* and *March*, he was receiv'd into the King's Favour, and reſtor'd to his former Lands and Titles.

But is pardon'd.

This *John* Lord *Glams* was a Man of excellent Endowments of Body and Mind, which brought him ſo much into the King's Favour, that he had the King's ſecond Daughter *Elizabeth* for Wife, with ſeveral Lands in *Angus*, and had for his Coat of Arms, the Royal Coat of *Scotland*, with a proper Mark of Diſtinction. Of this *John* is the Loyal and Ancient Family of *Strathmore* deſcended.

In the Year 1381, *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* came into *Scotland* with many Noblemen of *England*, to treat of Peace between both Nations. When he had concluded Peace for Three Years, and was on his Return to *England*, he had Notice of the Inſurrection of the Commons of *England* with *Jack Straw* and *Walter Tyler*, their Captains. The Duke being on his Journey to the Borders, was convoy'd back by the Earls of *Dowglaß* and *March*, to *Holyrood-houſe* Palace, where he reſided, 'till he had News of their being routed and taken Priſoners; and *Jack Straw*, and all the Ringleaders of their Party were drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd. *Walter Tyler*, the chief Captain, was taken and ſlain by *William Walworth*, the Lord Mayor of *London*, who was rewarded by King *Richard* with 100 *l.* of Yearly Land-Rent, and was, with his Brethren, (Five Aldermen) Knighted, and in Honour to the City, becauſe they had rais'd a Thouſand Arm'd Men, who aſſiſted the Lord Mayor when he ſlew *Wat Tyler*. The King added to their Arms a Dagger, ſuch as *Walworth* had ſtabb'd *Tyler* with; the Arms of the City which was before Argent, a Croſs Gules.

Addition to the Arms of *London*, atchiev'd by *William Walworth*.

The Time agreed in the late Treaty of Peace, was not yet expir'd when the *Engliſh* Borderers began to plunder the Inhabitants of *Annandale* and *Galloway*, and when they had carried off ſeveral Droves of Cattle, they took the Caſtle of *Lochmaben*, and put a ſtrong Garriſon in it: Whereupon, *Archibald Dowglaß*, Lord of *Galloway*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Earls of *Dowglaſs* and *March*, came with a ſtrong Party, and fought the *Engliſhmen*, and routed them; bringing back the Cattle and Goods they had carried off: Afterwards they beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Lochmaben*, and got it in Eight Days, with all the Garriſon: And the ſame Day they took the Caſtle, they likewiſe routed a Party of *Engliſh* that came to relieve the Beſieg'd.

The *Engliſh* invade the *Scots*.

They are routed by the *Scots*.

King *Richard* hearing of thoſe Skirmiſhes, was as ready to moleſt the *Scots* as his Predeceſſors had been, and ſent the Baron of *Grayſtock* with an Army to the Border. The Baron fortify'd *Carliſle*, and deſign'd to take *Roxburgh*-Caſtle;

Caſtle; but as he was advancing towards it, he was met by the Earls of *March*, *Dowglaſs*, and the Lord *Galloway*, with their Party, who gave Battle to the Baron, and routed his Party; himſelf being taken Priſoner, was carried to *Dunbar*, with all his Ordnance. King *Richard* hearing this Defeat, ſent *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* with an Army by Land, and ſent a Fleet of Ships, at the ſame Time, to invade *Scotland* by Sea. The Duke came into *Scotland* with his Army; but in Conſideration of the Civility ſhew'd him when he had been there before, he went to *Edinburgh* to viſit the Earls of *March* and *Douglaſs*, and return'd to his Army, and went back without any Action or Hoſtility: But this Agreement with the *Scots* was reſented by the Earl of *Northumberland*, which occaſion'd great Animoſities in *England*. The Fleet went up the River *Forth*, and burnt ſeveral Ships and Sea-Coaſt Towns, 'till they came to St. *Colm's-Inch*, where they ſet Fire to the Abbey Three Times, but it was always extinguiſh'd without doing Hurt, by which they were ſo vex'd at one another, that they quarrel'd, and ſlew many of their own People. In the mean Time, one *William Marſhall* was made Admiral of the *Scots* Fleet, and ſet upon the *Engliſh*, and burnt many of their Ships. He went after thoſe that eſcap'd to *Scarsborough*, and brought ſeveral Ships and Priſoners with him to *Scotland*. Another Fleet of *Engliſh* Ships landed in *Fife*, to be reveng'd for the former Loſſes; but at their landing they were encounter'd by *Thomas* and *Nicholas Erskins*, *Alexander Lindſay*, and *William Cunningham* of *Kilmaurs*, who, after a ſharp Engagement, routed the Men, and took their Ships.

A. D. 1386.

The *Engliſh* overthrown, and the Earon of *Grayſtock* taken Priſoner.

In the Year 1386, the Earl of *Dowglaſs* routed the *Engliſh* Army, commanded by the Earl of *Northumberland* in *Tiviotdale*, and took all the Strengths of the Borders, which the *Engliſh* had kept from the Battle of *Durham*, 'till then. Soon after, this valiant and noble Earl *William Dowglaſs*, died at his Caſtle of *Dowglaſs* on the 6th of *June*, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *James*, who inherited all his Father's Virtues and Valour, as well as his Lands and Title.

This *James* Earl of *Dowglaſs* took the Caſtle of *Berwick* on *September*, after his Father's Death, and brought *Robert Bainton* the Conſtable, with all his Officers and Soldiers Priſoners to *Edinburgh*. He went with an Army into *England*, and took *Newcaſtle*, and ſeveral Towns of *Northumberland*, and demoliſh'd the Forts: In the mean Time, King *Robert* call'd him Home to aſſiſt in a Parliament held at *Perth*, concerning Matters of State.

A Fleet of Ships ſent from *France*, with an Army to aſſiſt the *Scots* againſt *England*.

At this Time arriv'd in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Valentinois*, with *John Weems*, the Admiral of *France*, with 200 Ships and 2500 Arm'd Men, with great Proviſion of Warlike Stores; and King *Robert* rais'd an Army of *Scots* to join them, and made his ſecond Son *Robert* Earl of *Fife*, Lieutenant-General, ſo they enter'd *England* in the Month of *May*, 1387. They took the Caſtles of *Wark*, *Carliſle*, and many other Places of Strength, in which they put Garriſons of *Scots*; but at that Time there fell ſuch a great Quantity of Rain, that the Army could not keep the Fields, by which they return'd to *Scotland*. Soon after, the *Engliſh* invaded *France* with a great Army, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Earls of *Buckingham* and *Straffford*; and a Fleet, under the Command of *William Montague* Earl of *Saliſbury*: Whereupon, the *French* Army return'd from *Scotland* with Aſſiſtance of *Scotſmen* and Arms. Soon after the Return of the *French*, King *Richard* enter'd *Scotland* with a powerful Army, with ſuch Expedition, that he came to *Edinburgh* before King *Robert* could get his Army in Readineſs. The *Engliſh* burnt ſeveral Churches and Parts of the Town, and departed into *England* with great Spoil. The *Scots* Army being got ready, *John* Earl of *Carrick*, Prince of *Scotland*, with *James* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, and *Archibald*, Earl of *Galloway*, enter'd *England* by *Solloway-Firth*, and took the Towns of *Carliſle*, *Cokermouth*, and many other ſtrong Towns of the Borders, and alſo took great Numbers of Cattle, and other Goods from the *Engliſh*. In this Expedition, *William Dowglaſs*, Son to *Archibald* Lord of *Galloway*, atchiev'd great Honour; for at *Carliſle*, he, with his Servants, burnt all the Suburbs of that

Whereupon, the *Engliſh* invade *France*, and the *French* return Home, with Aſſiſtance from *Scotland*.

A. D. 1388.

City, and defeated a Company of Soldiers, which sallied forth out of the Town. He pursu'd the Soldiers to the Bridge, and, with his own Hands, kill'd several Men, and threw others over the Bridge; and being disarm'd by Four Soldiers, he kill'd Two of them with the Blows of his Fist, and pursued the other Two to the Gate, and slew them. For his great Valour, King *Robert* gave him to Wife, *Giles*, his Grand-daughter, who was the most beautiful Lady in the Nation. The King of *France* had heard of her Beauty and excellent Endowments, and sent an Ambassador to desire her in Marriage, but before the Ambassador arriv'd she was married to *William*.

William Dowglass is married to the King's Grand-daughter.

In the Year 1388, *Robert* Earl of *Fife*, and *Archibald* Lord *Galloway*, enter'd *England* with an Army, and took great Prey of Cattle and other Goods, with which they return'd to *Scotland*. In the Time when they were in *England*, there came several Companies of *Irish* and *Englishmen* over the Seas into *Galloway*, and plunder'd the Country, and burnt several Towns: Whereupon, *Robert Stewart* and *William Dowglass*, Son to *Archibald* Lord *Galloway*, with an Army, took Shipping, and landed in *Ireland*, at a Town call'd *Carlingford*, which they took, and the Inhabitants ransom'd the Prisoners and Goods with Sums of Money. Afterwards, *Robert* went to another Town, nam'd *Dundalk*, which they took also; and were encounter'd by an Army of *English* and *Irish*, which they routed, and got great Spoil, wherewith they went to the Sea-ports, and took 15 Ships to carry the Spoil, with which they return'd to *Scotland*; and in their Way Home, they spoil'd the Isle of *Man*, (which was then possess'd by the *English*) and arriv'd safe, with all the Booty, in *Galloway*. Soon after their Return, *Richard*, King of *England*, enter'd *Scotland* with an Army; at which Time, King *Robert* call'd a Parliament at *Aberdeen*, and, with Advice and Consent of his Nobles, he rais'd an Army, and divided them into Two Bodies; the First he gave in Command to *John* Earl of *Carrick*, *Robert* Earl of *Fife* and *Monteith*, *Archibald* Earl of *Galloway*, and his Son *William*, with *Alexander Lindsay* of *Walcop*: The Second Army was commanded by *James* Earl of *Dowglass*, *George* Earl of *March*, *John* Earl of *Dunbar*, *James* Earl of *Crawford*, and *John Hay* Constable of *Scotland*. These Two Armies being in Readiness, the *English* Army left *Scotland*, and the *Scots* enter'd *England*, and went over the Country with great Slaughter, taking Towns and Castles in *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Yorkshire*, and *Durham*; and, at last, they met in *Northumberland*, and laid Siege to *Newcastle*, at which the Earl *Dowglass*, with a strong Party, continu'd, and the Army return'd into *Scotland* with great Prey of Goods and Cattle. While the Earl *Dowglass* lay at the Siege of *Newcastle*, it was defended by *Henry Piercy* (Nick nam'd *Hotspur*) Earl of *Northumberland*, who sent a Challenge to the Earl *Dowglass* to meet him, to fight in single Combate before an equal Number of their Attendants. *James* Earl of *Dowglass* gladly answer'd the Challenge, and granted a Cessation of Arms in the mean Time: The Two Earls met on Horseback with sharp ground Spears, and fought with great Valour and Courage on both Sides, 'till, at last, Earl *Piercy* was brought to the Ground by the Manhood of Earl *Dowglass*; whereupon, the *English* took up their Captain, and brought him into the Castle. The Earl of *Dowglass* continu'd the Siege for some Time, but it was so well defended by Earl *Piercy*, that there was no Possibility of taking it: So, after a long Siege, the Earl *Dowglass* left the Siege, and was returning to *Scotland* by the King's Orders, when a Messenger came after him, shewing, That an Army of *English* were come to assist *Henry* Earl *Piercy*, and that he, with his Garrison, were coming close after him. The Earl was no ways discourag'd, but Marshal'd his Army, and exhorted them to remember the valiant Actions of their Forefathers, how that in many Places they had gotten glorious Victory by their Courage and Valour against Thrice their Numbers of *Englishmen*; and as they were well skill'd in Exercise of their Arms, he beg'd they would use them with Manly Courage in the Defence of their Lives and Country, whereby they might recommend themselves to the Favour of their King and Country, and purchase immortal Honour and Applause.

Robert Earl of *Fife*, his Expedition unto *Ireland*.

Newcastle besieg'd by Earl *Dowglass*,

He is challeng'd by *Henry Hotspur*, Earl of *Northumberland*.

He is overcome in Combate by Earl *Dowglass*.

When

When *Henry Hotſpur* came in Sight of the *Scots*, he diſdain'd their Strength, ſeeing his Forces were far more in Number; and told his Army, that in ſhort Space they ſhould be reveng'd, by ſlaying that Party of *Scots*; yet when they join'd Battle, the *Scots* fought with great Courage, and maintain'd the Battle till Night ſeparated both Armies: But when the Moon ſhin'd clear, they renew'd Battle, and fought moſt deſperately till Day-light appear'd, at which Time the *Scots* had loſt many Men; yet not without equal Slaughter of the *Engliſh*, altho' they were twice the Number of the *Scots*. When *Patrick Hepburn*, with his Sons and Tenants, came to join the *Scots*, who were beginning to give Way to the ſuperior Force of the *Engliſh*, they ſeeing this freſh Supply, reviv'd their Courage, and ſet upon the *Engliſh* with ſuch Fury, that they put the whole Army to Flight, and purſu'd them with great Slaughter, till they took *Henry Hotſpur* Priſoner, as alſo *Thomas Herbert*, *Robert Ogle*, *John Lilburn*, *William Beauchamp*, with many other Noblemen, Knights, and common Soldiers, ſo that the Number of Priſoners exceeded the Number of their Purſuers. In this Battle were many *Scotſmen* of Note ſlain and wounded, but none was of ſo great Loſs as the valiant Earl of *Dowglaſs*, who was ſo grievouſly wounded, that when the Earls of *March*, *Murray*, and *Crawford* came to his Tent, they found him near Dead: For the Earl ſeeing his Army like to fail, before that *Hepburn* came up, he fought moſt furiouſly, to encourage his Men, and was often enclos'd among Numbers of the Enemies; by which he had three Wounds thro' his Body, and a mortal Wound in his Head, by the Loſs of his Helmet When the Earls ſaw him in that Condition, they fell into Tears and Lamentations; but the Heroick Earl of *Dowglaſs* ſaid to them, *My moſt dear Friends and Companions, forbear your Grief, and rejoice with me, that I dye a glorious Death. I not only die for my King and Country, which is the greateſt Honour a Subject can attain, but I die a Conqueror for them; and rejoice that my Life is ſo honourably and Happily ended. Thank the All-powerful* GOD *who has given this Victory to us, and pray to the ſame good and merciful* GOD *for my Soul, that by the Interceſſion of the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *the Mother of our* LORD, *and the Angels and Saints, I may have eternal Felicity. Pray, good Countrymen, remember Loyalty to your King, and Love and Affection to your native Country; and let not temporal Wealth tempt you to be diſloyal or unnatural to your King and Country; wherely you muſt certainly offend the Great* GOD, *who will puniſh your momentary Pleaſure and Vanity, with laſting* Pains and Torment. *Following Example, I die moſt contentedly, Lord* JESU *receive my Soul.* At which Words he expird. Such was the great Grief of all the Army for his Death, that they wiſh'd the Victory could be chang'd for his Life. This noble Earl had no Iſſue of his own Body, but was ſucceeded by *Archibald* Lord *Galloway* his Nephew. He was buried with his noble Father, Earl *William*, at the Abby of *Mellroſs*.

A. D. 1388.

A Battle fought between the *Scots* and *Engliſh* at *Otterburn*.

The *Scots* obtain Victory.

Earl *Dowglaſs*'s Heroick Speech.

His Death.

This Battle of *Otterburn* was fought on St. *Oſwala*'s Day, being the fifth Day of *Auguſt*, 1388. This *Hepburn*, who had ſuch Share in the Victory of *Otterburn*, was the Son of one *Hepburn*, who was taken Priſoner by the Earl of *March* in the Reign of King *David Bruce*, and was afterwards entertain'd by the Earl; and on a time when the Earl was in Danger of his Life by an unruly Horſe, which run furiouſly with him on his Back, *Hepburn* by his Speed and Strength took hold of the Horſe, and ſav'd the Earl's Life; for which Service the Earl gave him certain Lands in *Lothian*: Of this *Hepburn* deſcended the ancient Family of *Bothwel*, and many Noblemen and Prelates of great Account in *Scotland*, and as yet there are ſeveral worthy Families of that ancient Sirname.

Original of the *Hepburns*.

In the Year 1389, the King call'd a Parliament at *Perth*, where he declar'd to the Nobles, that he was ſo infirm of Body by great Age, that he could not undergo the Fatigue of Government; therefore beg'd of them to conſent to his Eaſe and Liberty, to prepare for eternal Reſt: Upon which the Nobles agreed, that *Robert* Earl of *Fife*, the King's ſecond Son, ſhould be Governor, till the Recovery of Prince *John* Earl of *Carrick*; who had been

A Parliament call'd at *Perth*

A. D. 1389. lame for some time by an accidental Blow on his Leg, by Sir *James Douglass* of *Dalkeith*'s Horse, by which he was confin'd, so that he was not fit for Travel over the Realm, to execute Justice.

After the Battle of *Otterburn*, King *Richard* sent *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl Marshal of *England*, to the Borders, as Warden of the Marches. He reproach'd the *English* Borderers for their Cowardice at *Otterburn*, where they let the *Scots* obtain the Victory, when the *English* were four to one of the Enemy: And he made a Vow, that he would give Battle to the *Scots* with an equal Number, if he could overtake them. It was not long e'er *Robert* the Governor came with a small Army to the Borders, upon which the Earl Marshal took to Flight; and when an Herald came to him, to assure him, the *Scots* had resolv'd to give him Opportunity to perform his Vow, the Earl answer'd, That he had Command from his Master, not to hazard so many Noblemen without certain Hopes of Victory. *Robert*, with his Army, went over all *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, without any Opposition. He took many Castles and Towns, and return'd into *Scotland* with great Prey of Cattle and other Goods.

In this Year 1389, Peace was concluded between the King of *France* and King *Richard*, after they had continu'd War, with various Chances, they having invaded one another's Countries sundry Times. Both Kings sent their Ambassadors to King *Robert*, who agreed to continue the Peace upon honourable Conditions; and upon Release of the *English* Prisoners taken in the last Wars, King *Richard* resign'd all the Castles on the Borders to King *Robert*, which had been formerly possess'd by the *Scots*.

Soon after Peace was thus concluded with *England*, and the Nation being in Peace and Quietness, *Alexander Stewart* Earl of *Buchan*, had some Variance with the People of *Murray*, and came with a Party to *Elgin*, and burnt the Cathedral Church, which was one of the greatest Ornaments of the Nation; it being a most magnificent Building, and richly adorn'd by several Bishops, besides the King's Bounty. The King was so much offended at this Outrage, that he caus'd *Alexander* to be taken, and confin'd to perpetual Imprisonment, where he died soon after. The Kingdom being in Peace and Tranquility, the good King, who was for long time infirm, by old Age and Fatigue, died in Peace, at his Castle of *Dundonald*, the 19th of *April*, 1390, in the 75th Year of his Age, and the 19th Year of his Reign. He was buried at the Abby of *Scoon*, with great Solemnity, and was universally lamented by all his faithful Subjects.

Elgin Church burnt by *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*.

For which he is imprison'd during his Life.

King *Robert*'s Death.

Immediately after the King's Death, the Nobility conveen'd at *Perth*, and gave Orders for the Proclamation of the King's eldest Son, *John* Earl of *Carrick*, but in Consideration that the Kings of *France* and *England* of that Name, had been unfortunate, they chang'd the Earl of *Carrick*'s Name from *John*, and proclaim'd him by the Name of *Robert* III.

ROBERT III. *The* 101 *King of* Scotland.

A. D. 1390. ROBERT III. the Son of *Robert Stewart*, the 2d King of *Scotland* of that Name, was crown'd at *Scoon*, the 15th Day of *August*, 1390, by the Bishop of St. *Andrew*'s, with the Concurrence of all the Nobility of the Kingdom.

Robert III. crown'd.

In the first Year of his Reign, several Princes of *Europe* sent Forces against the *Turks*, and from *Scotland* went *William Dowglass* Earl of *Nidsdale*, who was made Admiral of their Fleet, whereby he was envy'd by the *English* Lords, especially by the Lord *Clifford*, who lay with a Party in wait for the Earl's Life, and slew him most treacherously at *Dantzick*. By this Murder the Forces were all dispers'd, and the Wars against the *Turks* was not undertaken.

William Earl of *Nidsdale* made Admiral of the Fleet sent against the *Turks*.

He is slain.

While

A. D. 1396.

While King *Robert* govern'd the Kingdom in Peace and Quietneſs, *Duncan Stewart*, the Son of *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*, who was kept Priſoner, came with a ſtrong Party of Men to *Angus*, and was proceeding to *Perth*, when the King ſent *James* Earl of *Crawford* with a ſtrong Party againſt him. Before the coming of the Earl of *Crawford*, *Duncan* had ſlain Sir *Walter Ogilvy* of *Airly*, and his Sons, upon which the Men of *Angus* had arm'd themſelves, and when the Earl came up, they join'd him, and fought againſt *Duncan* and his Party, till *Duncan* being ſlain, his Party yielded: They were brought Priſoners before the King, who puniſh'd the Ringleaders and ſpar'd the reſt.

A Diſpute between the *Clancattons* and *Clankeys*,

In the 6th Year of King *Robert* the Third's Reign, there happen'd deadly Feuds between the Clans of *Catton* and *Kays*: They had often invaded one another with continu'd Slaughter, till at laſt they were adviſ'd by the Earls of *Murray* and *Crawford*, to chuſe 300 Men of each Clan, and end their Diſpute by a Combat before the King; to which both Clans conſented, and they obtain'd Leave of the King to diſpute their Controverſy by Dint of Sword, by 300 of each Side, on the North Inch of *Perth*, on a Day appointed. When they met, one Man was wanting of the *Clancattons* to make up the Number; upon which ſteps out a Tradeſman of that Name, and offers to fight, if they would give him a Dollar in Hand, and aſſure him of Maintenance for Life if he was diſabled in the Fight, to which they agreed; and immediately by Sound of Trumpet the two Clans join'd Battle, and fought ſo deſperately, that none of the *Clankeys* eſcap'd but one Man, who ſwam over the River *Tay*. Of the *Clancattons* were ten alive, among which the mercenary Champion was one.

Which is decided by a Fight between 300 of each Side.

A Parliament call'd at *Perth*

In the 7th Year of this Reign, King *Robert* call'd a Parliament at *Perth*, where he created his eldeſt Son *David* (who was then 18 Years of Age) Duke of *Rothſay*, and his Brother *Robert* Earl of *Fife*, Duke of *Albany*; and ordain'd, That that Title ſhould always be given the King's eldeſt Son, and his ſecond Brother. The King had alſo, by *Annabella Drummond*, two Sons, nam'd *John* and *James*.

Dukes firſt created in *Scotland*.

Whilſt Peace continu'd between *Scotland* and *England*, ſeveral of the Nobility of *England* reſorted to the Court of *Scotland*, as did alſo the *Scots* to the Court of *England*; and they mutually entertain'd one another, with noble Diverſions and Exerciſes, ſuch as Juſting, and Turnaments on Horſeback; whereby ſeveral Noblemen gain'd great Honour and Applauſe. At the ſame Time the Lord *Wells* of *England* was Ambaſſador at the Court of *Scotland*, and at a Banquet ſaid, he would challenge any of the *Scots* Nobility to meet him in any Exerciſe of Arms; upon which *David Lindſay* Earl of *Crawford* accepted of the Challenge, and they appointed the Place to be on *London*-Bridge, and the Day to be St. *George*'s Day, being the 23d of *April*. The Day being come, the Champions met upon *London*-Bridge, before the Court, and a great Conflux of the Nobility and Commons; at which Time they engag'd upon Courſers with ſharp Spears: They having run ſeveral Courſes gallantly, the People cry'd out (ſeeing the Earl *Crawford* ſit ſo ſtiff in his Saddle) *The Scotſman is lock'd in his Saddle*. He hearing this, leapt off his Saddle upon the Ground, and remounted preſently, to the great Surprize of the Spectators. At the firſt and ſecond Turns neither of them was hurt, but at the third, the Lord *Wells* was beat out of his Saddle, and Hurt by the Fall. The Earl *Crawford* diſmounted, and took him up and embrac'd him, declaring to him, that he had no Hatred to him, but had fought for his Country's Honour. The Earl got great Fame in *England* by this Engagement, and when he return'd to *Scotland*, he founded a Religious Houſe, with 7 Prieſts, to ſing daily in the Bleſſed Lady's Church at *Dundee*, to the Honour of St. *George*, for this Victory obtain'd on his Feſtival. After this, one *Robert* Lord *Marlow* came into *Scotland*, offering to encounter any *Scots* Nobleman or Knight at any Exceriſe; and he was encounter'd by *Archibald Edmiſton* at *Berwick*, and after by *Hugh Wallace*, who were both overcome by him:

A Challenge given by the Lord *Wells* to *David Lindſay* Earl of *Crawford*.

They encounter on *London* Bridge.

The Lord *Wells* diſmounted by the Lord *Crawford*.

A. D. 1399. At last *Hugh Trail* encounter'd, and overcame him, to the great Honour and Praise of the said *Hugh*.

The *English* revolt from *Richard* II.

About this time the Wars broke out in *England* between King *Richard* and his Nobles, and after long Contention, *Henry*, the Son of *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, made such a strong Party, that he got all the unconstant Noblemen to his Side, and compell'd King *Richard* to resign the Crown; and on the 18th Day of *October*, 1399, was *John* Duke of *Lancaster* crown'd King of *England*, at *Westminster*.

When King *Richard* had resign'd his Crown (finding no other way to save his Life) he was carry'd Prisoner into *Yorkshire*, and confin'd in the Castle of *Leeds*, from which (after long Trouble and barbarous Treatment) he found Means to make his Escape, and came in Disguise to *Macdowal* of *Galloway*, where he was some time unknown, but being discover'd, he was brought to King *Robert*, who receiv'd him with all due Reverence and Respect; yet he was so dejected and troubled in Mind, that he could not endure any Entertainment, but begg'd of the King to reside in the Monastery of *Stirling*; where he liv'd a solitary and virtuous Life, and died in few Years after. He was buried with great Solemnity, by King *Robert*'s Orders, in the Black-Friars Abby of *Stirling* *.

* This differs from the *English* Historians, who agree that he died a Prisoner in *England*: And the best of 'em report that he was murder'd at *Pontefract*.

In the Year 1400, King *Robert* contracted his Son Prince *David* Duke of *Rothsay*, to the Earl of *March*'s Daughter: But the Earl of *Dowglass* envying this Honour, us'd Means to break off the Match, and the Duke was soon after married to *Marjory* Daughter to the Earl *Dowglass*: Whereupon the Earl of *March* left his House at *Dunbar*, with his Nephew *Robert Maitland*, and went into *England*, resolving to be reveng'd on *Scotland* for the Affront. King *Robert* hearing his being in *England* in Arms, sent an Herald to *George* Earl of *March*, desiring him to return to *Scotland*, and that all Injuries done him should be repair'd. But the Earl did not obey the King's Command, for which Cause the King sent an Ambassador to *Henry* of *England*, desiring him, that if he was willing to preserve Peace between both Kingdoms, not to entertain any Rebels of his Kingdom in *England*. *Henry* took little Notice of the Message, but gave way to *Henry Hotspur*, Earl of *Northumberland*, to invade *Scotland*, with the Assistance of the Earl of *March*. They enter'd *Scotland*, and took a great Prey of Cattle and Goods; with which they were returning, when *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglass* (who had taken the Earl of *March*'s Cattle at *Dunbar)* came upon them with an Army of *Scots*, and fought and routed the *English* Party near *Berwick*, and rescu'd all the Prey they had taken out of *Scotland*; with which he return'd to *Edinburgh*, where he died soon after of a hot Fever, and was succeeded by his Son *Archibald*, in the Earldom of *Dowglass*. This deceas'd Earl built, in his Lifetime, the Abbies of *Bothwell* and *Lineluden*, and was a most pious and valiant Nobleman.

Soon after the Death of the Earl *Dowglass*, *Henry* of *England* came into *Scotland* with a strong Army; and King *Robert* rais'd an Army of *Scots* to give him Battle: But *Henry*, who had not us'd any Cruelty where he past through *Scotland*, told the *Scots*, that he did not come of himself, as a cruel Enemy, but that he came to know what Injuries the *Scots* had done against his Nobles, who advis'd him to that Purpose: And finding the *Scots* had given no Provocation to the *English*, he return'd with his Army, without doing any Hurt to the *Scots*.

The Queen of *Scots* dies.

In the Year 1401, died *Annabella Drummond* Queen of *Scotland*, and at the same time died *Walter Trail* Bishop of St. *Andrew*'s. After the Queen's Death, the King retir'd to *Holy-Rood-House*, where the Queen was buried, to perform Devotion for her Soul; and in the mean time appointed his Brother *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, as General of the Army, and Governor of his Houshold at *Falkland*. *Robert* hitherto had behav'd himself with great Affection and Loyalty to his Brother the King and his Family, but knowing the King to be of a merciful and gentle Disposition, he began to entertain some

ſome Thoughts of obtaining the Crown, by the Example of the neighbouring Kingdom. The firſt Step of his Cruelty was, by repreſenting *David* Duke of *Rothſay* to the King his Father, as being guilty of many Crimes, ſuch as raviſhing young Virgins and Religious Women: Upon which Accuſation, the King gave Orders to his Brother *Robert* to confine the young Prince. Having thus the King's Authority to accompliſh his Deſigns, he confin'd him cloſe in a Tower of the Palace of *Falkland*; where, as ſome ſay, he was ſtarv'd to Death; but that he died of Grief, is moſt probable, as 'tis reported. The Prince being dead, his Body was buried at *Lindores*, where many ſtrange Apparitions were ſeen, 'till the Reign of his Brother *James* I. who puniſh'd thoſe who were the Cauſe of his Impriſonment; after which Time nothing ever appear'd, as had formerly done to many Perſons. *A. D.* 1402.

Prince *David* is impriſon'd and dies

George Earl of *March* being ſtill in Rebellion, came into *Scotland* to revenge himſelf of the *Dowglaſſes*, and with him came the Earl of *Northumberland* with a ſtrong Party, and carried great Numbers of Cattle and Goods out of *Scotland*. The Earl of *Dowglaſs*, being impatient of Revenge, conveen'd all his Men, and enter'd *England*, and return'd with great Plunder of Cattle and Goods, having waſted a great Part of *England* joining the Border. Afterwards *Patrick Hepburn* with a ſtrong Party enter'd *England*, and was returning with a great Number of Cattle and other Goods, when Notice was brought him that a ſtrong Army of *Engliſh* were coming after him: He was not in the leaſt afraid, but ſtaid for their Approach, and tho' they were three times his Number, he gave them Battle, and had near routed them, when *George* the Earl of *March*'s Son with a hundred Men with Long-ſpears, came freſh upon him, and put him to Flight. In this Battle was ſlain *Patrick Hepburn* of *Hales*, and *John* and *William Cockburns* were taken, with *Robert Lawder* of the *Baſs*, and *John* and *Thomas Halliburtons*. This Battle was fought at *Nisbit* in the *Mers*, on the 22d of *June*, 1402.

After the Loſs of this Battle, *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs* rais'd an Army, and enter'd *England*, and having plunder'd *Newcaſtle*, *Durham*, and ſeveral Towns, was upon his Return, when *Henry Hotſpur*, alias *Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, came againſt him with an Army, and they fought at *Hallidown* in the *Mers*. After a ſharp Battle the *Engliſh* routed the Earl *Dowglaſs*'s Army, and took himſelf, with *Murdoch*, Son to Duke *Robert Stewart*, *George Dowglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, *Robert Arskin* of *Alloway*, and ſeveral others. This Battle was fought the 14th Day of *September*, 1403.

The Earl of *Northumberland* at that time had ſome Hopes of dethroning King *Henry*, and found a good Opportunity to attempt it, for *Owen Glendour* a *Welſhman*, had rais'd an Army of *Welſh* againſt King *Henry*, and was aſſiſted by a Party from *France*, with Hopes to redeem *Wales* from the *Engliſh*. *Owen Glenaour* having a good Body of Men, *Henry Hotſpur* went, with the Earl of *March* (carrying with him the *Scots* Noblemen their Priſoners) and join'd *Glendour*, offering to make a League with him, that if they could obtain the Crown and overcome *Henry*; then *Henry Hotſpur* ſhould be King, *Glendour* ſhould have the Principality of *Wales*, free from any Subjection to the Crown of *England*; and the Earl of *March* ſhould have all the Counties of *England* which the *Scots* poſſeſs'd; and that if the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, with the other Priſoners, would aſſiſt them, they ſhould be releas'd. By which Means the *Piercies* gather'd a ſtrong Party out of all Parts of *England*, and were encamp'd at *Shrewsbury*, when King *Henry* came with his Army upon them, and fought a deſperate Battle, with great Valour on both Sides, till at laſt the King obtain'd Victory, and diſpers'd all the Earl's Army and the *Welſhmen*; the Earl of *Dowglaſs* was taken Priſoner, and kindly entertain'd by King *Henry*, who ſet him at Liberty. This Earl *Archibald* was call'd *Tyn-man*, becauſe he loſt every Battle that he was engag'd in, tho' a Man of great Courage and perſonal Bravery. The King of *England* beheaded many of the Nobles, who were taken in this Battle; and the Earl *Piercy*, or *Hotſpur*, with ſeveral other Noblemen and Knights, were ſlain in the Field of Battle; the Earl of *March*, and the other *Scots* Priſoners, made their Eſcape,

A. D. 1403. as did *Owen Glendour*; but he being abandon'd by all his Company, he died in a Wood, of Hunger. Many of his People were ſlain, and hang'd by the *Engliſh*, who purſu'd them with *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, who fought with incredible Courage in the Battle of *Shrewsbury*. After this Battle the Sons of *Hotſpur* came into *Scotland*, and were brought to *Henry Wardlaw* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, who took ſpecial Care of their Education, in the Abby of St. *Andrew*'s

King *Robert* of *Scotland* having ſeen the Inſolence of his Brother *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, was afraid of his too great Power, and then gave Credit to the Reports which were made of his Cruelty to the Duke of *Rothſay*. *Robert* being call'd before the King, had Subtilty enough to excuſe himſelf, and deſir'd the King might come to *Edinburgh*, where he would produce all the Perſons who had accus'd the Prince, and alſo thoſe who attended him in the Caſtle. And ſuch great Power had *Robert*, that when the King came to *Edinburgh*, he caus'd try, condemn, and execute ſeveral innocent Perſons, upon Pretence that they had occaſion'd the Prince's Impriſonment without a Crime. After this, *Robert*'s Deſignswere daily more manifeſt, which caus'd the King to ſend his ſecond Son *James* (for the other Son *John* was then dead) to St. *Andrew*'s, to the Biſhop *Wardlaw*, to be ſafe from the Danger he might be expos'd to at Court.

The Biſhop knowing the Strength of Duke *Robert*'s Party, ſent a truſty Friend with Notice to the King, that ſince *James* was the only Son then alive, and that there was Reaſon to ſuſpect the Duke's Deſigns would beget Troubles in the Kingdom, it would be moſt proper to ſend the young Prince into *France* or *England*, to be ſafe from Danger, in caſe *Robert* ſhould plot againſt his Life. The King approv'd of the Biſhop's Advice, and order'd a Ship with all Proviſions, to be ready to tranſport the Prince; and order'd *Henry Sinclair* Earl of *Caithneſs* and *Orknay* to take the Charge of the Prince, and ſeveral young Noblemen to attend him, among whom were the Sons of *Henry Hotſpur*, who had been educated with the Prince *James* at St. *Andrew*'s. The King order'd them to ſail for *France*, but in caſe they ſhould be forc'd into any Part of *England*, the King wrote a Letter to King *Henry* by Prince *James*: But tho' the Ship was bound for *France*, yet ſhe was taken by an *Engliſh* Ship off of *Hamburgh*-Head, and carry'd to Land on the 30th Day of *March*, 1404. When the Prince with his Company were brought to King *Henry*, the Letter from King *Robert* was produc'd, and King *Henry* read it. In it King *Robert* ſaid, "If the Bearer, *James*, ſhould come into any Part "of his Realm, he beſought him to ſhew him ſuch Civility, as the King of "*England*, or any of his Children might expect in *Scotland*, if they ſhould "come to that Country, in a peaceable and friendly Manner, as his Son then "did. And at the ſame Time entreated K. *Henry* to continue ſuch laſting Peace "as might be for the Advantage and Happineſs of both their Kingdoms." King *Henry*, at firſt, receiv'd Prince *James* with great Reſpect and Civility, but finding it neceſſary to conſider what he did in that Caſe, he call'd his Council to adviſe what Anſwer he ſhould return to King *Robert*. In the Council many Noblemen told the King, it would be moſt honourable, and becoming King *Henry*, to reſpect the Prince of *Scotland*, and to make him ſafe till the Troubles of *Scotland* were appeas'd, ſince the King of *Scotland* had deſir'd ſuch a Favour of him, and put Confidence in the King, to ſend his Son for Safety: But others had not ſuch Regard to the Rules of Honour and Humanity, for they urg'd the King to confine Prince *James* Priſoner; that as the People of *Scotland* were then their Enemies, they ought to take all Advantages of them: That as the *Scots* had aſſiſted *Henry Hotſpur*, and his Children were then with them, they had ſent this young Prince as a Spy. Thoſe who were for confining Prince *James* being the ſuperior Number, and the Perſons that King *Henry* was moſt fearful to offend, he was oblig'd, for his own Safety, to detain Prince *James*; yet he had ſo tender Reſpect to him, that he order'd him to have Maſters of all Sciences, and Princely Education, and no leſs Attendance than if he were King *Henry*'s own Son; for when he

Prince *James* ſets out for *France*.

He is taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*.

he was of Age, he was equally experienc'd in all the Liberal Sciences, and as expert in all, as if he had ſtudied but One: He was well skill'd in all manly Exerciſes, ſuch as Fencing, Juſting, and Dancing; and was alſo an excellent Muſician, for he could ſing and play on Lute, Harp, and other Inſtruments: He was alſo expert in Grammar and Oratory, and made many Extempore Verſes, whereby he appears to have been an excellent Poet; and was no leſs skill'd in Theology: So that it appears he did not ſpend the Time of his Captivity in Idleneſs, nor Grief for his Sufferings. *A. D.* 1404.

King *Robert* hearing that his Son Prince *James* was detain'd Priſoner in *England*, he was much afflicted, and lamented his own Misfortunes with great Grief, ſaying, "If he had married the Daughter of any foreign King, "their Alliance would be of great Uſe to him at that Time; but as he had "only married the Daughter of his Subject and Inferior, his Alliance could "be of no Help to him in the Danger he was in at Home, or the Relief of his "only Son, who was taken Captive". When Duke *Robert* ſaw that the King was ſo much afflicted, he came to him, and made great Proteſtations of his Loyalty, and would ſwear to his Innocence of Prince *David*'s Death; but the King could not be comforted, but continu'd melancholy to the Day of his Death, and ſaid, "GOD would certainly puniſh the Authors of *Da*-"*vid*'s Death in themſelves, or their Poſterity". This good and pious King died at the Abbey of *Paſly* in the 16th Year of his Reign, and 58th of his Age, being on the 15th Day of *Auguſt*, 1406. He was buried in the Abbey of *Paſly*. King *Robert* is afflicted for his Sons Captivity. The King's Death.

King *Robert* III. was of a large Size, and comely Stature, having a moſt Beautiful and Majeſtick Countenance; yet, by the Hurt of a Horſe, he was lame all the Time of his Reign, which was a great Impediment to his Activity in overſeeing the Government of his Kingdom: However the Nation was in great Felicity all the Time of his Reign, by his wiſe Directions.

After the King's Death, *Robert* Duke of *Albany* was made Governor, and ſeem'd to govern with greater Moderation and Juſtice, than he did during the King's Life-time.

Archibald Earl of *Douglaſs* being releas'd from *England*, mov'd in the Council which was held at *Perth*, that *George* Earl of *March* ſhould be reſtor'd to his Honours; which, accordingly was agreed to, upon Condition that the Lands of *Annandale* and *Lochmaben*-Caſtle ſhould be in the keeping of the *Dowglaſſes*. The Earl of *March* returns to *Scotland*.

In the Year 1408, *William* Earl of *Roſs* died, leaving a Daughter. She was married to one *Walter Leſly*, and the Earldom of *Roſs* given him. He had a Son nam'd *Alexander*, and a Daughter, who was married to *Macdonald* of the Iſles: *Alexander* died, and left a Daughter nam'd *Euphemia*, who was Heretrix of the Earldom of *Roſs*. The Duke *Robert* made the young Lady conſent, That if ſhe died without Heirs, the Earldom of *Roſs* ſhould fall to his ſecond Son *John* Earl of *Buchan*, and failing him, and his Heirs to the Crown. The young Lady died ſoon after, (not without the Treachery of Duke *Robert*, as is alledg'd) and the Earldom was given to *John* Earl of *Buchan*, who was created (by his Father) Earl of *Roſs*. This Earl *John* died without any Iſſue, except a Daughter, who was married to one Sir *William Seaton*, who, by his Marriage, claim'd the Earldoms of *Buchan* and *Roſs*. *Macdonald* of the Iſles hearing of his Wife's Aunt's Death, demanded the Lands of *Roſs* to be given him, as neareſt Lawful Heir, by the Right of his Wife; but Duke *Robert* would not take Notice of his Claim: Upon which, *Macdonald* rais'd ſeveral Clans of the Highlands, ſuch as his own Clans, *Macleans*, *Macintoſhes*, and others, and came into *Roſs*, and ſubdu'd it; then paſs'd through *Murray* and *Buchan* to *Garrioch*. *Alexander Stewart* Earl of *Mar*, was ſent againſt him with an Army, and they both met and fought at *Harelaw*, a Village in *Murray*, where many were kill'd on both Sides, and the Battle ended with uncertain Victory: Of *Macdonald*'s Army were ſlain the Two Captains of *Maclane* and *Macintoſh*, and many Gentlemen, beſides 900 Highland Men: Of the Earl of *Mar*'s Side were ſlain, *Alexander* 1408. A Battle fought at *Harelaw*, between *Mac Donald* of the iſles, and the Earl of *Mar*, *June* 23, *A. D.* 1409.

A. D. 1409. *Ogilvie*, Sheriff of *Angus*, *James Skriminger*, Conſtable of *Dundee*, *Alexander Irwin* of *Drum*, *Robert Maul* of *Panmure*, Sir *Thomas Murray*, *William Fraſer* of *Salton*, *Robert Davidſon* Provoſt of *Aberdeen*, *Alexander Straiton* of *Lauriſton*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen. This Battle was fought the 23d of *June*, 1409. After this Battle, *Macdonald* ſubmitted, and gave Oath never to invade the Kingdom with War.

At this Time, *Patrick Dunbar*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *March*, took ſeveral Caſtles from the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and brought many Priſoners into *Scotland*. Alſo *William Dowglaſs* of *Drumlanrick*, took the Caſtle and Town of *Roxburgh*, and ſeveral other Caſtles in the Border of *England*.

1412. The Univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s founded by *Henry Wardlaw*, the Archbiſhop.

In the Year 1412, the Univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s was founded by Archbiſhop *Henry Wardlaw*, and many learn'd Men were appointed as Doctors of all Sciences, to inſtruct the Youth of the Nation; and at the Reſtoration of King *James* I. this Univerſity was endow'd with ample Privileges and Livings for all the Profeſſors, Officers, and Scholars.

In this Year, a Conteſt happen'd between one *John Drummond*, and *Patrick Graham* Earl of *Strathern*, wherein the latter being ſlain, *Drummond* was apprehended and executed.

1413. In the Year 1413, died *Henry* IV. King of *England*, at *Weſtminſter*, on the 20th Day of *March*, in the 13th Year of his Reign, and 46th Year of his Age; and was ſucceeded by *Henry*, his Son, call'd *Henry* of *Monmouth*, from the Place in *Wales* where he was born. This *Henry* IV. had War with *Charles* VI. King of *France* long Time, with various Succeſs; at which Time, King *Charles* ſent over the Earl of *Vendoſme* to *Scotland*, for Supply of Forces, according to their ancient Alliance, and the Duke Regent ſent over his Son, the Earl of *Buchan*, with the Earl of *Wigton*, and 7000 Men well arm'd: They were moſt acceptable to King *Charles*, to whom they did ſingular Service in his Wars. King *Henry* V. claim'd the Crown of *France* by an Hiſtorical Narration of the Hereditary Right being deſcended to him by the Marriage of *Iſabella*, Daughter to *Philip* IV. King of *France*, with *Edward* II. upon which Account he took the Arms of *France*, (being Azure, Three *Flowers de Liſe*, Or) and quarter'd them with the Arms of *England*. At which Time, the Wars were renew'd between *France* and *England*, with great Eagerneſs on both Sides, and continu'd with various Chances: But, at laſt, Peace was concluded between both Kings, by a Marriage between King *Henry* and the Lady *Catharine*, Daughter to King *Charles*, whereby the King of *France* agreed, That *Henry* ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of *France*, after his Death, in Defraud of the lawful Heir of the Crown of *France*; which was the Occaſion of new Wars, for *Charles* the Daulphin of *France* fought againſt King *Henry* and his Father, and would not forego his juſt Right.

The Earls of *Wigton* and *Buchan*, with 7000 Men, are ſent to aſſiſt *Charles* VI. King of *France*: The King of *England* aſſumes the Title and Arms of *France*.

1419. Duke *Robert* dies and is ſucceeded by his Son *Murdoch*, in the Regency.

In the Year 1419, died *Robert Stewart* Duke of *Albany* and Regent of *Scotland*, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Murdoch* Earl of *Monteith* and *Fife*, in his Titles and Lands; but the Title of Duke being but for *Robert*'s Life-time, *Murdoch* had not Right to it, without there had been a King to create him ſo by new Patent. This *Murdoch* was an unſtable ſimple Man, and unfit for Government, yet was continu'd by the Nobility, who daily made Incurſions on the *Engliſh* during their Wars with *France*, and took many Caſtles, and had ſeveral Skirmiſhes with various Chances of Victory and Loſs.

The *Scots* being engag'd with *France*, the beforemention'd Earls, with their Army in *France*, did many ſingular Actions againſt the *Engliſh*, eſpecially at *Beaufort*, where the *Scots* fought an Army of the *Engliſh*, commanded by the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Henry*, wherein the ſaid Duke was ſlain, with many other *Engliſh* Noblemen, their Army routed, and the Earls of *Huntington* and *Somerſet* taken Priſoners.

The *Scots* obtain Victory over the *Engliſh* at *Beaufort* in *France*.

1421. King *Henry* carries over Prince *James* to *France*.

They fought this Battle on *Eaſter-Sunday*, the Year of CHRIST 1421: Of the *Scots* were ſlain the Earls of *Nidſdale* and *Roſs*, with the Lord *Gray*, and many other Noblemen and Knights of *Scotland*. After this Battle, the King of *England* brought Prince *James* of *Scotland* with him into *France*, and entreated him, by fair Words, to draw over the *Scots* Army from the *French*

French Intereſt; but King *James* told the King of *England*, That, as a Captive, his Subjects could not, with Safety, join thoſe who held him in Captivity; but if King *Henry* would ſet him at Liberty, he would be ready to do him any Service which might not be againſt the Welfare of his Subjects and his own Honour. 'Tis ſaid, that King *Henry* admir'd the great Judgment and Prudence of that young Prince, and was reſolv'd to ſet him free: But ſoon after, King *Charles* died, and King *Henry* claim'd the Government of *France*, by his Marriage of *Catherine*. Mean Time, the Dauphin got himſelf proclaim'd by the Name of *Charles* VII. King of *France*, and renew'd the War againſt *England*. *A. D.* 1421.

After the Death of *Charles* VI. King *Henry* was proclaim'd Regent of *France*, and ſoon after came over into *England*, and had his Queen *Katherine* crown'd at *Weſtminſter*; and on the 2d of *June*, 1421, ſhe was deliver'd of a Son at *Windſor*, call'd *Henry*, who ſucceeded his Father. The next Year, King *Henry* V. died on the 30th of *Auguſt*, 1422, in the 9th Year of his Reign, leaving his Son *Henry*, a Child of 8 Months old; and his Queen *Katherine* was married to one *Owen Tudor*, a *Welch* Gentleman, who had by her Three Sons, nam'd *Edmund*, *Jaſper*, and *Owen*. The youngeſt Son *Owen* took a religious Habit on him at *Weſtminſter*, and the Two elder Sons were created Dukes by their Uncle, King *Henry* VI. *Edmund* was married to the only Daughter of *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, and by her had *Henry* VII. King of *England*, the only Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and *Jaſper* was made Earl of *Pembroke* and Duke of *Beaford*, but died without lawful Iſſue.

To return to the Affairs of *Scotland*; when *Robert* Duke of *Albany* died, his Son *Murdoch* ſucceeded him in the Office of Regent; this *Murdoch* had Two wicked Sons, nam'd *Walter* and *Alexander*, who were great Oppreſſors of the People, and committed many Crimes guilty of Puniſhment; but, between *Murdoch*'s Fearfulneſs and Affection for his Children, he did not offer to correct them, ſo that their Inſolence encreas'd with their Years. It chanc'd, that *Walter* ſaw a Falcon, which his Father delighted much in, and deſir'd it of his Father, who refus'd it; upon which, *Walter* ſnatch'd the Falcon from his Father's Hand, and wrung off the Head of it. *Murdoch* being vex'd at his undutiful Son, ſwore an Oath, ſaying, *By the Lord*, Walter, *if thou wilt not be rul'd by me, I'll bring Home One ſhall rule you and me both.* Immediately he call'd a Council, and order'd an Ambaſſador to be ſent into *England*, to Ranſome *James*, the lawful King, who had been now kept unjuſtly 18 Years.

Murdoch the Regent's Sons, *Walter* and *Alexander*, oppreſs the People.

The Earl of *Buchan* having been made Conſtable of *France* by *Charles* VI. return'd to *Scotland*; but hearing, that King *James* was to be ranſom'd, he conſider'd the Injuries done to *James*, and his Father King *Robert*, by *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, whoſe ſecond Son he (the Earl of *Buchan*) was: Therefore he prevail'd with his Father-in-law, *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, to return to *France*, to aſſiſt *Charles* VII. who was then engag'd againſt *England* in the Minority of King *Henry* VI. where the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, accompany'd with his Son-in-law the Earl *Buchan*, and his own Son the Earl of *Wigton*, with 10000 Men ſail'd to *France*; and were receiv'd with all poſſible Reſpect by King *Charles* VII. who created the Earl *Dowglaſs* Duke of *Tournay*. With their Army, the Duke of *Allanſon*, with an Army of *French*, were join'd.

The Earl of *Dowglaſs* created Duke of *Tournay* by King *Charles* VII. of *France*.

At this Time, the Duke of *Bedford* (the *Engliſh* General) had won many Towns of *France*, and caus'd proclaim King *Henry* VI. at *Paris*, by the Stile of *Henry* King of *England*, *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*. Soon after, the *Engliſh* Army fought againſt the *French* and *Scots* at *Veronele*, and after a deſperate Conflict, the *Engliſh* obtain'd the Victory by the bad Conduct of the Duke of *Allanſon*. This Battle was fought the 20th of *Auguſt*, 1423. In it were ſlain the Earls of *Dowglaſs*, *Buchan*, and *Wigton*, and their Corps were buried, with great Solemnity, at St. *Gracian*'s Church at *Tournay*. To this *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, call'd *Tynman* (being more ſtout than fortunate) his Son *Archibald* ſucceeded in the Titles and Eſtate: And this *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, with *William Hay*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, and *Henry Wardlaw*,

The *Engliſh* obtain Victory over the *French* and *Scots* at *Veronel*, where the Earls of *Dowglaſs*, *Buchan*, and *Wigton* are ſlain.

A. D. 1423. the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, were ſent into *England* to ranſom the Prince *James*, in the ſecond Year of *Henry* VI. and agreed with the Nobles of *England* to pay One hundred thouſand Marks *Sterling*.

Prince *James* is ranſom'd.

James had been for long Time in moſt familiar Friendſhip with *John* Earl of *Somerſet*, and his Brother the Cardinal of *England*: By which he had ſuch Affection for *Jane*, the Daughter of the Earl of *Somerſet*, that he married her, about the time that the Ambaſſadors came into *England* to treat of his Ranſom, and the Earl contracted 40000 Marks, to be paid as his Daughter's Portion; which was paid in Part of the Ranſom, and beſides what the Ambaſſadors paid down, they left ſome young Noblemen as Pledges for the Payment of the Remainder. When all Matters were agreed, the Nobles of *England* would have King *James* to ſwear an Oath of Fidelity to King *Henry*, but King *James* anſwer'd, that he could do nothing then of himſelf, which he could oblige the Nobility of *Scotland* to conſent to, when he receiv'd the Crown, nor would he conſent to any thing ſo much againſt his his own Honour and Conſcience, and the Laws and Conſtitution of *Scotland*. Yet notwithſtanding of this honourable Anſwer, the Hiſtorians of *England* have forg'd a pretended Oath of Fidelity, which they moſt falſly allege that King *James* took to King *Henry* VI. who was then but two Years of Age. It is ſtrange, how theſe Learn'd Men could imagine this Prince, whom they allow to have been ſuch a great Politician, and a Prince of the ſtricteſt Regard to his Honour, his Conſcience, and the Laws and Conſtitution of his Kingdom, could be ignorant of the Fates of the *Baliols*, and could be guilty of ſuch great and ignominious Crimes. I need not offer any thing on this Occaſion, ſince the Learn'd Sir *George Mackenzie* has clearly confuted the falſe Aſperſions of thoſe Authors, who are ſo groſly miſtaken, as to believe they do their Country Service by forging ſuch partial Calumnies on neighbouring Princes.

He is married to *Jane* the Daughter of *John* Earl of *Somerſet*.

Vid. Baker's Hiſt. of *Eng.* p. 181, &c.

King *James* having taken Leave of his Acquaintance at the *Engliſh* Court, took his Journey towards *Scotland*, with the Lady *Jean*, accompany'd by her Father the Earl of *Somerſet*, and his Brother the Cardinal, who convoy'd them to *Berwick*, where he took Leave of them. When the King enter'd *Scotland*, he was receiv'd by his Subjects with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy and Gladneſs; and came to *Edinburgh*, where he was receiv'd with great and ſolemn Rejoicings of all Ranks of People, gather'd upon that Occaſion from all Corners of the Kingdom. The People of *Scotland* having been oppreſs'd by uſurping Governors, who ſtudied nothing but their own Intereſt, without any Regard to the Peoples Welfare. For 'tis common to all unjuſt Poſſeſſors to make the beſt Advantage they can of their Poſſeſſion, becauſe they know their Time is uncertain; whereas the right and lawful Heritor conſiders the Welfare of his Poſterity, and the People who muſt ſupport them.

King *James* arriv'd at *Edinburgh* the 20th of *March*, being *Palm-Sunday*, and kept his *Eaſter*, with the Queen, at *Edinburgh*.

King *James* leaves *England*.

He is joyfully receiv'd by his Subjects of *Scotland*.

JAMES I. *The* 102 *King of* Scotland.

A. D. 1424. JAMES I. the only Son of *Robert* III. was crown'd at *Scoon*, by *Henry Wardlaw* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, on the 22d of *May*, 1424. and with him was the Lady *Jane* crown'd Queen of *Scotland*; there being a great Concourſe of Noblemen and Gentlemen, with their Ladies, they continu'd the Solemnity of the Coronation ſeveral Days; at which Time King *James* created ſeveral Knights, among whom was *Andrew Gray*, who came with the King out of *England*, and had ſeveral Lands given him in *Angus*. Soon after the King return'd to *Edinburgh*, and call'd a Parliament, and ſummon'd all the Officers, who had been in Truſt during the Regency of Duke *Robert* and *Murdoch*, to give in their Accounts of the Crown Rents. When the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Regiſter and Comptroller gave in their Accounts, it appear'd

JAMES I. with his Queen, crown'd at *Scoon*, by *Henry Wardlaw*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s.

appear'd that the Governors had diſpos'd of the Crown Lands and Rents among their Friends; and that there remain'd nothing to ſuſtain the Crown but the Cuſtoms of Burroughs and other Duties. However the King was willing to comply with this Hardſhip for ſome Time, till he conſider'd on proper Methods to recover the Crown Lands, and to know how they were diſpos'd, and in whoſe Poſſeſſions they were; and ordain'd a Tax of 1 *s.* in the Pound to be paid of all the Rents of the Kingdom, both Spiritual and Temporal, and 4 Pence every Horſe and Cow in the Kingdom, for two Years, for the Payment of his Ranſom. It was paid the firſt Year, but the 2d, the King conſider'd the Scarcity of Coin, and remitted the Payment of it to all the Common-people of the Kingdom. In this Parliament the People of *Scotland* brought in ſeveral Complaints to the King, of the Oppreſſion and Cruelty of Duke *Murdoch* the late Governor, and his Sons and others of their Friends and Faction. The King hearing theſe Complaints atteſted by ſeveral creditable Perſons, caus'd arreſt *Walter Stewart*, Son of Duke *Murdoch*, *Malcolm Fleming* of *Cumbernald*, and *Thomas Boyd* of *Killmarnock*. *Walter Stewart* was ſent Priſoner to the * *Baſs*, and the two others were ſent to *Dalkeith*, but were ſoon after releas'd, upon Payment of a Sum of Money, becauſe their Crimes were not capital. *A. D.* 1424.

* A ſtrong Caſtle on an Iſle in the *Firth* of *Forth*.

In this Parliament King *James* took an Oath of Fidelity, to defend the Holy Church and the Catholick Faith. And ſoon after there was a Convention of Nobility held at *Perth*, where many Accuſations were exhibited againſt Duke *Murdoch* and others; whereupon the King caus'd arreſt *Murdoch* his Son *Alexander*, *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, his Brother *William* Earl of *Angus*, *George* Earl of *March*, *Adam Hepburn* of *Hales*, and many other Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Nation, and put them Priſoners in ſeveral Caſtles of the Kingdom. Duke *Murdoch* and his Lady were ſent to the Caſtle of *Tantallon*.

In the Year 1425, *James Stewart* the 3d Son of Duke *Murdoch*, was reſolv'd to releaſe his Father, or be reveng'd for his Impriſonment, and came with a ſtrong Party of Men to the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, and burnt the Town, after he had ſlain *John Stewart* of *Dundonald* with 32 Men in it. The King went with a Party after *James Stewart*, but he fled and eſcap'd to *Ireland*, where he died ſoon after: There were five of his Party taken, ſentenc'd, and hang'd at *Stirling*. The King call'd the Parliament again at *Stirling*, on the 18th Day of *May*, where he ſat with his Crown on his Head, and Sword and Scepter in Judgment, one the Trial of *Walter Stewart*, Son of Duke *Murdoch*, who was found guilty of many capital Crimes, ſuch as Murder and Oppreſſiion, for which he was beheaded in *Stirling*. Soon after Duke *Murdoch* and his Son *Alexander* were convicted of ſeveral capital Crimes, for which they were beheaded before the Caſtle of *Stirling*. The other Lords who were under the King's Diſpleaſure, being in Priſon, were afraid when they heard of the Deaths of the before-mention'd Perſons; yet they were all ſet at Liberty the next Year, and receiv'd into Favour with the King. Thus was the Imprecation of King *Robert* II. fulfill'd in Duke *Robert*'s Family, for all his Sons and Grandſons were dead or executed; and the great Eſtates or Treaſure which they pilfer'd from the Crown, was again recover'd, by the impartial Juſtice of this active and juſt King, who gave all Perſons the juſt Reward of their Actions, without Reſpect to their Rank or Degree, or Relation to his Blood. 1425.

In the Year 1427, *Alexander*, Lord of the Iſles, who claim'd the Earldom of *Roſs*, came into *Inverneſs*, where his Men committed great Outrages among the Inhabitants; but the King came ſuddenly on him with his Guards, and took him Priſoner: He having ſome reaſonable Excuſes for his coming to that Place, he was ſet at Liberty, upon finding Security for his future good Behaviour. Yet he was again found guilty of ſome Diſturbance in that Part of the Country, for which he was denounc'd Rebel. Being ſorry for his Offences, he diſguis'd himſelf in mean Dreſs, and came to *Holyrood-houſe* on *Eaſter-Sunday*, when the King was paſſing to his Devotion, and threw himſelf at the

A. D. 1427

Donald Ballocht makes an Insurrection.

King's Feet, on his Knees imploring Pardon for his Sake, who rose from the Dead on such a Day, to grant him his Life. The King, being sollicited by the Queen, spar'd his Life, but sent him Prisoner to *Tantallon*, where he remain'd a short Time; when his Brother *Donald Ballocht*, came into *Lochaber* with a strong Party of Men. The Earls of *Caithness* and *Mar* rais'd their Men, and came against him; but his Party being strong, he gave them Battle at *Inverlochy*, and slew the Earl of *Caithness*, and put the Earl of *Mar* to Flight, with his Party; and return'd into the Isles with a great Prey of Cattle and Goods. The King being griev'd to hear of the Death of the Earl of *Caithness*, was resolv'd to have this *Donald* punish'd, and went with an Army to *Dunstaffage*, with Purpose to search for *Donald*. The Chiftans of the Clans hearing of the King being come to *Dunstaffage*, they came before him in humble Submission, excusing their Offences, as being compell'd by *Donal* to what they had done, the King freely pardon'd them, upon Condition, they should never be found in any Rebellion or Tumult in the Country, at any Time after.

He is defeated, and flees to *Ireland*, where he is taken, and his Head cut off, and brought to the King at *Stirling*, where it is put up.

Donald Ballocht being abandon'd by all his Party, fled into *Ireland*, where he was slain by some *Scotsmen*, who pursu'd him, and his Head was brought to *Stirling*, and put upon the Bridge. *Alexander*, Lord of the Isles, died soon after in *Tantallon*, as also his Lady, who was Daughter to the (some time) Earl of *Ross*, in St. *Columb*'s Abbey, where she return'd, upon the Insurrection of her Brother.

King *James* pass'd over all the Kingdom, and caus'd Repair all Ruins in Churches and Castles, and punish'd all Crimes with impartial Justice, so that in the first Two Years of his Reign, there was no Person in the Kingdom that was found guilty of any Crime, but was punish'd according to the Offence; and the Kingdom brought to Peace and Quietness, by erecting Courts in every Shire of the Kingdom, to punish all Crimes.

When the Kingdom had been quiet for some Time, one *Angus Duff*, enter'd *Murray* and *Caithness* with a Company of Thieves, and carried away a great Number of Cattle, and other Goods; whereupon, one *Angus Murray* rais'd a Number of Men, of *Caithness* and *Murray*, to rescue the Cattle and Goods, but *Duff* was so resolute, that he would not let them go, but defended himself against *Angus Murray*, and his Company: Whereupon, they fought so desperate a Battle that none but 12 Men escap'd of either Side. The King sent a Party to search for those Robbers, but they were all slain in the Battle which they fought at the River *Spey* on the 2d of *June*, 1429 Years.

The next Year, one *Donald Ross* rais'd a Number of Thieves in the Shire of *Ross* and committed great Cruelty in several Places of the Country besides plundering Cattle and Goods. He took a poor Woman, who said, she would go to the King to complain, and put Shoes of Iron, like a Horse, on her Feet and Hands, saying, She should be put in a proper Condition to travel. After the Woman was cur'd, she went to the King, complaining of the Barbarity of this *Donald Ross*. The King, griev'd at this inhumane Action, went after him, and made such sudden and diligent Search, that he was taken with 12 of his Confederates, and were punish'd with Shoes on their Hands and Feet for 6 Days, as they had us'd the Woman, and afterwards hang'd on Gibbets, to terrify all others from such barbarous Actions.

After this just Punishment, the King was free from all Trouble; and upon
1430. the 16th Day of *October*, 1430, the Queen *Jane* was deliver'd of Two Sons,
The Queen deliver'd of Twins at *Stirling*. at *Stirling*, at one Birth: They were baptis'd by the Names of *Alexander* and *James*; *Alexander* died young, and *James* liv'd to succeed his Father. At the Solemnity of the Baptism, were 50 Knights made, among whom was *William*, the Son of *Archibald* Earl of *Douglass*, who succeeded his Father.

1431. In the Year 1431, King *James* arrested *Archibald* Earl of *Douglass*, and Duke of *Tourney* (in *France*) upon Suspicion of Treason; but, at the Request of the Queen and the Bishops, he was set at Liberty, and receiv'd into the King's Favour; and at the same Time, *Alexander*, Earl of *Ross*, was set at Liberty.

In

In this Year the Kingdom was brought to ſuch Peace and Quietneſs, that no Manner of Theft, Robbery, or Diſturbance was heard of in any Part of the Nation; but that all Travellers and Paſſengers might travel with their Goods without Fear. The King ordain'd Judges and Officers to paſs through all Parts of *Scotland* and the Iſles, to execute Juſtice to all Ranks of People without Favour or Hatred. He ordain'd the Provoſts and Bailies of all Towns to ſet Marks on all Meaſures and Weights, that the People might not be defrauded of the juſt Meaſure and Weight of what they bought and ſold; and that they ſhould amerſe any Perſon who ſhould be found to uſe other Weights or Veſſels, in great Sums of Money and Impriſonment. *A. D.* 1431. Weights and Meaſures regulated.

The King caus'd repair all the Forts and Garriſons of the Kingdom, and repair'd all Churches and Abbies where they had been demoliſh'd; and went in Perſon over all the Kingdom, to ſee that they were done according to his Deſire. After this Progreſs over the Nation, he came to viſit the Univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s, and endow'd it with ample Privileges and Livings for the Profeſſors of Sciences. He ordain'd that the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrew*'s ſhould always be Chancellors of the Univerſity, with a compleat Sallery for the Maintenance of his inferior Officers; and ſent to *France* and *Italy* for learn'd Men to teach the Foreign Languages, and all the Time of his Reign took great Delight in coming to hear their Diſputations. As he was a great Judge of all the Liberal Sciences, he took Pleaſure to encourage Learning, which is the Source of all Virtue and Induſtry; as it is ſure that Ignorance and Idleneſs is the Source of Vice and Profaneneſs. The Univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s endow'd, and proper Officers appointed.

In this Univerſity were all the Youth of the Nation educated, nor were any Church-men ordain'd or admitted to holy Orders, or had a Benefice, without the Approbation of the Chancellor and Learn'd Doctors of the Univerſity: And the King gave them a Power to chuſe proper Perſons to ſupply the Prelacies, and inferior Church-men, as places became vacant: That all Perſons might be preferr'd to Places and Benefices according to their Merit and Education, to the End that Virtue and Learning might flouriſh, and Vice and Idleneſs might be put out of Countenance.

No Prince ever exceeded this King in Piety and devout Reverence for the Worſhip of GOD, as well as Juſtice and Mercy where it was proper to ſhew it. He brought many expert Muſicians into the Kingdom, to inſtruct the Youth of the Nation, and caus'd moſt harmonious Hymns and Songs to be perform'd in all Cathedral Churches, at the Time of Divine Worſhip, to the Praiſe and Honour of GOD. King *James*'s great Character.

In the Year 1432, *Henry* VI. King of *England* was crown'd King of *France* in *Noſterdame*-Church at *Paris*, by his Uncle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Cardinal of *England*, he being ſcarce 9 Years of Age; and the Wars againſt *France* were carried on till King *Charles* VII. recover'd the moſt Part of all the Territories poſſeſs'd by the *Engliſh*; and drove the *Engliſh* out of moſt Parts of the Kingdom; and as it is common that unjuſt Titles and Poſſeſſions ſeldom are enjoy'd by the third Generation, of which we have many Inſtances in all Ages, among ſuch as have acquir'd unlawful Poſſeſſions and Power; nor was there an Example wanting in this *Henry* VI. King of *England*, as may be ſeen in the Hiſtory of his Reign. 1432.

In this Year the King call'd a Parliament at *Perth*, where many good Acts were made for the Government of the Kingdom, both in Church and State: And in this Parliament *Henry Wardlaw* the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s ſtood up and ſaid, *Moſt Wiſe and Gracious Prince, by your Goodneſs, there are brought into this Kingdom many uſeful Perſons, for the Propagation and Promotion of Religion, and all honeſt Induſtry: But we find among them many, who (contrary to your good Intentions) are come to introduce and promote Gluttony and Drunkneſs, which is the Source of all Wickedneſs. Thoſe People (Moſt Gracious Prince) do not conſider that the All-powerful and Wiſe GOD, our Creator, made Man for his own Service and Glory; and made all the Creatures under the Sun for the Uſe and neceſſary Subſiſtance of Mankind, to be us'd with Moderation and* A Parliament call'd at *Perth*. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s his Speech in Parliament.

A. D. 1433. *Decency, according to their ſeveral Uſes: Whereas if they are us'd immoderately and prophanely, they not only abuſe the Creatures, but alſo offend the* CREATOR. *Nor is Gluttony and Drunkenneſs leſs deſtructive than ſinful; for as moderate Uſe of Meat and Drink doth nouriſh and ſtrengthen Mankind, ſo doth immoderate Uſe of either abuſe the whole Senſes, and breed deadly Diſeaſes in all ſuch as uſe it. Beſides, that the Practice of Gluttony and Drunkenneſs is an abominable Example to the People of the Nation, as all evil Examples are moſt readily follow'd. Therefore, Moſt Wiſe Prince, take to your Conſideration this evil Courſe, which abounds too much at this Time; and may, in ſhort Time, ſo ſpread thro' the Nation, like a contagious Diſtemper, which not only renders People unfit to ſerve* GOD, *but alſo enervates and ſtupifies Men, that they may not be able to defend your Royal Perſon and Kingdom, if any Enemies ſhould invade it, as have done in former Times.*

The King took great Notice of this Speech, and made ſeveral good Acts to ſuppreſs Banqueting and immoderate Drinking: Which had been a greater Cuſtom always in *England* than in *Scotland*; and the Cuſtom was then introduc'd to *Scotland* by many *Engliſhmen* which came into *Scotland*, in the King and Queen's Service.

The *Engliſh* invade *Scotland.*

Notwithſtanding the Contract of Peace made with *England*, which was inviolably kept by King *James*, yet the *Engliſh* begun to invade *Scotland*, in the Year 1433; and took the Caſtle of *Roxburgh*, and put a ſtrong Garriſon in it. King *James* rais'd an Army, and laid Siege to the Caſtle, without Succeſs, for at that Time the Uſe of Guns and Powder was more common in *England* than in *Scotland*, and King *James*'s Army having ſpent their Stock of Amunition, were forc'd to return without Succeſs.

In this Year died *Robert Gardin* Biſhop of *Dunkell*, and was ſucceeded by *James Kennedy*, the King's Siſter's Son, his Mother being firſt married to the Earl of *Angus*, was afterward married to Sir *James Kennedy* of *Caſſils*, who was Father to the Biſhop. He was, after the Death of Archbiſhop *Henry Wardlaw*, tranſlated to the Archbiſhop's See of St. *Andrew*'s, and Primacy of *Scotland*.

Paul Craw condemn'd for Blaſphemy.

About this Time came into *Scotland* many Forreigners, Tradeſmen and Scholars, among whom was one *Paul Craw*, who was for ſome Time in the Univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s, but beginning to preach Hereſy againſt the bleſſed Trinity and the Sacraments of the Church, Information was made againſt him, and he was try'd by the Biſhops and Judges of the Nation, and was for Blaſphemy, and prophaning the Name of GOD, condemn'd to be burnt to Death. He confeſs'd at his Execution, that he was hir'd by foreign Perſons, to preach ſuch Hereſy as he was condemn'd for in *Scotland*, and was ſorry for what Offence he had thereby given to GOD and Chriſtian People.

He is executed.

There were many Petitions given to the King for his Pardon, but he ſaid he could freely forgive any who intended his own Death, or committed any capital Crime, but could not pervert juſt Judgment againſt any who would offer to blaſpheme or profane the Bleſſed Trinity: So he ſuffer'd according to the Sentence of the Law. The chief Proſecutor of this *Paul Craw* was one *John Fogg*, to whom the King gave the Abby of *Melroſs*, as a juſt Reward for his Zeal in aſſerting the Chriſtian Faith.

While the Nation was in Peace and Tranquility, the King often travell'd in diſguiſe among his Subjects, to learn their Manners, which he could more narrowly obſerve in that Condition. He delighted much in all Sorts of innocent Mirth and Muſick, but abominated riotous Feaſting and immoderate Drinking ſo much, that he ordain'd Puniſhments to be inflicted on all ſuch as could be convicted thereof.

In this Year 1433, King *James* built the *Dominican*'s Monaſtery of *Perth*, (call'd the *Charter-houſe*) and adorn'd it with great Magnificence, allowing certain Lands for the Maintenance of the Monks thereof.

The ſame Year the Ambaſſadors of *England* came to K. *James*, deſiring him to diſſolve the ancient Alliance between *Scotland* and *France*: But the King knowing the Uncertainty of the *Engliſh*, with Reſpect to their Alliances with

France

France and *Scotland*, declar'd to the Ambaſſador, That it was not proper for him to violate the ſo often repeated Oaths and Contracts of his Predeceſſors, therefore deſir'd the King of *England* would excuſe him for not complying to do a Deed ſo inconſiſtent with his own Honour and the Safety of *Scotland*. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador being diſpatch'd with this Anſwer, the King conſider'd that his denying the Requeſt of the Embaſſy, would renew the War with *England*, therefore reſolv'd to put the Nation in a Poſture of Defence. Therefore he went over the Kingdom, and review'd all his Forces and Forts, and found by his Muſter that he had 200000 fencible Men in his Kingdom, between Garriſons and Horſe and Foot. While the King was enquiring into the Condition of the Kingdom, he diſcover'd a treaſonable Correſpondence between *George* Earl of *March* (Son to Earl *George*, who had been long in Rebellion in *England*, againſt King *Robert* III.) and ſome of the chief Counſellors of King *Henry* of *England*. Upon which the King ſent *William* Earl of *Angus*, *William Creighton* Chancellor, and *Adam Hepburn* of *Hales* with a Caption to arreſt him; and accordingly they brought him Priſoner to *Edinburgh*-Caſtle; and a Parliament being call'd at *Perth* in that Year, 1433, he was found guilty of treaſonable Practices againſt the King and Country, for which he forfeited his Lands and Title: By this Means fail'd the noble and ancient Family of *March*, in the Sirname of *Dunbar*, after they had been a Family of great Diſtinction for 700 Years, and hereditary Earls of *March* 366 Years, having never fail'd in their Loyalty to their lawful Princes, nor their Love to their native Country, till thoſe two laſt Reigns: And notwithſtanding of this Forfeiture, the King pardon'd this Earl, and ſoon after gave him the Title of Earl of *Buchan*, and a yearly Penſion of 400 Marks out of the Earldom of *March*.

A. D. 1433.

The King diſcovers a ſecret Correſpondence between the Earl of *March* and the *Engliſh*.

This Year died *Alexander Stewart* Earl of *Mar*, who was Baſtard-ſon of *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*, who died without lawful Iſſue, and the Lands fell to the Crown, the Earl of *Buchan* being firſt Son of the ſecond Marriage of King *Robert* II.

This *Alexander* Earl of *Mar*, was employ'd by the *Hungarians* againſt the *Turks* in their Wars, and purchas'd great Fame and Honour, beſides Riches. He brought over ſeveral great Horſes and Mares from *Hungary* and *Poland* into *Scotland*, which brought a Breed of large Horſes into the Kingdom. This Earl of *Mar* being in *Germany* with the Duke of *Burgundy*, at the Siege of *Leodium* (or *Liege* in *Germany*) he behav'd himſelf with ſuch Valour, that *Jane* Counteſs of *Holland* offer'd herſelf in Marriage to him, which he accepted of; but ſhe having had a former Diſpute about her Marriage, with the Duke of *Brabant* and the Duke of *Gloceſter* in *England*, the former, whoſe Marriage prov'd void, being then dead, another Man of mean Birth, pretended that he had been married to her: Upon which the Earl of *Mar* put her away, and return'd into *Scotland*. He ſent over Servants to receive the Profits of Lands in *Holland*, which the Counteſs had diſpon'd to him for Life-time, but being deny'd by the *Dutch*, he went over with an Army of *Scots*, and compell'd the *Dutch* to make an Agreement with him for his Demands, and to contract Peace with *Scotland*, for the Term of a hundred Years.

In the Year 1434, the King of *Denmark* ſent an Ambaſſador into *Scotland*, to make a Demand of a yearly Conſideration for the Iſles of *Orknay* and *Shethland*, held by the King of *Scotland*; according to a Contract made by *Alexander* III. with *Magnus* King of *Norway*. King *James* ſent over Sir *William Creighton* the Chancellor, who agreed all Matters, and concluded Peace between the two Crowns of *Scotland* and *Denmark*. 1434.

The ſame Year *Charles* VII. King of *France* ſent an Ambaſſador to King *James*, to renew the ancient Alliance between the two Kingdoms; and for the more effectual Corroboration thereof, deſir'd the Princeſs *Margaret*, Daughter to King *James*, in Marriage to his Son *Lewis*, *Daulphin* of *France*. King *James* accepted the Offer, and gave Orders to get a Fleet of Ships in Readineſs to convoy her to *France*. When the young Princeſs with 40 Ladies,

Charles VII. of *France* ſends an Ambaſſador to renew the ancient Alliance.

A. D. 1434. with many Noblemen of *Scotland*, were ready to embark, there came an Ambaſſador from the King of *England*, deſiring King *James* to reject the King of *France*'s Offer, and to renew the Contract of Peace and Alliance with *England*, which if he refus'd, they threaten'd him with War. The King did not regard the Threatnings of *England*, but order'd the Ships to ſail; and tho' there were an *Engliſh* Fleet ſent, in order to intercept and take the young Lady Priſoner, yet her Fleet eſcap'd them, and landed ſafe in *France*, where ſhe was receiv'd by King *Charles*, and his Son the Dauphin, with all Demonſtrations of Joy and Reſpect, and conducted to *Paris*, where ſhe was married to *Lewis* in *Noſterdame*-Church, on the 10th Day of *June*, 1435.

The Princeſs *Margaret* is married to the Dauphin of *France*.

1435. The *Engliſh* invade *Scotland*. In this Year, *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland* enter'd *Scotland* with 4000 Men; whereupon, the King ſent *William Dowglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, with *Adam Hepburn* of *Hales*, *Alexander Ramſay* of *Dalhouſie*, and Sir *Alexander Elphingſton* of that Ilk, againſt *Piercy*, with an Army, and they met him at *Piperdon* on the Borders, where they fought a deſperate Battle, with great Courage and Valour on both Sides, 'till 1500 *Engliſhmen* were ſlain, and the reſt were put to Flight, and purſu'd by the *Scots*, who took 400 Noblemen and Knights, and 300 Men. In the Battle fell Sir *Henry Clifford*, Sir *John Ogle*, and Sir *Richard Piercy*, with ſeveral noble Knights. The *Scots* Army having gain'd great Honour and Riches by this Victory, wherein they did not loſe above 500 Men, they return'd with the *Engliſh* Priſoners, who were ſoon after releas'd at the Expences of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had undertaken that Expedition without the Authority of King *Henry*.

The *Scots* obtain Victory over the *Engliſh*.

The War continu'd between *England* and *France*, with various Chances of Victory all this Time, and ſeveral *Scots* Noblemen and Gentlemen went from Time to Time to aſſiſt the *French*. In the mean Time, *Scotland* continu'd in Peace and Tranquility, 'till in the Year 1437, *Walter* Earl of *Athole*, firſt Son of the ſecond Marriage to King *Robert* II. and Uncle to the King, having (as it is reported) conſulted a Wizzard, was told, *That, before his Death, he ſhould be crown'd in a great Concourſe of People.*

1437. *Walter* Earl of *Athole* covets the Crown. A fatal Prediction told him by a Wizzard.

This *Walter* was a moſt cruel, wicked, and ſubtile Man; for he firſt adviſ'd his Brother *Robert* to deſtroy King *Robert* IIId's Children, to get the Crown to himſelf, promiſing his ſecret Aſſiſtance; but when King *James* was reſtor'd, he was the chief Perſon in bringing the ſaid Duke *Robert*'s Poſterity to Death, by bringing Evidences of the Treaſon of which he was himſelf the ſecret Abettor. When he had this fatal Reſponſe, he contriv'd the King's Death, and drew into his Aſſiſtance *Robert Graham*, a young Man, being the Grandſon of *Walter*, and Son to *Robert Graham* of *Strathern*, who was executed with Duke *Murdoch*, as being Art and Part in the treaſonable Practices for which *Murdoch* was executed.

Walter Plots againſt the King's Life. The King goes to the Siege of *Roxburgh*. He returns to *Perth*.

When *Walter* had laid a Plot for the King's Life, to murder him by Poiſon, the King was inform'd, that the *Engliſh* had retaken *Roxburgh*-Caſtle, to which he went with an Army, and beſieg'd it. When the *Engliſh* were upon Terms to ſurrender, the Queen had an imperfect Information, that there was a Conſpiracy forming againſt the King's Life; upon which, ſhe went Poſt to the King, and inform'd him thereof. The King left the Siege, and came to *Perth*, where he diſmiſs'd the moſt Part of the Army, with Deſign to find out the Conſpirators by ſome ſecret Policy; but as they were ſtill unknown to him, he did not know whom to accuſe. The Day that the King came to *Perth*, he was met by *Walter*, with his Grandſon among the other Noblemen, without being, in the leaſt, ſuſpected; and that Night the King order'd his Lodgings in the *Dominican*'s Abbey, near the Walls of the Town, for Safety of his Perſon: But *Walter* ſuſpecting their Plot had been, or would ſoon be diſcover'd, he determin'd to murder the King that very Night; and, to that End, brib'd one of the King's Domeſtick Servants, who gave them Entry into the King's Bed-Chamber, and *Walter*'s Familiarity and Relation to the King gave him the more eaſy Acceſs to the Lodging in paſſing the Guards; and the Devil, who had tempted them to commit the execrable Crime, led them on to their utter Deſtruction, for tho' he had concerted all their Meaſures

ſures with ſuch Care, yet are they now precipitately hurrying to commit the Murder before Witneſs. They expecting to have found the King in Bed, came to the Door of his Bed-Chamber, as one of the King's faithful Servants, nam'd *Walter Straiton*, was coming out at the Door, who ſeeing *Walter* with *Robert Graham*, and Two more, cried out, *Traitors! Traitors!* and was about to return, but they pull'd him out, and ſtabb'd him dead. In the Minute that they ſtabb'd him, one Lady *Katherine Dowglaſs* (who was after marry'd to Sir *Alexander Lovell* of *Ballgony*) miſſing the Bolt of the Bed-Chamber Door, put her Arm to ſupply the Place of it, but the Traitors puſh'd the Door, and broke her Arm; whereupon, they ſuddenly enter'd, and ruſh'd upon the King: The Queen ſeeing their Deſigns, call'd for Help very loud, and endeavour'd to help and ſave the King, but, after giving her ſeveral Wounds, they murder'd the King, and ſtabb'd *Patrick Dunbar*, Brother to the Earl of *March*, who hearing the Queen call loud, came to the King's Aſſiſtance, but too late. They made their Eſcape, but ſoon after, were all apprehended by the Diligence of the Noblemen, who lamented the King's Death with great Sorrow. *Walter* Earl of *Athole* was taken by one *Duncan Robertſon*, of *Strowan*, and brought to *Perth*, and being try'd and found guilty of being the chief Contriver of the Murder, he was, according to the Sentence of the Judges, tortur'd Three Days together. The firſt Day he was put upon an Engine fix'd on a large Cart, having Pullies that hoiſted him up by Ropes, and let him fall down ſuddenly, which looſen'd all his Joints with exceſſive Pain. The ſecond Day, he was put on a high Pillory, like a Throne, and had a red hot Iron Crown put on his Head, with this Motto, * *The King of all Traitors!* And the third Day, he was dragg'd through the Streets on a Hurdle, and his Head being cut off, they took out his Bowels, and burnt them, and divided his Body into Four Quarters, which were put up on Poſts in *Perth*, *Stirling*, and *Aberdeen*.

A. D. 1437.

The King is moſt barbarouſly murder'd.

Walter, and his Confederates are apprehended and condemn'd to ſeveral Tortures.

The Puniſhment of *Walter*.

* The Prediction fatally fulfill'd.

Robert Graham, who actually ſtabb'd the King, was carried thro' the City with his Hand (that ſtabb'd the King) nail'd to a Gallows fix'd on a Cart, and Executioners running hot Irons into the Fleſhy Parts of his Body. The other Aſſiſtants were drawn, hang'd, and Quarter'd at *Perth*.

The Puniſhment of *Robert Graham*.

No doubt but this was thought very ſevere Puniſhment, as the learn'd *George Buchanan* ſaid, *It exceeded the Bounds of Humanity:* But, indeed, I am not of his Opinion; for, I really think, the ſevereſt and moſt terrible Tortures that can be invented, are little enough to puniſh any who dare attempt any Means to take away the Life of their lawful King, or betray the Liberty of their native Country.

Thus ended the moſt pious, valiant, and judicious Prince *James* I. on the 21ſt Day of *February*, 1437, in the 13th Year of his Reign, and 44th Year of his Life.

He was very much lamented by all his good Subjects and Neighbours, being murder'd in the Bloom of his Years, when he was ſettling the Kingdom, and inſtituting good Laws, and raiſing a ſtrong Army to defend his Dominions, and aſſiſt his Allies. 'Tis not doubted (if it had pleas'd GOD to have lengthen'd his Days) but he would have ſoon recover'd all the Northern Counties of *England*, which his Predeceſſors the Kings of *Scotland* had formerly.

He was not inferior to any of his Royal Anceſtors, in rich Endowments of Body and Mind, tho' he was not of a large Size, yet he exceeded moſt Men of the Age in Strength and Agility. He was vigorous and quick in Wit upon all Subjects; and moſt conſummately judicious in Matters of the greateſt Importance. He was well ſkill'd in all the Liberal Sciences, or any Thing worthy the Knowledge of a Perſon of a fine Genius. He play'd on all Inſtruments of Muſick accuſtom'd in that Age, and had a Voice ſo adapted to his Judgment, that he might be reckon'd one of the greateſt Maſters of Muſick in thoſe Days. That he was pious, his great Regard to promote Devotion and Piety, is Proof. That he was valiant and Couragious, his being in Perſon with his Army againſt his foreign and domeſtick Enemies, is Proof. That he was honourable and generous, his often reſiſting the Offers of *England*

The King's great Character.

A. D. 1434. with many Noblemen of *Scotland*, were ready to embark, there came an Ambaſſador from the King of *England*, deſiring King *James* to reject the King of *France*'s Offer, and to renew the Contract of Peace and Alliance with *England*, which if he refus'd, they threaten'd him with War. The King did not regard the Threatnings of *England*, but order'd the Ships to ſail; and tho' there were an *Engliſh* Fleet ſent, in order to intercept and take the young Lady Priſoner, yet her Fleet eſcap'd them, and landed ſafe in *France*, where ſhe was receiv'd by King *Charles*, and his Son the Dauphin, with all Demonſtrations of Joy and Reſpect, and conducted to *Paris*, where ſhe was married to *Lewis* in *Noſterdame*-Church, on the 10th Day of *June*, 1435.

The Princeſs *Margaret* is married to the Dauphin of *France*.

In this Year, *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland* enter'd *Scotland* with 4000 Men; whereupon, the King ſent *William Dowglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, with *Adam Hepburn* of *Hales*, *Alexander Ramſay* of *Dalhouſie*, and Sir *Alexander Elphingſton* of that Ilk, againſt *Piercy*, with an Army, and they met him at *Piperdon* on the Borders, where they fought a deſperate Battle, with great Courage and Valour on both Sides, 'till 1500 *Engliſhmen* were ſlain, and the reſt were put to Flight, and purſu'd by the *Scots*, who took 400 Noblemen and Knights, and 300 Men. In the Battle fell Sir *Henry Clifford*, Sir *John Ogle*, and Sir *Richard Piercy*, with ſeveral noble Knights. The *Scots* Army having gain'd great Honour and Riches by this Victory, wherein they did not loſe above 500 Men, they return'd with the *Engliſh* Priſoners, who were ſoon after releas'd at the Expences of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had undertaken that Expedition without the Authority of King *Henry*.

1435. The *Engliſh* invade *Scotland*.

The *Scots* obtain Victory over the *Engliſh*.

The War continu'd between *England* and *France*, with various Chances of Victory all this Time, and ſeveral *Scots* Noblemen and Gentlemen went from Time to Time to aſſiſt the *French*. In the mean Time, *Scotland* continu'd in Peace and Tranquility, 'till in the Year 1437, *Walter* Earl of *Athole*, firſt Son of the ſecond Marriage to King *Robert* II. and Uncle to the King, having (as it is reported) conſulted a Wizzard, was told, *That, before his Death, he ſhould be crown'd in a great Concourſe of People.*

1437. *Walter* Earl of *Athole* covets the Crown. A fatal Prediction told him by a Wizzard.

This *Walter* was a moſt cruel, wicked, and ſubtile Man; for he firſt adviſ'd his Brother *Robert* to deſtroy King *Robert* IIId's Children, to get the Crown to himſelf, promiſing his ſecret Aſſiſtance; but when King *James* was reſtor'd, he was the chief Perſon in bringing the ſaid Duke *Robert*'s Poſterity to Death, by bringing Evidences of the Treaſon of which he was himſelf the ſecret Abettor. When he had this fatal Reſponſe, he contriv'd the King's Death, and drew into his Aſſiſtance *Robert Graham*, a young Man, being the Grandſon of *Walter*, and Son to *Robert Graham* of *Strathern*, who was executed with Duke *Murdoch*, as being Art and Part in the treaſonable Practices for which *Murdoch* was executed.

Walter Plots againſt the King's Life. The King goes to the Siege of *Roxburgh*. He returns to *Perth*.

When *Walter* had laid a Plot for the King's Life, to murder him by Poiſon, the King was inform'd, that the *Engliſh* had retaken *Roxburgh*-Caſtle, to which he went with an Army, and beſieg'd it. When the *Engliſh* were upon Terms to ſurrender, the Queen had an imperfect Information, that there was a Conſpiracy forming againſt the King's Life; upon which, ſhe went Poſt to the King, and inform'd him thereof. The King left the Siege, and came to *Perth*, where he diſmiſs'd the moſt Part of the Army, with Deſign to find out the Conſpirators by ſome ſecret Policy; but as they were ſtill unknown to him, he did not know whom to accuſe. The Day that the King came to *Perth*, he was met by *Walter*, with his Grandſon among the other Noblemen, without being, in the leaſt, ſuſpected; and that Night the King order'd his Lodgings in the *Dominican*'s Abbey, near the Walls of the Town, for Safety of his Perſon: But *Walter* ſuſpecting their Plot had been, or would ſoon be diſcover'd, he determin'd to murder the King that very Night; and, to that End, brib'd one of the King's Domeſtick Servants, who gave them Entry into the King's Bed-Chamber, and *Walter*'s Familiarity and Relation to the King gave him the more eaſy Acceſs to the Lodging in paſſing the Guards; and the Devil, who had tempted them to commit the execrable Crime, led them on to their utter Deſtruction, for tho' he had concerted all their Meaſures

sures with such Care, yet are they now precipitately hurrying to commit the Murder before Witnels. They expecting to have found the King in Bed, came to the Door of his Bed-Chamber, as one of the King's faithful Servants, nam'd *Walter Straiton*, was coming out at the Door, who seeing *Walter* with *Robert Graham*, and Two more, cried out, *Traitors! Traitors!* and was about to return, but they pull'd him out, and stabb'd him dead. In the Minute that they stabb'd him, one Lady *Katherine Dowglaß* (who was after marry'd to Sir *Alexander Lovell* of *Ballgony*) missing the Bolt of the Bed-Chamber Door, put her Arm to supply the Place of it, but the Traitors push'd the Door, and broke her Arm; whereupon, they suddenly enter'd, and rush'd upon the King: The Queen seeing their Designs, call'd for Help very loud, and endeavour'd to help and save the King, but, after giving her several Wounds, they murder'd the King, and stabb'd *Patrick Dunbar*, Brother to the Earl of *March*, who hearing the Queen call loud, came to the King's Assistance, but too late. They made their Escape, but soon after, were all apprehended by the Diligence of the Noblemen, who lamented the King's Death with great Sorrow. *Walter* Earl of *Athole* was taken by one *Duncan Robertson*, of *Strowan*, and brought to *Perth*, and being try'd and found guilty of being the chief Contriver of the Murder, he was, according to the Sentence of the Judges, tortur'd Three Days together. The first Day he was put upon an Engine fix'd on a large Cart, having Pullies that hoisted him up by Ropes, and let him fall down suddenly, which loosen'd all his Joints with excessive Pain. The second Day, he was put on a high Pillory, like a Throne, and had a red hot Iron Crown put on his Head, with this Motto, * *The King of all Traitors!* And the third Day, he was dragg'd through the Streets on a Hurdle, and his Head being cut off, they took out his Bowels, and burnt them, and divided his Body into Four Quarters, which were put up on Posts in *Perth*, *Stirling*, and *Aberdeen*.

A. D. 1437.

The King is most barbarously murder'd.

Walter, and his Confederates are apprehended and condemn'd to several Tortures.

The Punishment of *Walter*.

* The Prediction fatally fulfill'd.

Robert Graham, who actually stabb'd the King, was carried thro' the City with his Hand (that stabb'd the King) nail'd to a Gallows fix'd on a Cart, and Executioners running hot Irons into the Fleshy Parts of his Body. The other Assistants were drawn, hang'd, and Quarter'd at *Perth*.

The Punishment of *Robert Graham*.

No doubt but this was thought very severe Punishment, as the learn'd *George Buchanan* said, *It exceeded the Bounds of Humanity:* But, indeed, I am not of his Opinion; for, I really think, the severest and most terrible Tortures that can be invented, are little enough to punish any who dare attempt any Means to take away the Life of their lawful King, or betray the Liberty of their native Country.

Thus ended the most pious, valiant, and judicious Prince *James* I. on the 21st Day of *February*, 1437, in the 13th Year of his Reign, and 44th Year of his Life.

He was very much lamented by all his good Subjects and Neighbours, being murder'd in the Bloom of his Years, when he was settling the Kingdom, and instituting good Laws, and raising a strong Army to defend his Dominions, and assist his Allies. 'Tis not doubted (if it had pleas'd GOD to have lengthen'd his Days) but he would have soon recover'd all the Northern Counties of *England*, which his Predecessors the Kings of *Scotland* had formerly.

He was not inferior to any of his Royal Ancestors, in rich Endowments of Body and Mind, tho' he was not of a large Size, yet he exceeded most Men of the Age in Strength and Agility. He was vigorous and quick in Wit upon all Subjects; and most consummately judicious in Matters of the greatest Importance. He was well skill'd in all the Liberal Sciences, or any Thing worthy the Knowledge of a Person of a fine Genius. He play'd on all Instruments of Musick accustom'd in that Age, and had a Voice so adapted to his Judgment, that he might be reckon'd one of the greatest Masters of Musick in those Days. That he was pious, his great Regard to promote Devotion and Piety, is Proof. That he was valiant and Couragious, his being in Person with his Army against his foreign and domestick Enemies, is Proof. That he was honourable and generous, his often resisting the Offers of *England*

The King's great Character.

A. D. 1437.

to set him at Liberty, upon dishonourable Terms, is Proof. That he was faithful, and kept and perform'd his Engagments inviolably, his standing for the Interest of *France*, and rejecting the Offers of *England*, is Proof. Tho' the *English* Writers most falsly accuse him with Ingratitude and Breach of his Promises, 'tis no more than their too partial Mistakes. They forget that he was unjustly taken, and detain'd 18 Years from his Kingdom, with Hopes to bring it to such a Condition as they might subdue it: But notwithstanding all their forg'd Oaths and Accusations, he never made any Submission to King *Henry* the Fifth or Sixth, nor never engag'd to pay any thing but his Ransom, which he paid in Money from *Scotland*, besides his Queen's Patrimony. If he was under any Obligations to them, that they could take Opportunity to reproach him with Ingratitude, the Time of his Confinment, and the Sum paid for his Ransom, is sufficient to satisfy the World how unjustly they form his Accusation. That he understood Civil and Military Government well, the many good Laws and Regulations of his Army is sufficient Proof.

Prodigies in *Scotland* before the King's Murder.

Before the King's Death there appear'd many strange Prodigies in *Scotland*. A flaming Sword was seen in the Air, to the great Terror and Amazement of many People. A Comet appear'd with most terrible Beams in the Air, for several Weeks before the Murder. On the 16th of *June* the Year before, there was such a terrible Eclipse of the Sun for three Hours, that it was as dark as at Midnight. A Calf was seen with a Head every Way shap'd like a Horse; and Swine litter'd Piggs with Dogs Heads: And such vehement Frost was that Winter, that Ale and Wine was sold by Weight, being frozen so hard.

About the Time of the King's Death, the Pope's Ambassador, nam'd *Æneas Silvius*, came into *Scotland*, with great Commendations and Benedictions from Pope *Eugenius* IV. but finding the King murder'd, he lamented the unfortunate Fate of *Scotland*, that had lost so good and pious a King, whose great Fame was known over all *Christendom*. The Legate was Witness to the Punishment of the Murderers, and commended the *Scots* for the Love they testify'd to their murder'd Sovereign, by punishing the Murderers with so much Torture, to deter others in all after Ages from committing such heinous Crimes.

The King's Body was buried with all Solemnity and Funeral Pomp, in the Abby of *Perth*. He left only one Son, nam'd *James*, who was the youngest of Twins. He was but seven Years of Age when his Father was slain, yet was proclaim'd King of *Scotland* the next Day.

JAMES II. *The* 103 *King of* Scotland.

A. D. 1437.

K. *James* II. crown'd.

James II. the only Son of King *James* I. was crown'd in the Palace of *Holy-Rood-House* at *Edinburgh*, on the 25th Day of *March*, in the Year of CHRIST 1437. The King being but 7 Years of Age, there arose Disputes among the Nobility about the Election of a Regent or Vice-Roy: But at last the Government of the Realm was given to Sir *Alexander Livingston* of *Callander*; and the Custody of the King's Person, to Sir *William Crighton* the Chancellor, who had the Castle of *Edinburgh* appointed for his Residence. Mean time *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglass*, who exceeded in Wealth and Power, was highly offended, that any one inferior to him, should be preferr'd in the Government of the Nation: Whereupon he retir'd to his Castle, and publish'd Edicts forbiding any of his Vassals or Tenants of *Dowglassdale* and *Annandale* to obey any Proclamations, Precepts or Writs sign'd by the Governor or Chancellor. Mean time, they wrote Letters to the Earl, putting him in Mind of his Duty, but he so little regarded their Advice, that he continu'd his former Declarations; and encourag'd all Vagrants and desperate Persons to join his Faction, and protected them in plundering the neighbouring Subjects,

Alexander Livingston Regent, and *William Creighton* Chancellor: Whereat the Earl of *Dowglass* is offended.

jects, who were obedient to the Laws of the Kingdom. He likewiſe diſcharg'd all his Vaſſals or Tenants to compear before the Sovereign Courts, if ſummon'd; which indeed he might more lawfully excuſe, as having the Privilege of a Court to judge all Crimes committed within his Juriſdiction. Nor was the Earl's Diſobedience all the Trouble which the Nation was liable to; for ſoon after the Regent and Chancellor were ſo divided in their Sentiments of Government, that they made ſtrong Parties, and not only had private Diviſions, but likewiſe caus'd publiſh Proclamations in the Market Towns and Villages, wherein the Governor commanded, That no Man ſhould yield Obedience to the Chancellor; and the Chancellor in like Manner commanded, That no Man ſhould obey the Governor or Regent. Whereby if any Man did complain of his Wrongs to the one, he was ſure to be maltreated by the other; inſomuch that many of the Subjects had their Houſes and Goods burnt or deſtroy'd; ſo that both Parties invaded one another with Fire and Sword. But the better diſpos'd Part of the Subjects, who would not be concern'd in their factious Broils, contributed their beſt Endeavours towards the publick Welfare of the Nation, and were much afflicted to ſee the deplorable State of their Country.

A. D. 1438.

The Regent and Chancellor diſagree.

At this Time the Chancellor ſhelter'd himſelf with the King in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the Regent kept the Caſtle of *Stirling*. The Queen, who was with the Regent in *Stirling*, undertook a Journey to *Edinburgh*, to viſit the King her Son (as ſhe pretended) and was admitted into the Caſtle by the Chancellor, who entertain'd her with all due Reſpect and Ceremony; and after receiving ſeveral Compliments, ſhe made a Speech, bewailing the preſent State of the Kingdom, declaring how great Satisfaction it would be to her, to ſee the Diviſions amicably compos'd: But that if neither her Authority nor good Advice could prevail, ſhe was reſolv'd to uſe her utmoſt Endeavours that her Son, the King, ſhould be liberally and piouſly educated: And that ſince it was her Duty to ſhow her motherly Affection and Care, ſhe hop'd none would envy her in that Satisfaction: As for the other Affairs of the Government, ſhe would not meddle, but ſhould be pleas'd that thoſe ſhould have it, who were moſt capable to manage it. The Chancellor ſeem'd nowiſe diſſatisfy'd with what the Queen ſaid, but gave her free Acceſs to viſit the King, in his Appartment in the Caſtle, whenever ſhe pleas'd: Whereby ſhe took Opportunity to tell the King, that ſhe intended to carry him away with her from that Place, where he was, as it were, kept in Priſon by the Chancellor: And having concerted her Deſigns with her Attendants, ſhe eaſily perſuaded the young King to comply with her Deſire; and ſo pretending that ſhe was reſolv'd to take a Journey, or rather go a Pilgrimage to * *White-Kirk*, to perform Devotion for her Son's Safety and Proſperity, and having put the King into a Cheſt made for that Purpoſe, ſhe convey'd him out of the Caſtle among her other travelling Furniture; and ſo contriv'd that the Chancellor could not miſs the King, till ſhe was gone; and having a Ship in Readineſs, ſhe ſail'd ſtraight to *Stirling*, where ſhe landed in a few Hours, and was receiv'd with the utmoſt Joy and Applauſe by the Governor's Party, who took Opportunity to ridicule the Chancellor for his Simplicity.

* A Church near *Linton*-Bridge in Eaſt-*Lothian*.

The Queen carries the young King from *Edinburgh*, by Stratagem.

The Regent and his Party having the King in their Cuſtody, they aſſembled all their Friends, and celebrated the Delivery for ſeveral Days, at which Time they proclaim'd the Chancellor to be the Author of all the unhappy Calamities, which had almoſt ruin'd the Nation; and accus'd him of having apply'd the Publick Revenue to his own private Uſe, and that he had ſeiz'd the Eſtates of ſeveral Perſons, and plunder'd their Goods, by which Means he had immenſe Treaſure, when many of the other Nobles were in great Want of common Subſiſtence: Moreover, that having the Managment of the King's Education, he had kept him Priſoner, till by the Queen's ſagacious and valiant Conduct, he was deliver'd and reſtor'd to Freedom among his Loyal Subjects: Therefore they thought it their Duty to pull the Tyrant out of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, by the Ears, and kill, or at leaſt diſarm him;

A. D. 1439.

ſo that it might not be in his Power to exerciſe his Tyranny and Cruelty any longer. Whereupon they charg'd every one to levy all the Forces they could to beſiege the Caſtle, and obtain'd Aſſiſtance of Proviſions from the Queen, out of her Store-houſe in *Fife*, and determin'd to uſe all poſſible Expedition to attack the Chancellor, before he could have any Notice of their Preparations. Their Aſſembly being diſſolv'd, they prepar'd all Things for their Expedition, and laid cloſe Siege to the Caſtle.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* beſieg'd.

Mean time the Chancellor had Intelligence of their Deſigns, but putting Confidence in the Earl of *Dowglaſs*'s ready Aſſiſtance, he ſent a Meſſage to acquaint him, "That if he would aſſiſt him in his preſent Extremity, he "ſhould be always at his Devotion; urging, that the Regent's Faction "wanted to make his Deſtruction a Means to accompliſh the Earl's Ruin "with more Eaſe." But *Dowglaſs* anſwer'd the Meſſage, "That both the "Regent and the Chancellor were equally guilty of Perfidiouſneſs and Ava"rice; and that their Diviſions were not out of any Regard to the Publick "Good, but for their own private Advantages: Therefore it was not great "Matter which of them had the better in the Diſpute, or if they both "ſhould be deſtroy'd in the Conflict, the Publick would reap the more Ad"vantage, by their being remov'd." This Anſwer being made known to both Armies, as the one lay beſieging the other, it occaſion'd a more ſudden Peace to be concluded between them, than People expected. And having acquainted one another, that the Earl of *Dowglaſs* only wanted an Opportunity to ſee them fight, that his Deſign was to come freſh upon them, and ſo fall upon them both and deſtroy them: Therefore, as it would be for both their Safeties, to come to a ſpeedy and amicable Agreement, they gave mutual Promiſes of Affection and Friendſhip for the future: Whereupon the Chancellor deliver'd the Keys of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* to the King, declaring that both they and himſelf were at his Service, and that he never entertain'd any Thought of Diſobedience to the King's Will and Pleaſure: Hereupon the Chancellor was receiv'd into Favour, and the Government of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* again given to him, and *Alexander Livingſton* continu'd Regent; and all their former Hatred turn'd to the moſt entire Friendſhip.

The Chancellor ſends a Meſſage to the Earl of *Dowglaſs*.

The Earl's Anſwer.

The Regent and Chancellor are reconcil'd.

But after thoſe Broils between the two Factions were thus compos'd, there were ſtill remaining Feuds among ſome Noble Families; for on the 29th of *September*, *Thomas Boyd* of *Kilmarnock* having ſlain *Allan Stewart* of *Darnl*, as they met by Appointment, between *Linlithgow* and *Falkirk*, the next Year *Alexander* the Brother of *Allan*, with a Party, met *Thomas Boyd*, and ſeveral of his Friends, on the 7th of *July*, and had a bloody Engagement, wherein many were ſlain on both Sides, beſides *Thomas*, who was kill'd on the Spot.

In the Year 1439, *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs* died at *Leſtalrig*, and was ſucceeded by his Son *William*, who was the ſixth Earl of that Family. He was then 14 Years, and a very hopeful young Man, but by the Flattery of deceitful ſeditious Perſons, he was corrupted and led aſtray from the Principles of Loyalty, ſo peculiar to his moſt noble Predeceſſors, and kept ſuch a great Retinue, that all ſuch as contemn'd the Laws of the Nation, reſorted to him, inſomuch that he aſſum'd Royal Power, in creating Knights and Officers of his Houſhold, and ſeldom went abroad without 2000 Horſe in his Train; amongſt whom were ſome notorious Thieves, and infamous Perſons, who had ſhelter'd themſelves under his Protection, from the Laws of the Nation: Yet with theſe he would come to Court, and even to the King's Preſence. And what was a greater Teſtimony of his Ambition, he ſent *Malcolm Fleming* and *John Lauder* as Ambaſſadors to *France*, to deſire, that in Conſideration of the Merits of his Predeceſſors, the Crown of *France* would continue the Title of Duke of *Terain* to him and his Poſterity; which Requeſt he eaſily obtain'd, for his Grandfather had that Honour conferr'd on him, by *Charles* VII. for his great Valour in the Wars againſt the *Engliſh*; and his Father had alſo enjoy'd it. By this Means the Earl ſo eſteem'd his own

The Earl of *Dowglaß* dies and is ſucceeded by his Son *William*.

Greatneſs,

Greatneſs, that he undervalu'd the Governor and Chancellor, nor did he much regard the King; which inconſiderate Ambition ſoon prov'd his Deſtruction; for the Perſons who had the Management of the Government, thought his Power too great: And what added to their Jealouſy was; that *James Stewart*, Son to the Lord of *Lorn*, who married the Queen, and had Children by her, having a Brother nam'd *William Stewart*, who had a great Eſtate in *Lorn*. This *William* complain'd to the Earl *Dowglaſs*, that his Brother, nor the Queen, were not admitted to any Part of the Government, yet conceal'd his Grief from the Governor and Chancellor. Mean Time, the Queen took it ill, that the Regent had not made any Acknowledgment of her Service done for him, in carrying off the King. Their Diſſatisfaction being made known to the Chancellor and Regent, the Queen's Husband and his Brother were put in Priſon, and herſelf confin'd to her Chamber, under a Guard; but ſoon after, an Aſſembly of the Nobles met at *Edinburgh*, where the Queen clear'd herſelf of what ſhe was charg'd with, and *James Stewart* and his Brother found Surety, that they would not act any Thing againſt the Regent's Authority. *A. D.* 1439.

About this Time, the Inhabitants of the Weſtern Iſles invaded ſome Parts of the adjacent Continent with Fire and Sword, and committed great Cruelty among the People, and having decoy'd *John Colquhun* of *Luſs* into their Hands, they ſlew him at *Lochlowmond*. Whilſt many Murders and Devaſtations were committed in ſeveral Parts of the Nation, there happen'd a great Famine, which caus'd a Peſtilence that laſted for Two Years, with ſuch Violence, that great Numbers of People died in the ſpace of one Day of the Infection. Notwithſtanding thoſe Calamities, the Regent and Chancellor again renew'd their former Envy of one another's Power in the Government; ſo that the Regent's Faction ſeem'd to prevail, and the Nobles of his Party deſpis'd the Chancellor, and complain'd, that he had impriſon'd and puniſh'd eminent Perſons without Cauſe, and had, at the ſame Time, pardon'd ſuch as were guilty of capital Crimes: As alſo, that he had kept a ſecret Correſpondence with the Earl *Dowglaſs*'s Faction.

The Regent and Chancellor again diſagree.

The Chancellor could not ſuffer thoſe Affronts without Reſentment; yet diſguis'd his Anger, and determin'd to leave the Court, and accordingly took the firſt Opportunity, leaving the King and Regent at *Stirling*; ſo with a great Train of his Followers came into *Edinburgh*, and ſecur'd himſelf in the Caſtle. When theſe Animoſities were nois'd Abroad, the Regent was generally blam'd for taking ſo much Power upon himſelf, whereas the Chancellor was very much commended for his prudent Retreat: However, the Chancellor was reſolv'd to take the firſt Opportunity to attempt ſome Means to diminiſh the Regent's Power; and having Intelligence by his Spies, that the King went every Day Abroad to hunt in the Woods, he watch'd a ſeaſonable Opportunity when the Regent was abſent, and went in the Night with a Number of arm'd Men, and lay in a Wood near *Stirling*-Caſtle, and when the King came to hunt early in the Morning, he fell in among the Chancellor's Troops, who ſaluted him with all becoming Reverence, and entreated him to be under no Concern nor Fear of Danger; mean time, the Chancellor came to the King, and adviſ'd him to comply with his Deſign to deliver him from the Regent, who kept him as a Priſoner, ſo that thereafter he might live at Liberty as a King, and have all his Subjects at his Command, whereas they were then commanded by the Regent, who oppreſs'd them to gratify his own Ambition: That then he came with a ſufficient Number of his Troops to attend him to any Place which he would be pleas'd to go. The young Prince ſeem'd to approve of what the Chancellor ſaid, ſo ſtraight conducted the King to his Troops, and came to *Edinburgh*, guarded by a Body of 400 Horſe well accouter'd, and was receiv'd by the People of that City with all Demonſtrations of Joy.

The Chancellor leaves the Court.

The Chancellor carries the King from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh*.

When the Regent found that the King was thus taken out of his Cuſtody, he was very much afflicted between Shame and Anger, and aſſembled his Friends at *Stirling*, to conſult ſome Expedient, to be reveng'd on the Chan-

A. D. 1439.

cellor for taking ſuch an Opportunity to out-wit him; but having great Suſpicion that ſome of his own Party had been privy to the Plot, he did not know who to truſt in any Deſign againſt the Chancellor, nor could he expect any Favour from the Queen-Mother, or her Party, as having highly diſoblig'd her after ſhe had done him ſo great Service, by bringing the King away from the Chancellor before; and as for the Earl of *Douglaſs*, he was ſurrounded with Flatterers, and ſo ungovernable in his Temper, that he could not put any Confidence in his Aſſiſtance. In this Dilemma, the Regent bethought himſelf, that as the Chancellor had ſuch great Favour of moſt Part of the Nobility, it would be to no Purpoſe for him to attempt Revenge by Force, therefore conſider'd that it would be moſt prudent for him to endeavour a Reconciliation with the Chancellor; and, to that Purpoſe, communicated his Mind to ſome of his Friends, ſuch as had declin'd joining their Factions, and ſtudied the Good of their Country, and, by their Advice, he, with a moderate Train, went into *Edinburgh*, and having apply'd to the Biſhops of *Aberdeen* and *Murray*, they prevail'd with the Chancellor to have a Meeting with the Regent in St. *Giles*'s Church, where they were attended by ſome Friends of either Side, and the Regent firſt ſpoke to the Chancellor, ſaying, "It is need-

The Regent and Chancellor meet

The Regent's Speech to the Chancellor.

"leſs to repeat ſuch Matters as are ſo well known to every one of the Nation, "or to ſum up the many Misfortunes ariſing from Diviſions and Strife, or the "many Advantages of Concord and Unanimity of any Nation or People; "but will come to the Matter which immediately concerns the publick Wel"fare of this Nation in general, and our own private Intereſts in particular. "The Cauſe of this Diviſion between us is not from any Coveteouſneſs or "Ambition to Rule, but that in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs (to "which we both wiſh well) we diſagree in our Opinion, ſo as to take diffe"rent Meaſures; whereas we ought to take ſpecial Care, leſt our Diſcord "may prove prejudicial to the publick, or fatal to our ſelves. The Eyes of "all the People are open to obſerve us Two: Wicked Perſons expect Freedom "to commit ſuch Crimes as may gratify their Licentiouſneſs, and the Ambi"tious Hope for an Opportunity to get Wealth and Power when we are de"ſtroy'd. And as it is common, that Men advanc'd from low Conditions "of Life to great Dignity and Power, have many envious Enemies, it is cer"tain, that ſeveral Perſons envy what Succeſs we have had hitherto, and "would rejoice to ſee us the Actors of our own Deſtruction; therefore it is "equally our Intereſt to conſult our own Safety, (whereon the Welfare of "the Nation ſo much depends) and join in Revenge againſt our common "Enemies. Let us lay aſide, and entirely forget our private Prejudices, and "contribute all our Endeavours for the publick Good. We ſhould conſider, "that the Safety of the King and the whole Kingdom is committed to our "Care, and that we are both liable to give an Account of our Adminiſtrati"on: Wherefore, ſince we are equally to blame for our paſt Contentions for "Superiority in Power and Authority, let us now contend which of us ſhall, "for the future, exceed in Moderation and Juſtice; by which Means we "ſhall recover the good Opinion of the People, who juſtly impute all their "Calamities to our unhappy Strife: And the Nobility, who contemn our "Authority, as being ſo weaken'd by Diviſions, will ſubmit to our Power, "and be fearful to offend when our Intereſts are united. As for me, I will "freely conſent, that the King ſhall be under your Care, and be directed by "your Prudence, as I conſider my ſelf thereby to be rather freed from a very "great Burthen, than depriv'd of Honour. If I have receiv'd any private "Injury from you, I freely forgive it for the Good of the Publick; and if I "have done you any Wrong, let impartial Arbitrators condeſcend upon the "Damage, and I am willing to make you full Satisfaction, and, for the fu"ture, ſhall carry my ſelf ſo, that neither Loſſes nor Advantage ſhall induce "me to any Action againſt the publick Welfare. If you are of the ſame "Mind, we may not only ſecure our preſent Safety, but likewiſe leave our "Memories more commendable to Poſterity; if you think otherwiſe, I pro"teſt before the World that it is not my Fault if all the preſent Calamities

"of

" of the Nation are not either perfectly cur'd, or, at leaſt, ſomewhat miti- *A. D.*
" gated. 1440.

To this Speech, the Chancellor reply'd, " As I was unwilling to enter in- The Chan-
" to any Contention, I ſhall with the greater Pleaſure comply with any rea- cellor's An-
" ſonable Terms of Agreement. And tho' I did not take up Arms before I ſwer to the
" was provok'd by Injuries, yet your modeſt Conceſſions obliges me to for- Regent.
" give all that's paſt, eſpecially ſo that the Publick may not ſuffer by my Re-
" ſentment. I ſee, as you obſerve, that by our Contention the good Men
" are expos'd to the Injuries of the bad; the ſeditious are encourag'd to hope
" for Innovations, and the Country left a Prey; Kingly Dignity and Sove-
" reign Authority contemn'd and ridicul'd even by the meaneſt of the Sub-
" jects; and while we endanger the publick Safety, our own private Affairs
" are likewiſe expos'd to our Enemies, who hate us equally; ſo that it is
" Advantage to them which of us may be firſt deſtroy'd: Therefore let us
" not recount the paſt Cauſes of Strife, leſt old Sores ſhould bleed afreſh;
" but, in ſhort, I freely forgive and forget all my private Injuries, for the
" common Good of my Country, and the Safety of the King and his People.

All ſuch as were preſent at this Meeting, highly commended their ready Agreement and Reſolutions; and ſo, by conjoint Conſent, Arbiters were cho.en to decide all Differences, by which all former Diſcords were amicably agreed, and Aſſurances of Friendſhip given on both Sides in all Times coming.

After this Agreement, an Aſſembly of the States was held at *Edinburgh*, where Multitudes of People came from all Parts of the Kingdom, even whole Clans, who made moſt lamentable Complaints of their Sufferings, for they not only had been plunder'd and robb'd of their Goods, but many Murders, and other Acts of Cruelty, had been committed among them by ſuch inſolent Robbers as contemn'd the Laws and Authority of the Magiſtrates. When thoſe Complaints were duly conſider'd, they found that many, or moſt of thoſe complain'd of, were protected by the Earl of *Dowglaſs*; yet none durſt venture to declare their Opinion freely: Mean Time, the Regent diſſembled his Anger, and advis'd the Aſſembly, that it was more adviſable to deal with the Earl by fair Means, or rather Flattery, than to irritate him by violent Meaſures, he being of himſelf ſo powerful, that if he ſtood out, he was able to withſtand the Power of the Government, but if he could be prevail'd upon to join with them in that Aſſembly, they might ſoon redreſs all Grievances. And, according to this Advice, it was determin'd, that Letters of Compliment ſhould be ſent to the Earl, to put him in Mind of the great Character of his illuſtrious Family, and the valiant Actions of his Anceſtors in Defence of the Country; and withall, to entreat him to come to the publick Aſſembly of the Eſtates, which ſo much deſir'd his Preſence with his Friends: That if he had any Complaints to make to the Aſſembly, they were ready to give him and his Friends all poſſible Satisfaction; and that if he, or any of his Friends, had done any thing prejudicial to the Publick, they were willing to remit it, in Conſideration of his own Age, and the many great Services done by his Family for the publick Advantage; therefore they hop'd, that by his Power he would ſtrengthen the King's Intereſt, ſo as to defend the Nation from further Calamities.

The Earl, who, by his Age and Diſpoſition, was deſirous of Glory, was taken with the Bait; and his Friends alſo perſuaded him, for they were all blinded by their private Hopes; ſo that they were under no Apprehenſion of Danger, in Conſideration of their particular Advantages. When the Chancellor heard that he was on his Journey, he went out ſeveral Miles to meet him, and gave him a friendly Invitation to his Caſtle (call'd *Creighton*) which was near the Road, where he was magnificently entertain'd, for the Space of two Days; in which Time, the Chancellor ſhew'd him all imaginable Reſpect, that he might the more eaſily enſnare the unwary young Man: For, to ſhew that his Mind was no way alienated from him, he began, in a familiar Manner, to perſuade him to be mindful of the King's Dignity, and of his own Duty; that he ſhould own him for his Liege Lord, whom his Birth, The Earl *Dowglaſs* enticed to the Aſſembly by the Governors.

A. D. 1441. the Laws of the Country, and the Conſent of the Eſtates had advanc'd to be King; that he ſhould tranſmit the great Eſtate, which his Anceſtors had got by their Blood and Valour, to his Poſterity, in like manner as he had receiv'd it; that ſo the Name of the *Dowglaſſes*, which were illuſtrious for their Loyalty and Atchievements, might be freed from the foul Blot of Treaſon; yea, and from all Suſpicion of the ſame; that he and his Tenants ſhould forbear oppreſſing the poor Commons; that he ſhould put all Robbers out of his Train; and for the future, he ſhould ſo addict himſelf to the Maintenance of Juſtice, that if he had offended heretofore, it might be rather imputed to the ill Counſel of bad Men, than to the Wickedneſs of his own Nature; for, in that tender and infirm Age, his Repentance would paſs for Innocence. By theſe and the like Speeches, he perſuaded the Earl that he was his entire Friend, and ſo drew him on to *Edinburgh*, with *David* his Brother, who was privy to all his Projects and Deſigns. But his Followers had ſome Suſpicion of Deceit, by reaſon of the ſeveral Meſſages that paſt betwixt the Chancellor and Regent; for almoſt every Moment, Meſſengers ran betwixt them; and beſides, the Chancellor's Speech ſeem'd to ſomewhat more kind, than was uſual for one of his Place and Dignity. The Earl's Train ſecretly whiſper'd this, and ſome freely told him, "That if he were reſolv'd to "go on, yet he ſhould ſend back *David* his Brother, and (according to his "Father's Advice to him on his Death-Bed) not give up his whole Family to "one Stroak of Fortune". But the imprudent Youth was angry with his Friends that had thus adviſ'd him, and caus'd Notice to be given to all his Followers, to forbear all ſuch private Whiſperings; and to his Friends he made Anſwer, "That he knew well enough, that it was the common Plague "of great Families, to be troubled with Men who delighted in Strife, and "made Advantage of the Dangers of their Superiors: And that ſuch Men, "becauſe in Time of Peace, they were bound up by Laws, were the Authors "of Sedition, that ſo they might fiſh the better in troubled Waters; but for "his Part, he had rather caſt himſelf on the known Prudence of the Regent "and Chancellor, than give ear to the Temerity and Madneſs of ſeditious "Perſons." Having ſpoken theſe Words, to cut off any Occaſion of further Advice in the Caſe, he ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and with his Brother, and a few more of his Confidents, haſtned to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, with more Speed than ordinary, as if Fate hurried him on, to run precipitatly into the Snares of his Enemies.

The Earl of *Dowglaſs* and his Brother *David* ſlain in *Edinburgh*-Caſtle.

In that very Moment of Time, the Regent came in too; for ſo it was agreed, that the whole Weight of ſo great Envy might not lye one Man's Shoulders. So the Earl was kindly receiv'd, and admitted to the King's Table; but in the midſt of the Feaſt, ſome arm'd Men beſet him, (he being Weaponleſs) and put a Bull's Head before him, which, in thoſe Times, was a Sign of ſudden Death. When the Earl ſaw the terrible Sight, he was troubled and offer'd to ariſe, but the arm'd Men laid hold on him, and carry'd him to a Court near the Caſtle; where they cut off his Head. *David* his Brother, and *Malcolm Fleming*, whom, next to his Brother, he truſted moſt of all, were alſo put to Death with him. 'Tis ſaid, that the young King, ſeeing the Violence offer'd to the Earl, deſir'd to ſpare his Life, and when he was ſlain, he wept for his Death; and that the Chancellor rebuk'd him for his unſeaſonable Tears, at the Deſtruction of his greateſt Enemy; whereas the publick Peace was never like to be ſettl'd whilſt he was alive. *William* dying thus without Children, *James* ſirnam'd *Craſſus*, or the *Groſs*, from his Corpulency) ſucceeded him in the Earldom: The reſt of his Patrimony, which was very great, fell to his only Siſter *Beatrix*, a very beautiful Perſon in her Days. This *James* the *Groſs*, though no bad Man, yet was no leſs ſuſpected by the King, and hated by the Commons, than the former Earl; becauſe, though he did not maintain Robbers, as the former Earl had done, yet he was not very zealous in ſubduing them; but that Fear was taken away by his Death, which hrppen'd two Years after.

James the *Groſs* ſucceeds him.

He dies two Years after.

William,

William, the eldeſt of his ſeven Sons, ſucceeded him; he being emulous of the ancient Power of the Family, that he might reſtore it unto its former Splendor, reſolv'd to marry his Uncle's Daughter, who was the Heireſs of many Eſtates: Many of his Kindred did not approve of the Match, partly becauſe 'twas not only unuſual, but alſo an unlawful Thing; and partly becauſe, by the Acceſſion to ſo much Wealth, he would be envy'd by the People, and alſo formidable to the King. For a Rumor was ſpread abroad, and not without Ground, that the King himſelf would do his utmoſt to hinder the Match. This made *William* to haſten the Conſummation of the Marriage, even in the Time when Marriages were forbidden, that he might prevent the King's Endeavours to the contrary. Thus having obtain'd great Wealth, he grew inſolent, and Envy follow'd his Inſolence, in regard of Troops of Robbers, whoſe Captains were thought to be no Strangers to his Deſign, and were protected in his Train. Amongſt them there was one *George Gorm*, of *Athol*, who pillag'd all the Country about him, and ſet upon *William Ruthven* Sheriff of *Perth*, becauſe he was leading a Thief of *Athole* to the Gallows, and fought with him, as it were, in a ſet Battle. At laſt *Gorm* the Captain, and 30 of his Followers were ſlain, and the reſt fled to the Mountains. This Conflict was in the Year of Chriſt 1446.

A. D. 1446.

And is ſucceeded by *William Dowglaß*, who marries *Beatrix* his Uncle's Daughter.

A few Days after the Caſtle of *Dunbarton* was twice taken in a little time: *Robert Semple* was Commander of the lower Caſtle, and *Patrick Galbreth* of the higher; and their Government was ſo divided, that each had a ſeperate Entrance into his own Part. Theſe two were not free from Factions among themſelves, for *Patrick* was thought ſecretly to favour the *Dowglaſſes*; whereupon *Semple*, perceiving that his Part was but negligently guarded, ſeiz'd upon him, and commanded him to remove his Goods. The Day after, *Patrik* enter'd, with four Companions attending him, without Arms, to fetch out his Goods; where firſt he light upon the Porter alone, and then ſnatching up Arms, drave him and the reſt out of the upper Caſtle, and thus ſending for Aid out of the neighbouring Town, he beat them out of the lower Caſtle alſo, and ſo reduc'd the whole Fort into his own Hands.

Dunbarton Caſtle twice ſurpriz'd.

About that time there were very many Murders committed upon the inferior Sort, which were partly perpetrated by the *Dowglaſſes*, and partly charg'd upon them by their Enemies. The King was now of Age, and manag'd the Government himſelf, ſo that the Earl of *Dowglaß* being unable to ſtand againſt the Envy of the Nobles, and the Complaints of the Commons too, reſolves to become a new Man, to ſatisfie the People, and by all Means poſſible, to gain the King's Heart, which was alienated from him; and in order thereunto, he came with a great Train to *Stirling*. And when he had Intelligence by ſome Courtiers, who were his Friends, that the King's Anger was appeas'd towards him, then, and not before, he came into his Preſence, and put his Life and Fortune in the King's Power and Mercy. He partly excus'd the Crimes of his former Life, and partly (becauſe that ſeem'd the readier Way to Reconciliation) he ingenuouſly confeſt them, withal affirming, that whatever Fortune he ſhould have hereafter, he would aſcribe it ſolely to the Clemency of the King, not to his own Innocency; but if the King pleas'd to receive Satisfaction from him, by his Services and Submiſſion, he would do his utmoſt Endeavour for the Future, that no Man ſhould be more loyal and obſervant of his Duty than himſelf, and that in reſtraining and puniſhing all thoſe exorbitant Offences which his Enemies caſt upon him, none ſhould be more exact in puniſhing Crimes than he; in regard he was deſcended from that Family, which was not rais'd by oppreſſing the Poor, but by defending the Commons of *Scotland*, by their Arms. By this Oration of the Earl's, and the ſecret Commendation of the Courtiers, the King was ſo chang'd, that he forgave him all the Crimes of his former Life, and receiv'd him into his Favour, and communicated all his ſecret Deſigns to him. Mean while the Earl, in a very little Time, had ſo oblig'd the King by his obſequious Carriage, and had won ſo much on his Miniſters by his Liberality, yea, had ſo ingratiated himſelf with all Men, by his modeſt and courteous

King *James* being of Age, enters on the Government.

Dowglaß throws himſelf at the King's Feet, acknowledges his Offences, is pardon'd, and receiv'd into Favour.

A. D. 1446.

Condescension, that the ordinary Sort of People conceiv'd great Hopes of his gentle and peaceable Deportment; but the wiser were somewhat afraid whither so sudden a Change of Manners would tend; and especially *Alexander Livingston* and *William Creighton*, imagining that all his Counsels would tend to their Destruction, having laid down their publick Offices in the Government, went away, severally; *Alexander* to his own Estate, and *William* into the Castle of *Edinburgh*, there to watch and observe, where the Earl of *Dowglass*'s Submission would terminate: Neither did their Opinions deceive such wise Men as they were, For *Dowglass* having gotten the King alone, and destitute of graver Counsel, and being somewhat unwary too, by reason of his Youth, thought now, that he had a fit Opportunity to revenge the Deaths of his Kinsmen, and so easily perswaded the King to send for *William Creighton* and *Alexander Livingston*, with his two Sons *Alexander* and *James*, to give him a legal Account of the Administration of their former Offices. His Design herein was, that if they came to the Court, he might either destroy them, or else bring them under by the Power of his Faction; but if they refus'd to come, then to declare them publick Enemies; and so having the Authority of the King's Name, as a Pretence for his Power, to forfeit their Estates. Hereupon they were summon'd to appear, but return'd Answer by Letters, "That they had never any thing more at Heart, than the Good of "the King and Kingdom, and that they had so managed their Offices, that "they desired nothing more than to give up a full Account, provided it were "before equal Judges; but for the present they desir'd to be excus'd, in re"gard they perceiv'd that the Minds of those who were to be their Judges, "were prepossess'd in Favour of their Enemies; and besides, all Passages were "beset with arm'd Men; not that they shunn'd a legal Hearing, but only "withdrew from the Violence of their mortal Enemies at the present, and "reserv'd their Lives till better Times, when the Commanders of Thieves "being driven from the King's Presence, as they had often done in doubtful "Times before, they might justify and assert their Innocency to the King "and all good Men.

The Regent and Chancellor lay down their Offices;

Dowglass, by his Power at Court, summons them to appear:

When this Answer was receiv'd, an Assembly was proclaim'd to be held at *Stirling*, the fourth Day of *November*, wherein *Dowlass* so carry'd the Matter, that they were declar'd publick Enemies, and their Goods confiscate. And then he sends out *John Forrester* of *Corstorphin*, his Confident, with Forces to plunder their Country, and bring their Goods into the King's Exchequer: He took in their Castles by Force, Part of them he demolish'd and into Part he put new Garrisons: and thus making a vast Spoil without any Resistance, he carry'd off a great Booty. The Earl of *Dowglass*'s Party had scarce retir'd, before *Creighton* had gather'd an Army of his Friends and Vassals, sooner than Men thought; and with them, he ran over the Lands of the *Forresters*, and of the *Dowlasses*, he burnt their Houses, spoil'd their Corn, and brought away as much Prey as he was able; and thus he did his Enemy much more Mischief than he receiv'd. *Dowglass* knowing that *Creighton* had done this, by the Assistance of others, rather than his own Force, he turn'd his Anger upon his Friends, who (he was inform'd) had sent him Aid privately, for few durst do it openly. The chief of them were *James Kennedy* Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s, *George* Earl of *Angus*, *John* Earl of *Morton*, both the latter were of the Earl of *Dowglass*'s own Family, but one born of the King's Aunt, the Mother of *James Kennedy*; the other had marry'd the King's Sister. These Persons did always prefer the publick Safety, and their Duty for the Conservation thereof, before the private Respect to their own Family: But *Kennedy* exceeded the rest in Age, Counsel, and consequently in Authority; and therefore his Wrath was principally incens'd against him: Whereupon the Earl of *Crawford* and *Alexander Ogilby* gather'd a reasonable Army together, and spoil'd his Lands in *Fife*; and following the Prey, rather than the Cause, they plunder'd the neighbouring Farms also, and then, without any Opposition, return'd into *Angus*, laden with Spoil. In this Case, *James Kennedy* betook himself to his proper Church-Arms of Defence;

They, for excusing themselves, are declar'd publick Enemies.

Creighton, late Chancellor, defends himself by Force.

Dowglass incens'd against *Creighton*'s Friends.

Defence; and, in Regard *Crawford* avoided the Deciſion of theſe Diſputes by Law, he proſecuted him with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; which when he deſpis'd, according to his wonted Contumacy, a little while after, he was juſtly puniſh'd for his Contempt of all Divine and Human Laws: For the ſame Year wherein theſe Things were acted, the College of the *Benedictins* at *Aberbrothock* (in regard Monks might not intermeddle to judge in Civil Cauſes) had made *Alexander Lindſay*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Crawford*, their chief Judge in Civil Cauſes, or, as they call him, Sheriff or Bailiff. He, with his great Train of Followers, became burdenſome to the Monaſtry; and beſides, he carry'd himſelf as their Maſter, rather than their Servant; ſo that they diſpoſſeſt him of his Offices, and put *Alexander Ogilby* in his Place. *Lindſay* look'd upon this as a Wrong done to him, in his Opinion, ſo that each of them gather'd together what Force they could, as if a War had been denounc'd between them: When both Armies ſtood in Readineſs to fight, the Earl of *Crawford* having Notice of it, made all the Haſt he could, and rode in betwixt them both, thinking that the ſole Authority of his Name had been Armour of Proof to him; and whilſt he was hindring his Son from engaging, and calling out *Ogilby* to a Conference, a Soldier darted a Spear into his Mouth, and ſtruck him down dead from his Horſe: His Death was an Alarm to both Armies, and after a ſharp Conflict, many being wounded on both Sides, the Victory fell to the *Lindſays*. They ſay the Cauſe thereof was, that whilſt both Armies ſtood with their Spears upright, repreſenting the Faſhion of a Wood, a certain Man cry'd out, *Why do you bring thoſe Goads with you, as if you had to do with Oxen? Pray caſt them away, and let us fight it out with our Swords, Hand to Hand, by true Valour, as becomes Men.* Upon which Words, they all caſt away their Pikes on both Sides, except 100 *Clydeſdale* Men, whom *Dowglaſs* had ſent to aid the *Lindſays*: Theſe held the Tops, or Points of their Pikes in their Hands, and drew the reſt of them behind their Backs; but when they came to Handy-blows, then they held them out before them, and their Enemies being terrify'd with the ſudden Sight, had their Ranks broken thereby. The conquering Side loſt 100, the conquer'd 500, and amongſt them ſome Men of Note; *Alexander Ogilby* was taken Priſoner, and died a few Days after, either of his Wounds or for Grief: *John Gordon* Earl of *Huntley*, was put upon a Horſe by a Friend of his own, and ſo eſcap'd. The Slaughter had been much greater, if the Night had not conceal'd thoſe that fled; for the Battle began a few Hours before Night, on the 9th of *February*.

A. D. 1446.

The *Lindſays* and *Ogilbys* fight.

The *Lindſays* manag'd their Victory with great Cruelty, for they pillag'd and demoliſh'd Houſes, and utterly ſpoil'd the Country. The War was as hotly carried on between the Factions in other Parts; for the Earl *Dowglaſs* had beſieg'd *William Creighton*, ſome Months in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and to make a more cloſe Siege, he remov'd the Aſſembly of the States, which was ſummon'd to be held on the 15th of *July*, and was already begun at *Perth*, to *Edinburgh*; when the Siege had laſted 9 Months, both the Beſiegers and the Beſieg'd grew equally weary, and ſo a Surrender was made on theſe Conditions, That *William Creighton* ſhould be indemnify'd for whatſoever he had done againſt the King, and he and his Party ſhould march ſafely off. And not long after, he was receiv'd into the King's Favour, and was made Chancellor again, by the general Conſent of all: But he refrain'd the Court, and all publick Buſineſs, as much as ever his Office could permit. The Earl *Dowglaſs* having thus rather terrified than overthrown the Chancellor, he turn'd the reſt of his Fury upon the *Levingſtons*.

The *Lindſays* prevail.

Creighton received into Favour, and is made Chancellor again.

About this Time, *James Stewart*, a noble Knight, was ſlain by *Alexander Leſly* and *Robert Boyd*, at *Kirk-Patrick*, about Two Miles from *Dunbarton*; neither was their Cruelty ſatisfy'd with his Death, but they endeavour'd to get his Wife alſo, who was then great with Child, and almoſt ready to lie down, into their Power; in order whereto, they ſent a Meſſenger to her, as in great Haſt, to tell her, That all the Roads were full of Horſe and Foot, and that there was no Way for her to eſcape the preſent Danger, but to go on

A. D. 1447. Shipboard, and fly to *Robert Boyd* at *Dunbarton*, who had ſolemnly promis'd to return her ſafe Home. The credulous Woman, who did not know, that *Robert* was preſent at the Perpetration of the Murder, being carried from *Cardros* into the Caſtle, perceiving that ſhe was circumvented by the Fraud of her Enemies, being overcome by the greatneſs of her Grief, Fear, and Indignation, brought forth an Abortive Birth, which, with the Mother, died a few Hours after.

About the ſame Time, *Patrick Hepburn*, of *Hales*, kept the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, and had with him the Queen-Mother, who, in thoſe tumultuous Times, had fled thither for Refuge; *Archibald Dunbar* thinking this to be a juſt Cauſe for a Quarrel, ſet upon *Hales*, *Hepburn*'s Caſtle, in the Night, and kill'd the Soldiers on the firſt Onſet, and took it; yet, in a few Hours, for Fear, he gave it up to the Earl of *Douglaſs*, upon Condition, That he and his Party ſhould march ſafely off.

Not long after, the Queen dy'd, leaving Three Children by her later Husband, *John* Earl of *Athole*, *James* Earl of *Buchan*, and *Andrew*, afterwards, Biſhop of *Murray* After ſhe was dead, *Hepburn* deliver'd up the Caſtle of *Dunbar* to the King.

Amidſt theſe Diſcords, the Men of *Annandale* did vex the adjoining Countries with all manner of Oppreſſion. The Cauſe of all theſe Miſchiefs was caſt upon the Earl of *Douglaſs*, who yet did all he could to conceal theſe Facts of his Clans, for he openly ſtudied nothing more than to afflict the Men of different Parties, in regard, he was grown to that height of Power, that 'twas a capital Offence to queſtion any of his Actions. He caus'd *James Stewart*, the King's Uncle, to fly the Nation, becauſe he ſpoke ſomething freely concerning the State of the Kingdom; his Ship being taken by the *Flemings*, he liv'd not long after.

Douglaſs attacks the *Levingſtons*.

Now, he thought, it was high Time to attack the *Levingſtons*, whereupon he caus'd *Alexander*, the Head of the Family, and his Son *James*, and alſo *Robert* the King's Treaſurer, and *David*, to be ſummon'd to an Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*; and, of his Friends, *Robert Bruce*, *James* and *Robert Dundaſſes*; of theſe, *Alexander*, and the Two *Dundaſſes*, were ſent back to Priſon to *Dunbarton*; the reſt were put to Death. When *James Levingſton* came to the Place of Execution, he complain'd heavily of the Inconſtancy of Fortune, "That his Father, who was honour'd with a Power next to the Kings, "did yet freely give up the invidious Title of Regent, and went to his own "Eſtate far from Court, and out of his Enemy's Sight, whoſe Cruelty was "never ſatiated with his Miſeries, and therefore he was forc'd to take Arms "to preſerve his Life, which he again laid down at the King's Command; "if there were any Fault in that, he had long ago obtain'd his Pardon; and "ſince that Time, he had liv'd remote, and free from all Suſpicion of any "Crime. And therefore he entreated all, who were there preſent, to look "upon thoſe lofty Titles of Empire and Dominion, to be nothing elſe but "the uncertain Chances of Fortune, and that they were rather Ornaments "for ones Funeral, than Safeguards to a Man's Life; eſpecially ſince Bad "Men can always do more to deſtroy the Good, than the Conſent of the "Good can do to ſave them". And having thus ſpoken, to the great Grief of all the Spectators, he ſubmitted his Neck to the Executioner.

James Levingſton is put to Death.

Creighton ſent Ambaſſador to *France*.

Amidſt theſe Combuſtions, *William Creighton* was ſent into *France*, partly to renew the ancient League, and partly to obtain from thence a Royal Bride; the Earl *Douglaſs* took his Abſence very well, tho' in an Honourable Employment, becauſe, tho' he was a prudent and potent Perſon, yet was he not overfond of him.

Mutual Incurſions between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*.

About this Time, the Truce with *England* expir'd, and the *Scots* and *Engliſh* mutually invaded one another, and wherever they went, they waſted all with Fire and Sword; in *England*, *Alnwick* was taken and burnt by *James*, Brother to the Earl of *Douglaſs*: In *Scotland*, the Earl of *Salisbury* did the like to *Dumfrees*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* to *Dunbar*; great Booties of Men and Cattle were driven away on both Sides. But the Commanders agreed

agreed amongſt themſelves, that the Priſoners ſhould be exchang'd, for they were in a manner equal, both for Number and Degree. By theſe Incurſions, the Country was depopulated, and yet the main Chance of the War not concern'd; ſo that a Truce was again accorded for 7 Years. *A. D.* 1447.

In this State of Affairs, *James Dunbar*, Earl of *Murray*, departed this Life, and left two Daughters his Heireſſes; the Eldeſt of whom was marry'd, by her Father before his Death to *James Creighton*; the Younger, after her Father's Deceaſe, marry'd *Archibald*, Brother to the Earl of *Dowglaſs*. He, againſt the Laws and the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, was call'd Earl of *Murray*; ſo great was the Earl *Dowglaſs*'s Power then at Court; neither was he contented with this Honour; but, that he might further advance the Dignity of his Family, he caus'd his Brother *George* to be made Earl of *Ormond*: His Brother *John* had many fair and fruitful Farms and Lands beſtow'd upon him, and was alſo made Baron of * *Balvany*, againſt the Mind of many of his Friends, who had in Suſpicion the Power of that Family, too great before, that it would be at laſt formidable, even to the King himſelf; yea, they imagin'd that theſe immoderate Acceſſions and Frolicks of Fortune would not be long-lived. But his Enemies did, as invidiouſly as they could, inveigh againſt this unſatiable Ambition; "for who (ſay they) could ſafely live under the "exorbitant Rule of ſuch a Tyrant, for whoſe Avarice nothing was enough, "and againſt whoſe Power there was no Safeguard? Who, right or wrong, "invaded the Patrimony of the Nobles, and expos'd the Countrymen to be "a Prey to his Tenants; and thoſe who oppos'd his Luſt, he caus'd them, "by Thieves and Cut-Throats, either to loſe all they had, or elſe to be put "to Death; that he advanc'd Upſtarts to high Honours, whom he grafted on "the Ruin of Noble Families; ſo that, all the Power of the Kingdom was "now brought into one Houſe. Beſides many Knights and Barons, there "were Five Opulent Earls of the Family, inſomuch, that the King himſelf "did but reign precariouſly, and Men were like to ſuffer all Extremities under "the cruel Bondage of the *Dowglaſſes*, and he that utter'd the leaſt Word "tending to Liberty, muſt pay his Life for his Boldneſs." Theſe, and other Diſcourſes of this Kind, ſome true, others, to create greater Envy, ſtretch'd beyond the Limits of Truth, were ſpread abroad amongſt the Vulgar; which made thoſe, who were of neither Faction, to ſit looſe from the Care of the Publick, and every one to mind his own private Concerns. The wiſer Sort of his Enemies were glad to hear, that a Man of ſuch Power, againſt which there was no making Head, ſhould thus voluntarily run headlong to his own Deſtruction. Neither did they preſage amiſs, for his Mind was grown ſo proud and inſolent, by reaſon of his great Succeſſes, that he ſhut his Ears againſt the free Advices of his Friends; yea, many could not, with any Safety, diſſemble and cover, by their Silence, what they did diſlike, becauſe he had Paraſites, who did not only lie at Catch for Words, but obſerv'd Mens very Countenances. As for his old Enemies, many of them were hal'd to Judgment, before him, who was both their Adverſary and Judge too, ſo that ſome of them were depriv'd of their Eſtates, ſome of their Lives, and others, to avoid his unrighteous and partial Judgment, fled out of their Country.

Dunbar, Earl of *Murray* dies, and *Archibald Dowglaſs* ſucceeds him.

* A Barony lying on the River *Spey*.

The immoderate Power of the *Dowglaſſes* expoſes them to Envy.

The Men alſo of the Earl *Dowglaſs*'s Faction liv'd in no Fear at all of the Law, (for no Man durſt implead them) but letting the Reins looſe to all Licentiouſneſs, they invaded and made Havock of Things Sacred, as well as Profane. When ſuch great Miſeries were diffus'd into ſo many Parts of the Kingdom of *Scotland* it had certainly ſunk under the Burthen, unleſs *England*, at the ſame Time, had been as much embarraſs'd with civil Combuſtions; which, at laſt, being ſomewhat allay'd, the *Engliſh* violated their Truce and invaded *Scotland*: When they had run over a great Part of the Country, and pillag'd many Villages, they drove away a vaſt Number of Cattle, and return'd Home; neither was it long before the *Scots* were even with them, for they alſo enter'd *England* with a good Force, and did the Enemy more Damage than they receiv'd. Thus, the Minds of both were irritated by theſe alternate Plunderings, ſo that a mighty Deſolation was made in the Territo-

Mutual Incurſions betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*.

A. D. 1448.

ries of either Kingdom; but the greateſt Share of the Calamity fell upon *Cumberland*, which had been the Riſe of the Injury and Wrong; for that Province was ſo harraſs'd by the War, that it was almoſt quite deſtroy'd. When this was related at *London*, it occaſion'd the *Engliſh* to levy a far greater Army againſt the *Scots*, for thereby, they thought eaſily to reduce the Country into their Power, they being poor, and alſo weaken'd by Civil Diſcord. Hereupon an Army was rais'd of the better ſort of People, and the Earl of *Northumberland* made their General, in Regard he knew the Country well; and beſides, his Name and Power was great, in thoſe Parts. To him they join'd one *Magnus Red-beard*, who had long ſerv'd in *France*, and was commended for his Induſtry and Valour. 'Tis ſaid, that he, out of his mortal hatred againſt the *Scots*, had bargain'd with the King of *England*, that what Lands he took from the *Scots*, either by killing, or driving away the Inhabitants, he, and his Poſterity after him, ſhould enjoy. On the other Side, the *Scots* hearing of the Preparation of their Enemies, were not negligent in gathering Forces, on their Part. *George Dunbar*, Earl of *Ormond*, was made Captain-General, who preſently march'd into *Annandale*, whither his Intelligence inform'd him, that the Enemy would come: But the *Engliſh* had prevented him, and enter'd *Scotland* before. They had paſt over the Rivers *Solway* and *Annand*, and pitch'd their Tents by the River *Sark*, from whence they ſent out Parties on every Side, to pillage; but hearing of the coming of the *Scots*, they recall'd them all by Sound of Trumpet, and gather'd all their Force into One Body. As ſoon as ever they came in Sight one of another, they engag'd without Delay: *Magnus Red-beard* commanded the Right Wing of the *Engliſh*, and *John Penington*, the Left, who had the *Welſh*, (the Remains of the ancient *Britons*) for his Aſſiſtants; and the Earl himſelf commanded the main Battle. *George Dowglaſs* appointed *Wallace*, Laird of *Craigy*, to fight *Red-beard*, and the Lairds of *Maxwel* and *Johnſton*, each with their Troops, to attack *Penington*. He himſelf took Care of the main Body; and gave them a ſhort Exhortation, to give them good Hope of Victory, becauſe they had taken up Arms in their own Defence, as provok'd by the Injuries of their Enemies; and that a proſperous Iſſue muſt needs attend ſo juſt a Cauſe; and if they could abate the Pride of their Enemy by ſome notable Overthrow, they would reap a laſting Fruit of their ſhort Labour. The *Engliſh*, who abounded in the Number of Archers, wounded many of the *Scots*, with their Darts at a Diſtance: Whereupon *Wallace*, who commanded the Left Wing, cry'd out aloud, ſo as to be heard of moſt of his Men, *Why they trifled ſo, and Skirmiſh'd at a Diſtance; they ſhould follow him, and ruſh in upon the Enemy, Hand to Hand, and then their Valour would truly appear, for that was Fighting fit for Men.* Having thus ſpoken, he drew the whole Wing after him; and preſently with their long Spears, wherewith the *Scots* were furniſh'd, both Foot and Horſe, they drove the Enemy back, routed, and put them to Flight; *Red-beard* perceiving his Wing to give back, being more mindful of the juſt Glory of his former Life, than of his preſent Danger, ruſhes, with great Violence upon *Wallace*, that ſo, by his Boldneſs, he might either renew the Fight, or elſe, breathe out his laſt in the Glory of ſome illuſtrious Attempt: but unwarily charging, he was intercepted from his own Men, and, with thoſe few that follow'd him, was ſlain. When both Armies heard that he was ſlain, the *Scots* preſs'd on more chearfully, ſo that the *Engliſh* Army did not ſtand long; and as they fled in great Haſte, more were ſlain in the Purſuit than Fight; but the chiefeſt Slaughter was upon the Banks of the *Solway*, for there the Tide had ſwollen up the River, ſo that they could not paſs. About 3000 of the *Engliſh* were ſlain in this Fight, and 600 of the *Scots*. There were many Priſoners taken, the Chief were *John Penington* and *Robert Huntington*. The Earl of *Northumberland*'s Son might have eſcap'd, but whilſt he was helping his Father to Horſe, he himſelf was taken Priſoner. The Booty was greater than had been ever known in any Battle betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh* before; for the *Engliſh* truſting to the Number and Goodneſs of their Soldiers, and depending alſo on the Diſcord of the *Scots*, came on ſo

The *Engliſh* overthrown by the *Scots*,

and *Red-beard* ſlain.

ſecurely,

ſecurely, as if it had been to a Show, not to a Fight; ſo great was their Confidence, and undervaluing of their Enemy: *Wallace* was wounded, carried home in a Litter, and in 3 Months after died of his Wounds. *A. D.* 1448.

The Earl of *Ormond*, being thus a Conqueror, took a View of the Priſoners; the chief Commanders he ſent to the Caſtle in *Lochmaben*, whilſt he himſelf return'd to Court, where every Body went out to meet him, and receiv'd him with all Kind of Honour. The King did highly extol his Military Services, but withal advis'd him and his Brother, That as they had often given a Proof of their Courage abroad, and had defended the State of *Scotland* by their Labour and Valour, even in perillous Times; ſo at home, that they would accuſtom themſelves to a modeſt Deportment, and that they themſelves ſhould refrain from injuring the poorer Sort; and alſo inhibit their Clans from doing the like; and that they ſhould ſhew their Puiſſance andGrandeur, which their Anceſtors had obtain'd by their many Merits, both of King and Subjects, rather in ſuppreſſing of Robbers, than in ſheltering them; which was the only Thing wanting to compleat their Praiſe; and if they would do this Thing, they ſhould certainly find, that he would eſteem the Honour of the *Dowglaſſes*, and their Family, before any whatſoever. They anſwer'd the King ſubmiſſively, and ſo took their Leave, and went joyfully home.

After this Fight at *Sark*, as the Borders of *Scotland* were more quiet from the Wrongs of their Enemies; ſo when the Matter was reported at *London*, it did rather irritate the *Engliſh* than deject them: For a Council being call'd about a War with *Scotland*, a new Army was order'd to be rais'd, to blot out the former Ignominy. While they were all intent hereupon, preſently Civil Wars aroſe among themſelves, and a ſtrong Conſpiracy of the Commons, made againſt the King, took off their Thoughts from a foreign War; ſo that Ambaſſadors were ſent into *Scotland*, to treat of a Peace, but they only made a Truce for three Years, and ſo return'd home: Theſe Things were acted in the Year 1448.

Peace for three Years concluded between *Scotland* and *England*.

This publick Joy was ſoon after increas'd by a Meſſage ſent out of *Flanders*, from the Chancellor, who went Ambaſſador to *Charles* VII. about contracting a Marriage. By his Endeavours, *Mary* the Daughter of *Arnold*, Duke of *Guelder*, was betroth'd to *James*; ſhe was of Kingly Race by her Mother's ſide, who was a Siſter of the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Year after ſhe came with a great Train of Nobles into *Scotland*, and in *July* ſhe was married to the King, and crown'd in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, near *Edinburgh*.

King *James* married to *Mary* of *Guelder*.

This univerſal Joy, for the Victory, for the Peace, and for the Marriage, was diſturb'd by the Death of *Richard Colvill*, a Man of Note; which though perhaps, in it ſelf, not undeſerv'd, yet was of very bad Example to the Common-Wealth. This *Colvill* having receiv'd many and great Wrongs, from one *John Affleck*, a Friend of *Dowglaſs*'s, and after many Complaints getting no Remedy in Law nor Equity, he fought with and ſlew him, and ſome of his Followers. *Dowglaſs* took the Fact ſo heinouſly, that he made a ſolemn Oath never to reſt, till he had expiated the Murder by *Colvill*'s Death: Neither was his Threatning in vain, for he ſtorm'd his Caſtle, took and plunder'd it, and kill'd all therein, who were able to bear Arms. Moreover, the Earl of *Dowglaſs* was ſo lifted up with the Flatteries of Fortune, that he became ſo ambitious, as to make an Oſtentation of his Power, even to foreign Nations; ſo that he determin'd to go to *Rome*: It being then the Year of Jubilee, (which is every Fiftieth Year) that the Church had ordain'd the People to ſet all Priſoners and bound Men at Liberty.

Dowglaſs, with a great Train of Nobles, who were deſirous, partly to ſee Novelties, and partly allur'd by Hopes of Reward, ſail'd over into *Flanders*. From thence he travell'd by Land to *Paris*, and took with him his Brother, appointed Biſhop of *Dunkell*; who afterwards, ſeeing *Dowglaſs* had no Children, was, by the King's Permiſſion, put in Hopes to be his Heir. In *France*, he was highly careſs'd, partly upon the Account of their publick League with the *Scots*, and partly in Memory of his Anceſtors great Valour in the Service of that Nation.

The Earl *Dowglaſs* goes to the Jubilee.

A. D. 1449.

About two Months after his Departure from *Scotland*, his Enemies and Rivals began to lift up their Heads; for they durſt not, for Fear, complain of him, when he was preſent; but now they laid open all the Injuries they had receiv'd from him. And when it was once noiſed abroad, that the Acceſs to the King was eaſy, and that his Ear was open to all juſt Complaints, the Complainers, lamenting their Sufferings, did daily increaſe, ſo that all the Ways to the Palace were almoſt ſtopt by them. The King could not well either reject the Petitions of the Sufferers, nor yet condemn the Earl, in his Abſence, without hearing of him; ſo that he gave a mild Anſwer, which ſatisfy'd their Importunity for the preſent, *viz. That he would command the Earl's Proctor or Attorney, to appear; that ſo, in his own Preſence, a fair Trial might be had.* Whereupon the Proctor was ſummon'd, but did not appear; ſo that the King's Officers were ſent out to bring him in by Force. When he was brought to Court, ſome alledg'd, that he ought to be immediately puniſh'd for diſobeying the King's Command; in regard, that by too much Patience, the King's Authority would be deſpis'd and run low, even among the meaner Sort; for, under the Pretence of Lenity, the Audaciouſneſs of the Bad would increaſe, and the Impunity of Offenders would open the Way for more Crimes. The King was not mov'd by thoſe Inſtigations, but remain'd conſtant to his Reſolution, which was, rather to ſatisfy his greateſt Accuſers, by the Compenſation of their Loſſes, than to ſatiate their vindicative Minds, with the ſpilling of his Blood. Hereupon he caus'd the Earl's Proctor to be brought out of Priſon, and to plead in his Maſter's Behalf, telling him, That *if he had any thing to offer in Defence of the Crimes alleg'd, he ſhould freely declare it, without any Fear at all.* When he was caſt in many Suits, and the King commanded him immediately to pay the Damages, the Proctor anſwer'd, *He would defer the whole Matter, till the Return of the Earl, who was expected in a few Months.* This he ſpake, as 'twas thought, by the Advice of *Ormond* and *Murray*, the Earl's Brothers. When the King was inform'd of his Reſolution, he ſent *William Sinclair* Earl of *Orkney*, who was then Chancellor, firſt into *Galloway*, and then into *Dowglaſſdale*; to appoint Sequeſtrators to gather up the Rents of the Earl's Eſtate, and ſo to pay the Damages adjudg'd by Law. But in regard the Chancellor had not Power enough to execute his Order, ſome eluded, others contumelioufly abus'd him, ſo that he return'd without effecting his Buſineſs.

In his abſence his Enemies ſue him, and obtain Damages for Wrongs receiv'd.

The King being extremely offended at this Contempt of his Authority, commanded all the Favourers of *Dowglaſs*'s Faction to be ſummon'd to appear, which they refuſing to do, were declar'd publick Enemies; and an Army was forthwith levy'd againſt them, which march'd into *Galloway*. At their firſt coming the Commanders were driven into their Caſtles, but a ſmall Party of the King's Forces, purſuing after the reſt through Rocky Places, were repuls'd, and not without Ignominy, driven back to the King: Who was vext that a few vagabund Thieves ſhould dare to make ſuch Attempts, and therefore reſolv'd to attack their ſtrong Holds, and took the Caſtle of *Lochmaben* with no great Difficulty; but his Souldiers were ſo much toil'd and weary'd in the taking of *Dowglaſs*-Caſtle, that therefore he wholly demoliſh'd it. As for the Vaſſals and Tenants who had ſubmitted themſelves, and their Fortunes to him, he commanded them to pay their Rents to his Treaſurers, till *Dowglaſs*'s Eſtate had fully ſatisfy'd what was awarded againſt him by Law. The King having obtain'd his End, with great Applauſe, diſpers'd his Army.

Which are anſwer'd out of his Eſtate.

When theſe Matters were related to the Earl at *Rome*, his great Spirit was mightily mov'd; yea, his Eſteem did then abate amongſt his Attendants, ſo that a great Part of them deſerted him, and he enter'd upon his Journey homewards, with but a few Followers. He came through *England*, and drawing near to the Borders of *Scotland*, he ſent his Brother *James* to the King, to know how he ſtood affected towards him. And finding the King was eaſily appeas'd, he return'd home, and was kindly receiv'd, only he was admoniſh'd to abandon and ſuppreſs all Robbers, eſpecially thoſe of *Annandale*, who

Dowglaſs at his Return from Rome, receiv'd into Favour.

who had play'd many cruel and avaritious Pranks in his Abſence: The Earl undertook to do ſo, and confirm'd his Promiſe by an Oath. Whereupon, he was not only reſtor'd into his former Grace and Favour, but alſo made Regent over all *Scotland*, ſo that every one was injoin'd to obey his Commands. *A. D.* 1449.

But his ambitious Mind, which always affected Supremacy, was not content with this Honour, tho' the greateſt he could be advanc'd to, under the King; but, by his Behaviour, he gave new Occaſions of Suſpicion: For he undertook a Journey, very privately, into *England*, and after his Addreſs to that King, he told him, that the Cauſe of his coming was, That *his Eſtate, though claim'd by him, was not yet reſtor'd.* But this ſeem'd to King *James*, no way probable, to be the Cauſe of his Journey; and therefore conceiv'd a greater Suſpicion in his Mind, which before was not well reconcil'd to him; neither did he conceal his Anger, as ſuppoſing that there was a deeper Deſign hid under that Diſcourſe with the *Engliſh* King. The Earl having now an offended King to deal with, fled preſently to his wonted Refuge, the King's known Clemency, and caſt himſelf at his Feet. The Queen alſo, and many of the Nobles, interceded for him; and after a ſolemn Oath, that, for the future, he would never act any thing which might juſtly offend the King, his Fault was forgiven; only he was depriv'd of his Office. Whereupon the Earl of *Orknay* and *William Creighton*, who had always remain'd loyal, were advanc'd again, to ſit at the Helm.

Earl *Dowglaß* gives the King new occaſion of Suſpicion.

The Earl *Dowglaß* was very angry with all the Courtiers for this Diſgrace (for ſo he interpreted it) but he was moſt of all incens'd againſt *William Creighton*, for he thought, that 'twas by his Policy, that all his Projects were diſappointed; and therefore he was reſolv'd to diſpatch him out of the World, either by ſome Treachery, or, if that ſucceeded not, by any other Way whatſoever. And that he might do it with the leſs *Odium*, he ſuborn'd one of his Friends to witneſs, that he heard *Creighton* ſay, *That* Scotland *would never be at quiet, ſo long as any of the Family of the* Dowglaſſes *were left alive; and that the Safety of the King and Kingdom, the Concord of the Eſtates, and the Publick Peace, did depend upon the Death of that one Man: For, he being of a turbulent Nature, and ſuported by many and great Affinities, and irreconcileable by any Offices of Reſpect, and Advancements to Honour, 'twere better to have him taken out of the Way, that ſo the Publick Peace might be confirm'd and ſettled.* This Tale, when nois'd abroad, and believ'd by many, by reaſon of the Probability thereof, created many Enemies to Sir *William Creighton*. The Earl *Dowglaß*, being inform'd by his Spies when he was to depart from *Edinburgh*, lays an Ambuſh for him, late in the Night, as ſecretly as he could; and when he and his Train came to it, the Liers-in-wait ſet upon them, with a great Shout: They, who were firſt aſſaulted, were ſo aſtoniſh'd at the Suddenneſs of the Danger, that they could not lift up an Hand to defend themſelves. But *William*, being a Man of great Courage and Conduct, aſſoon as he had a little recover'd himſelf from his Fright, ſlew the firſt Man that aſſaulted him, and wounded another; and ſo he, and his Attendants, brake through the midſt of their Enemies, having only receiv'd ſome Wounds. He fled to *Creighton*-Caſtle, and there ſtaid ſome Days, to cure his Wounds; and ſoon after, he got a great Number of his Friends and Tenants about him, and in great Silence came to *Edinburgh*: His Speed did ſo prevent the Noiſe of his coming, that he had almoſt ſurpriz'd his Enemy unawares.

Dowglaß's Deſign againſt *Creighton's* Life.

Creighton defends himſelf againſt his Ambuſh.

The Earl of *Dowglaß* being thus freed from an unlook'd for Danger, either out of Fear, Shame, or both, when he ſaw the Power of the adverſe Faction to increaſe with the Good-will of the People, he endeavour'd alſo to ſtrenthen his own Party, as much as ever he could, and therefore he joins himſelf in League with the Earls of *Crawford* and *Roß*, which were the moſt noted and potent Families in *Scotland*, next to the *Dowglaſſes*: A mutual Oath was ſworn betwixt them, *That each of them ſhould be aiding and aſſiſting to the Friends and Confederates of one another.* And, in Confidence of this Combination,

A. D. 1450. they ſlighted the Forces of their oppoſite Faction; yea, and the King's too. The King took this in great Indignation; and beſides, he had other freſh Cauſes of Provocation againſt him, which haſtned his Deſtruction. *John Herris*, a Knight, of a noble Family in *Galloway*, being averſe from the ill Practices of the *Dowglaſſes*, ordinarily kept himſelf within the Walls of his own Houſe; but the *Annandians* were ſent in upon him, which did him much Miſchief; he often complain'd thereof to the Earl, but in vain; ſo that at length, he determin'd to revenge himſelf, and to repel Force by Force. And accordingly, he gather'd a Company of his Friends together; and, entring *Annandale*, he, and all his Followers, were there taken Priſoners by the People of that Country, and being brought to *Dowglaſs*, he hang'd him up as a Thief; though the King had earneſtly interceded for him, by his Letters. That Matter ſeem'd very heinous, as indeed it was; ſo that Speeches were given out, *That* Dowglaſs, *by evil Practices, did endeavour, and that not obſcurely, to make his Way to the Crown; for now there was nothing elſe remaining, which would ſatisfy his aſpiring Mind.* Which Suſpicion was ſoon after increas'd by another Fact, which he committed, as foul as the former. There was a certain Family of the *Maclane*'s in *Galloway*, one of the beſt and chiefeſt there; the prime Perſon of that Family had ſlain one of the Earl's Attendants, from whom he had receiv'd continual Wrongs and Affronts by the Earl; whereupon he and his Brother were caſt into Priſon: The King being acquainted with it, was very much importun'd by the Friends of the Priſoners, not to ſuffer ſo noble, and otherwiſe a very honeſt Man, to be hal'd forth, not to a legal Trial, but to an undoubted Deſtruction, the ſame Man being both his capital Enemy, and his Judge too; and that it was not his preſent Crimes, which did prejudice him ſo much, as that he had always been loyal. Hereupon the King ſent *Patrick Gray*, *Maclean*'s Uncle, a worthy Knight, and Kin alſo to *Dowglaſs*, to command him to ſend the Priſoner to Court, that the Matter might be try'd there, in due Courſe of Law. The Earl receiv'd *Gray* very courteouſly, but, in the mean time, he caus'd Execution to be done upon the Priſoner; and intreated *Gray* to excuſe him to the King, as if it had been done by his Officers, without his Knowledge: But he, perceiving how manifeſtly he was deluded, was in ſuch a Rage, that he told *Dowlaſs*, That from that Day forward, he would renounce all Alliance, Friendſhip, or any other Obligation to him, and was reſolv'd to be his perpetual Enemy, and do him all the Miſchief he could. When the News thereof was brought to Court, the Fact ſeem'd ſo unworthy to all that heard it, that they exclaim'd againſt him, ſaying, That the Earl exceeded the Bounds of a Subject, and plainly carry'd himſelf as a King; for, to what other Purpoſe elſe did his Combinations with the Earls of *Crawford*, *Roſs*, *Murray*, and *Ormond* tend? And moreover, his private Diſcourſe with the King of *England*, his putting good Men to Death, and his allowing licentious Perſons to pillage the People, were Indications of the ſame Deſign. Now, Innocency was accounted Cowardice, and Loyalty to the King puniſh'd as Perfidiouſneſs; that the Enemies of the Common-wealth grew inſolent, by the overmuch Indulgence of the King; that 'twas time for him to take the Reins of Government into his own Hands, and to act as a King himſelf; and then it would appear who were his Friends, and who were his Enemies: Or, if he did not dare to do it openly, by reaſon of the Powerfulneſs of ſome Men, yet by ſome private way or other, he ſhould puniſh Treachery; but if he were ſo fearful as not to do ſo neither, what remain'd, but that they, who had hitherto been conſtant in their Loyalty to him, ſhould now at length provide for themſelves? Theſe Diſcourſes, tho' the Life of the *Dowglaſſes*, and the Credulity of the King (prone to Suſpicion) did confirm to be true; yet the King, out of his innate Clemency, or elſe, having before laid his Deſign, ſends for *Dowglaſs* to Court. He, being conſcious of ſo many Crimes, and calling to Remembrance how often he had been pardon'd; and withal, underſtanding, how diſtaſtful his new League with *Crawford* was to the King, tho' he put great Confidence in the King's Clemency, yet, being more inclin'd

Earl *Dowglaſs* provokes the King.

Sir *John Herris* hang'd.

Maclean alſo hang'd.

to

to Fear, refus'd to come; alledging, that he had many powerful Enemies at Court, and ſome of them had lately lain in wait to take away his Life. Hereupon, to remove this his Fear, many of the Nobles about the King ſent him a Schedule with their Hands and Seals to it, promiſing upon Oath, that if the King himſelf ſhould meditate any thing againſt his Life, yet they would diſmiſs him in Safety; ſo that *Dowglaſs*, encourag'd by the King's Clemency, and by the Publick Faith, teſtify'd by the Subſcriptions of ſo many noble Perſons, with a Train of Followers came to *Stirling*, where he was courteouſly treated by the King, and invited into the Caſtle. After Supper was ended, the King took him aſide into his Bed-Chamber, with but a few of his Confidents, he did not ſo much as admit thoſe, to whom he was wont to communicate his moſt ſecret Counſels. There the King ript up, from the very Beginning, the Loyalty and Valour of his Anceſtors, and his own Indulgence towards their Family; and eſpecially towards himſelf; who, having committed many heinous Offences, either by his Want of Years, or by the Perſwaſions of wicked Men, which he had freely pardon'd; always hoping, that either by his Clemency towards him, or elſe by the Maturity of his Age he would be reform'd; and as yet, ſays he, I deſpair not, but it may be ſo; and, if you repent of what you have impiouſly committed, the Door of my Clemency ſhall never be ſhut againſt you.

A. D. 1450.

The Earl, on ſafe Conduct, comes to Court.

This laſt League (proceeded he) with *Crawford* and *Roſs*, as it is not creditable for you; ſo it is ignominious to me; and therefore, tho' I take it much amiſs, that you enter'd into it, yet I put it into your Power, and, as yet, give you Liberty to cancel and break it off; which tho', by my Prerogative, I may command, yet I had rather, by fair Means, perſuade you ſo to do; that ſeeing all Mens Eyes are upon you, you may avert all Cauſe of Suſpicion with greater Diligence: *Dowglaſs* anſwer'd ſubmiſſively enough to all other Points; but when he came to the Mention of the League, he was ſomewhat perplex'd, and did not clearly declare what he would do, but that he would adviſe with his Aſſociates, neither did he ſee any Cauſe why the King, at preſent, ſhould tye him to a Breach of it, ſeeing there was nothing contain'd therein, which might juſtly offend him. The King being provok'd by his contumacious Anſwer, (as the Courtiers ſay) replied, *If thou wilt not break it, I will*, and immediately ſtruck his Dagger into his Breaſt. Thoſe that ſtood at the Door, hearing the Noiſe, ruſh'd in, and deſtroy'd him quite with many Wounds; ſome ſay, that next after the King, *Patrick Grey*, of whom mention was made before, ſtruck him into the Head with a Bill; and the reſt that came in, to ſhew their Duty to the King, every one gave him a Blow. He was ſlain in the Month of *February*, in the Year 1452.

Where the King ſtabs him with his own Hand.

He had then Four Brothers in *Sterling*, whom a great Number of the Nobiliy had accompany'd thither; they, as ſoon as ever they heard of what was done, ran in great Amazement to their Arms, and fill'd the Town with Noiſe and Clamour; but when the Tumult was appeas'd by the Nobles, they were commanded to go, each Man to his reſpective Lodging. The next Day they met to conſult, and Firſt of all, declar'd *James* was Earl, in the room of his Brother, who was ſlain: He mightily inveigh'd againſt the Perfidiouſneſs of the King and the Courtiers, and adviſes to beſiege the Caſtle with what Force they then had, and with all Speed to levy more. The Company commended the Reſolutions of *James*, and the Couragiouſneſs of his Spirit, but were averſe from his Advice to a Siege, becauſe they were not prepar'd with any Materials for ſo great an Enterprize; ſo that they all departed home, and after Conſultation with the Chief of their Friends, upon the 27th of *March* they return'd again, and ty'd a Cord to an Horſe Tail, to which they faſten'd the Schedule of the King and Nobles, promiſing the Publick Faith to *Dowglaſs* for his Security; this they drew thro' the Streets, abſtaining from no manner of Reproach, either againſt the King or Council: When they came to the Market-Place, they proclaim'd the King, and thoſe that were with him, *Perjur'd Perſons, and Enemies to all Good Men*. Moreover, they were angry with the Town, and after they had pillag'd it, they ſent

Whereupon, the reſt of the *Dowglaſſes* riſe in Arms.

A. D. 1452. *James Hamilton* back to burn it; yea, their Fury continu'd for ſome Days, ſo that they rang'd all over the Country, and made Havock of the Lands of all thoſe who were loyal to the King; they beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Dalkeith*, and took an Oath not to depart from it 'till they had taken it; for they were very angry with *John Dowglaſs*, the Owner of it, becauſe he, and the Earl of *Angus*, had ſeparated themſelves from the Councils of the reſt of the *Dowglaſſes*. The Siege laſted longer than they expected, for *Patrick Cockburn*, Commander of the Garriſon, made a ſtrenuous Reſiſtance againſt all the Efforts of the Enemy; ſo that, after they had loſt a great many Men, they were worn out with Toils and Watchings, and ſo broke up the Siege. In the mean time, the King levied an Army, to relieve his diſtreſſed Friends, but ſeeing he had not Strength enough to encounter the *Dowglaſſes*, he reſolv'd to wait the coming in of *Alexander Gordon* to his Aſſiſtance, who had levy'd a good Force in the Northern Parts, and was marching towards him; but as he was coming thro' *Angus*, the Earl *Crawford*, with a conſiderable Body, met and oppos'd him at *Brechin*, where a ſharp Battle was fought betwixt them; when the King's main Battle was giving Ground, as not able to endure the Shock of the *Angus-men*, *John Colaſs*, of *Bonymoon*, who commanded the Left Wing, forſook *Crawford*, having born him a Grudge, and ſo left the main Body of the Army naked. Hereupon, thoſe who were almoſt Conquerors, being ſtruck with Terror, turn'd their Backs and fled away. Thus *Gordon* unexpectedly got the Victory, yet with much Loſs on his Side, his two Brothers, and a great Number of his Friends and Followers being ſlain; of the *Anguſians* alſo, there fell ſeveral Men of Note; and, among the reſt, the Earl's own Brother. As for the Earl himſelf, he turn'd his Wrath from the Enemy to thoſe who had deſerted him, he ſtorm'd their Caſtles, and ſpoil'd their Lands with Fire and Sword; and he had the better Opportunity ſo to do, becauſe that *Gordon* made a ſpeedy Return into his own Country, when he heard, that the Earl of *Murray* was exerciſing all manner of Cruelty againſt his own Territories; ſo that he was forc'd to march back with his Victorious Army, where he not only reveng'd his Loſs upon his Enemy, but alſo quite expell'd him out of his Country of *Murray*. Theſe Things were acted toward the End of the Spring.

In the Interim, the King, by the Advice, chiefly of *James Kennedy*, caus'd an Aſſembly of the Eſtates to meet at *Edinburgh*, to which he ſummon'd, by an Herald, the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, and the Nobles of his Party, to come. But he was ſo far from obeying him, that, the next Night, he caus'd a Libel to be hung on the Church Doors, That he would not truſt the King with his Life, nor yield Obedience to him, for the future, any more, who had ſent for his Kinſman to *Edinburgh*, and his Brothers to *Stirling*, under the Protection of the Publick Faith, and there had perfidiouſly ſlain them, without hearing their Cauſe. In this Aſſembly, the Four Brothers of the late Earl which was ſlain, *James*, *Archibald*, *George* and *John*, with *Beatrix* the late Earl's Wife, and *Alexander*, Earl of *Crawford*, were declar'd Publick Enemies to the Common-wealth. Many Perſons were advanc'd to be Noblemen, and Rewards were aſſign'd them out of the Rebels Eſtates; and an Army was levy'd to purſue the Enemy, which, after ſome Devaſtation of the Country, driving of Booties, and burning Corn in the Granaries, were again diſmiſt in Winter, becauſe the Soldiers could not then keep the Field, and an Expedition was appointed againſt the Spring.

The *Dowglaſſes* proclaim'd publick Enemies.

In the mean Time, *James Dowglaſs*, left the Wealth of his Family, which was mightily encreas'd by rich Matches, ſhould paſs away to others, took *Beatrix*, the Relict of his Brother, to Wife, and ſollicited the Pope to confirm the Marriage; but the King, by his Letters to the Pope, declar'd the Truth, ſo he could not obtain his Deſire. This Year, and the next following, there were Scuffles between the Parties, Lands were pillag'd, ſome Caſtles overthrown; but they came not to decide the main Controverſy in a ſet Battle; the greateſt Part of the Damage fell on *Annandale*, and the neighbouring Counties of the *Dowglaſſes*. After this Devaſtation of the Lands, there follow'd

low'd a Famine, and after the Famine a Peſtilence; yet the wiſeſt of *Dowglaſs*'s Friends ſought, many Times, to perſwade him to endeavour a Reconciliation with the King, and ſo to lay himſelf and all his Concerns at his Feet, whom his Anceſtors had before found very merciful; eſpecially, ſince he had a King who was merciful in his own Nature; and moreover, might be made more reconcilable by the Mediation of his Friends, and that he would not ſuffer ſo noble a Family, as his was, to be extirpated by his Obſtinacy; nor betray the Lives of ſo many brave Men, who follow'd his Party; neither yet bring them to that Point of Neceſſity, that, after having ſuffer'd ſo many Calamities, they ſhould be forc'd to make Terms for themſelves: Whilſt he was in a good Condition, he might make an eaſy Pacification; but, if once his Friends deſerted him, there would then be no Hope for him to obtain his Pardon. The Man, being in his Youthful Age, and of a fierce Diſpoſition too, made Anſwer, *That he would never ſubmit himſelf to their Power, who were reſtrain'd by no Bonds of Modeſty, nor by any divine or human Law; who under fair Promiſes had enticed his Couſins, and his Brother to come to them, and then, perfidiouſly and cruelly, ſlew them: In a Word, he would ſuffer the height of all Extremities before he would ever put himſelf into their Hands.*

A. D. 1453.

A Famine and Peſtilence in *Scotland.*

Dowglaſs perſwaded to a Reconciliation with the King.

Which he refuſes.

This his Anſwer was either approv'd, or diſlik'd, according to every Man's Humour; thoſe who were violent, or who made a Gain of the publick Miſeries, commended the Greatneſs of his Courage; but the wiſer ſort perſwaded him to take Opportunity by the Forelock, leſt, after his Friends had forſaken him, he might complain, that he had neglected the Time for a Pacification, when 'twas not to be redeem'd, which is uſually the End of imprudent Counſels. But the Earl of *Crawford*, being weary'd out with ſo long a War, and withal, conſidering with himſelf the very Unjuſtneſs of his Cauſe; together with the common Mutations of human Life, as alſo knowing that Pardon might eaſily be obtain'd, if he did preoccupy the King's Favour, but very difficultly, if he ſtood it out; and beſides, being forſaken by ſome of his Friends, and ſuſpecting the Fidelity of the reſt, put himſelf into ſuch an Habit as might moſt move Pity, and thus bare-headed and bare-footed, in a moſt humble Manner, he came to the King, as he was paſſing thro' *Angus*; he ingenuouſly confeſt the Offences of his former Life, and caſt himſelf and all his Concerns upon the King's Mercy, having firſt prefac'd ſomething concerning the Fidelity and good Services which his Anceſtors had perform'd to their Kings; he was conſcious, that his Fault had deſerv'd the Extremity of Puniſhment, but whatſoever hereafter he had either of Life or Fortune, it would be a Debt wholly due to the King's Clemency. Having ſpoken theſe, and other Words of the ſame Import, not without Fear, all the Spectators were much mov'd and affected, eſpecially ſome of the Nobility of *Angus*, and tho' they themſelves had, in former Times, follow'd the King's Party, yet they were unwilling, that ſo eminent and ancient a Family ſhould be deſtroy'd. *James Kennedy* carry'd himſelf, at the ſame Time, like a good Biſhop and a Friendly Patriot, for he not only forgave the Earl the many grievous Injuries he had done him, but further commended his Suit, and ſpake in his Favour to the King, for he foreſaw, as it after happen'd, that, by this Acceſſion, the King's Party would be ſtrengthen'd, and his Enemies weaken'd daily, for the future, in regard many were likely to follow the Example of this great Man. And beſides, the King thinking that his former Fierceneſs was tam'd, and that he was really penitent for what he had done, was not hard to be intreated, but gave him his Pardon, reſtor'd him to his former Eſtate and Honour, only adviſ'd him, for the future, to keep within the Bounds of his Duty: And indeed, *Crawford*, being thus engag'd by the Clemency of the King, did afterwards endeavour to perform him all the Service he poſſibly could, and follow'd him with his Forces in his March to the furtheſt Parts of the Kingdom, and having ſettled Things there for the preſent, he entertain'd him nobly at his Houſe, in his Return, and when he march'd to make a full End of the Civil War, he promis'd him all the Force he could make; and indeed, the whole Courſe of his Life was ſo chang'd, that, laying down his former Tranſ-

Crawford forſakes *Dowglaſs*, and is pardon'd by the King.

A. D. 1453. greſſions, he liv'd courteouſly, and in Complaiſance with the neighbouring Nobility; ſo that his Death, which follow'd ſoon after, brought the greater Grief to the King, and to all the People.

The King thus weakning *Dowglaſs*'s Party by degrees, his remaining Hopes were from *England*, if poſſibly he might obtain Aid from thence. Hereupon, he ſent *Hamilton* to *London*, who brought him back Word, That the King of *England* would undertake a War againſt *Scotland*, on no other Terms, but that *Dowglaſs* muſt ſubmit himſelf and all his Concerns to that King, and acknowledge himſelf a Subject of *England*; ſo that his Hopes thence were cut off, and, on the other Side, the King of *Scotland* preſs'd hard upon by his Edicts, Proſcriptions and Arms; yea, by all the Miſeries which accompany rebellious Inſurrections, ſo that *Hamilton* advis'd the Earl, not to ſuffer the King to win away his Forces by Piece-meal, and, by catching a Part, to weaken, and in time, overthrow the whole; he ſhould rather march out with his Army, truſt Fortune, put it to a Battle, there to die valiantly, or conquer honourably: This Reſolution, ſaid he, is worthy of the Name of the *Dowglaſſes*, and the only Way to end the preſent Miſeries. Being alarm'd with this Speech, he gather'd as great an Army as he could of his Friends and Dependants, and march'd out to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle of *Abercorn*; for the King, after he had demoliſh'd many Caſtles of the *Dowglaſſes*, had at laſt beſieg'd that. It was a very ſtrong Hold, ſituate almoſt in the Mid-way between *Stirling* and *Edinburgh*. When *Dowglaſs* came ſo near, that he ſaw, and was ſeen by the Enemy, his Friends advis'd him to puſh at all, and either to make himſelf renown'd by ſome eminent Victory; or, by a Noble Death, to free himſelf from Reproach and Miſery: But when all his Party were ready for the Onſet, he daunted all their Spirits by his own Delay, for he retreated with his Army again into his Camp, and determin'd to draw out the War at length: His Commanders diſlik'd his Deſign; and *Hamilton*, not enduring his Cowardice, and deſpairing of the Succeſs of his Arms, that very Night revolted to the King's Party. Upon this his Defection, the King gave him his Pardon, but not putting any great Confidence in him, becauſe of his Subtilty, he ſent him Priſoner to *Roſſeline*, a Caſtle belonging to the Earl of *Orkney*, but afterwards, by the Mediation of his Friends, he was releas'd, and receiv'd into Favour, and that unbloody Victory was entirely aſcrib'd to him.

Dowglaſs applies to *England* for Aid, but in vain.

Hamilton deſerts *Dowglaſs*.

* Standing upon *North-Eſk* in *Mid-Lothian*, 4 Miles above *Dalkeith*.

The reſt of the *Dowglaſſes* follow'd *Hamilton*'s Example, and ſlipt away from him every one, whither he thought moſt convenient for himſelf; ſo that, at length, the Caſtle, after much Loſs on both Sides, was taken, the Garriſon put to the Sword, and after 'twas half demoliſh'd, it was left as a Monument of the Victory.

Dowglaſs being thus deſerted by almoſt all his Friends, with a few of his Familiars, fled into *England*, from thence, not long after, he made an Inrode with a ſmall Party into *Annandale*, which was then poſſeſs'd by the King's Garriſons; but being worſted in a Skirmiſh, he and his Brother *John* eſcap'd; *Archibald*, Earl of *Murray*, was ſlain, *George* was much wounded and taken Priſoner, and after his Wounds were cur'd, was brought to the King, and put to Death. In an Aſſembly of the Eſtates held at *Edinburgh*, on the 5th of *June*, in the Year 1455. *James*, *John*, and *Beatrix*, all *Dowglaſſes*, were again proſcrib'd.

Earl *James* having thus loſt his Brothers, being deſerted by his Friends, and diſtruſting the *Engliſh*, that he might leave no Stone unturn'd, apply'd himſelf to *Donald*, Lord of the Iſles. They met at *Dunſtaffage*, where he eaſily perſwaded him to join with him in the War; whereupon, they committed great Outrages on the Country near adjoining, without Diſtinction either of Age or Sex; there was nothing ſpar'd which could be violated by Fire or Sword: The like bloody Cruelty was us'd in *Argyle* and *Arran*, and then being laden with Booty, he return'd Home; and afterward, having waſted *Lochaber* and *Murray*, he turn'd to *Inverneſs*, where he took the Caſtle, pillag'd and burnt the Town.

Dowglaſs joins with the *Engliſh*, and then with *Donald* the Iſlander.

Neither

Neither were the *Engliſh* quiet all this while, but, watching their Opportunity, they made Incurſions into *Mers*, where they ſlew ſome Men of Note, who endeavour'd to oppoſe their furious Ravaging, and ſo return'd home without Loſs, but full of Plunder, from that opulent Country. The next Year after, *Beatrix*, Wife to the former Earl of *Dowglaſs*, (who alſo lived for ſome Years with *James* his Brother, as his Wife) came in to the King: She laid all the Fault of her former Miſcarriages upon *James*, that ſhe being a Woman, and helpleſs, was inforc'd to that wicked Marriage; but at the firſt Opportunity, aſſoon as *James* was abſent, ſhe fled from that Servitude; that now ſhe laid her ſelf, and all her Concerns, at the King's Feet; and whatever Order he ſhould pleaſe to make concerning her, or her Eſtate, ſhe would willingly obey it. The King receiv'd her into his Protection, gave her an Eſtate in *Balvany*, and married her to his Brother, the Earl of *Athole*, by the ſame Mother. The Wife of *Donald* the *Iſlander* follow'd her Example. She was the Daughter of *James Livingſton*, and was marry'd to *Donald*, by her Grandfather the Regent, by the Perſuaſion alſo of the King, that ſo he might a little ſoften the rugged Diſpoſition of the Man, and keep him firm to the King's Party: But then, her Kinſmen being reſtor'd to the Favours and Graces they formerly had, and her Husband having join'd himſelf to *Dowglaſs*, ſhe was every Day more and more ſlighted and deſpis'd by him, ſo that ſhe implor'd the King's Aſſiſtance againſt his barbarous Cruelty.

A. D. 1456.

Dowglaſs's Wife forſakes him, and flies to the King.

So doth *Donald's* Wife too.

About the ſame time, *Patrick Thornton*, who had follow'd the Court a great while, yet was ſecretly of *Dowglaſs*'s Faction, ſlew *John Sandilands* of * *Caldder*, a young Man of about 20 Years of Age, and *Allan Stewart*, of noble Families both, and of eminent Faithfulneſs to the King, having got a convenient Opportunity ſo to do at *Dunbarton*, and ſoon after he himſelf was taken by the Clans of the adverſe Party, and executed for the ſame.

* In *Mid-Lothian.*

This Year was remarkable for the Death of many noble Perſonages, but eſpecially of *William Creighton*. He, tho' born of an Equeſtrian Family, yet, by reaſon of his great Prudence, Fortitude, and his ſingular Loyalty to the King, even to the laſt Day of his Life, was a great Loſs to all good Men. The next Year, the *Engliſh*, being incourag'd by their Impunity for former Injuries, made great Spoil in *Mers*, under the Command of *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *James Dowglaſs* the Exile. To hinder their Devaſtations, *George Dowglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, gather'd a Party of his Countrymen together, and made an Aſſault on the Plunderers, and drave that Part of them, which he aſſaulted, in great Confuſion, back to their Standards: The *Engliſh* being mov'd at this Indignity, march'd on their Army, before the reſt had recover'd their Colours, and the *Scots* were as ready to receive them.

The Death of *William Creighton.*

The Fight was manag'd on both Sides, with greater Courage than Force, a great while, neither did any Odds appear, till the *Engliſh*, who were ſcatter'd up and down the Country by the Noiſe and Tumult, perceiving that the Enemy was come, for fear of loſing the rich Booty they had gotten, haſted directly home; their Departure gave an eaſier, but yet not unbloody Victory to the *Scots*, there being almoſt an equal Number ſlain on both Sides, but many of the *Engliſh* taken in the Purſuit. The News of this Victory being brought to the King, did ſomething eaſe his Mind, which was oppreſt with Thoughtfulneſs, between the Arms of his own Subjects and of the *Engliſh*. Afterwards, *Donald* the *Iſlander*, perceiving the ill Succeſs of his Affairs, was inforc'd to ſend Agents to the King, to intercede for a Peace. They, in an humble Oration, commemorated the King's Clemency ſhew'd to *Crawford*, and the reſt of his Partiſans, in the ſame Cauſe; as for their own Crimes, they laid them on the Fatality of the Times; but for the Future, they made large Promiſes, how loyal and obſequious *Donald* would be. The King ſeem'd to be ſomewhat affected with their Speech, yet gave them but an indifferent Anſwer; neither quite pardoning *Donald*, nor utterly excluding all Hopes of his Pardon. He told them, "That his many Crimes "were very evident, but he had diſcover'd no Appearance of a chang'd "Mind in him; if they would have the Penitence, which they pretended in

A Party of *Engliſh* worſted in *Scotland.*

Donald the *Iſlander* ſubmits to the King.

A. D. 1457.

" Words, to be believ'd as really true and hearty, he ſhould make Reſtitution " for the Loſs he had formerly caus'd, and reſtore their Eſtates to ſuch as he " had robb'd of them; and thus to cancel the Memory of their former Miſ- " chiefs, by ſome eminent and loyal Service. 'Tis true (ſaid he) no Virtue " becomes a King more than Clemency, but Care muſt be had, leſt the Reins " of Goverement be not let looſe by too much Lenity; and ſo evil Men made " more inſolent, than good Men excited to their Duty thereby; that he " would give Time to *Donald*, and his Party, to manifeſt by ſome Tokens, " that they repented of their Miſcarriages; and that they ſhould always find " him towards them, ſuch as their Actions and their Words did declare them " to be. In the mean time, they need not fear, for *Now* it was in their own " Power, whether they would every Man be Happy or Miſerable, for the " future.

By this Means, inteſtine Diſcords were either compos'd, or elſe laid aſleep, ſo that the King now bends all his Care againſt *England:* Whilſt he was conſulting concerning a War with them, and concerning their frequent Violations of Truces; behold! Ambaſſadors came from the *Engliſh* Nobility, to deſire Aid againſt *Henry*, their King: For *Henry* had ſlighted the Nobles, and advanc'd Upſtarts; by whoſe Advice, his Wife, a Woman of a manly Spirit and Courage, ruled the Roaſt. And beſides, the King had incurr'd the Diſpleaſure and Contempt of his Friends, becauſe Things had not ſucceeded well in *Aquitane* and *Normandy*; for they, having loſt ſo many Provinces, and being now pent up within the ancient Bounds of their own Iſland, did mutter and grumble, that the King's Sluggiſhneſs, and the Queen's Pride were no longer to be endur'd. The Heads of the Conſpiracy were *Richard* Duke of *York*, with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*. When the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had diſcours'd much concerning the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe to begin a War; and alſo concerning their own Power, and the cowardly Temper of their King, they crav'd Aid againſt him, as againſt a common Enemy, who was fearful in War, ſordid in Peace, and who nouriſh'd Civil Diſcords among the *Scots*, and had aſſiſted their Exiles; withal, they promis'd, if they got the Victory, to reſtore the Caſtles and Counties which were taken in former Wars from the *Scots*. The King, by Advice of his Council, made Anſwer,

The *Engliſh* Nobles crave Aid of King *James*, againſt *Henry* their King.

King *James*'s Anſwer.

" That he, before, knew the State of the *Engliſh* Affairs, and that he was " not ignorant of the Right or Demands of either Side; but that he would " not interpoſe himſelf an Arbiter in another Man's Kingdom, unleſs he were " choſen by both Parties to that Office. As to the War, he had long ſince " determin'd to revenge the Injuries of the former Times; and if he could " not otherwiſe obtain the Places he had loſt, on the Occaſion of theſe Diſ- " cords, he would recover them by Force; but if the Duke of *York*, and his " Party, would Promiſe to reſtore them, then he would aſſiſt him againſt " *Henry*." The Ambaſſadors agreed to the Terms, and ſo return'd home. Mean time the King prepar'd his Forces, and was about to enter *England*, when, behold, an *Engliſh* Impoſtor, ſent by *Henry*, met him: He had been a long Time at *Rome*, and was well acquainted with the Speech and the Cuſtoms of the *Italians*, and had counterfeit Letters, as from the Pope; whereby he was eaſily believ'd to be a Legate ſent from him; and to gain the greater Credit to his Impoſtures, he had one with him, pretending to be a Monk, whoſe feign'd Sanctity made the Fraud leſs ſuſpected. They were brought to the King, and in the Pope's Name, commanded him to proceed no further with his Army; if he did, they threaten'd to excommunicate him: For the Pope (ſaid they) is wholly intent upon a War againſt the common Enemy of *Chriſtendom*, and ſo would have the Differences compos'd all over *Europe*, that they might be free for that War; and that they were ſent before to give him Notice thereof, but there was a more ſolemn Embaſſy, which would ſhortly arrive, and which, they believ'd, was already come ſo far as *France*, to decide the Civil Diſcords of *England*, and to give Satisfaction to the *Scots*, for the Wrongs they had ſuſtain'd. The King did not imagine any Fraud in the Caſe, and deſiring nothing more than an honourable Peace,

in

in regard Things at home were not quite ſettled to his Mind, therefore obey'd the Legate, and disbanded his Army: Which he had ſcarce done, when he was advis'd from *England*, that this ſuppos'd Ambaſſador was a Cheat; ſo that he gather'd again ſome Forces, and becauſe he could not join the Duke of *York*, that he might keep off ſome of the King's Force from him, and alſo revenge his own Wrongs, he march'd directly to *Roxborough*. The Town he took, and deſtroy'd it at his firſt coming, but whilſt he was laying Siege to the Caſtle, Ambaſſadors came from the Duke of *York*, and his Aſſociates, informing him, that their King was overcome, and the War ended in *England*; they gave him Thanks for his Good-will, and his Deſire to aſſiſt them in the Maintenance of their Lives and Honours, and that they would, in time, be mindful to requite the Courteſie; but at preſent, they deſir'd him to raiſe the Siege, and draw off from the Caſtle, and likewiſe to forbear any other Act of Hoſtility againſt *England*. For otherwiſe, they ſhould be ſo envy'd amongſt the People, who could hardly be contain'd or ſatisfy'd, but that an Army would be preſently ſent againſt the *Scots*. King *James* congratulated their Victory, but ask'd the Ambaſſadors, Whether the Duke of *York*, and his Allies, had given them nothing in Command concerning reſtoring the Places promis'd. They anſwer'd, Nothing. Then, ſaid he, before your laſt Embaſſy came to me, I was determin'd to pull down that Caſtle, which is built upon my Land; neither, ſince that time, am I ſo much oblig'd by the Courteſies of that Faction, as to give over an Enterprize, which is begun, and almoſt finiſh'd: As for the Threatnings made, either by the People, or by them, let them look to it, go you and tell them, That *I will not be remov'd hence by Words, but Blows*. Thus the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſt without their Errand; and whilſt he preſs'd upon the Beſieg'd, by all the Hardſhips of War, *Donald* the *Iſlander* came into his Camp, with a great Band of his Countrymen. He, to obtain the eaſier Pardon for his paſt Offences, and to be fully reconcil'd to the King, promis'd him, that if he would march forward into the Enemies Country, whilſt he was there, he would march a Mile before his Army, and endure the ſharpeſt of all Hazards: But he was commanded to be near the King; yet ſome of his Troops were ſent out to prey upon the Country. It happen'd alſo, that at the ſame time, *Alexander Gordon* Earl of *Huntly*, brought in Supply of Forces to the King. This Addition of Strength made the King more reſolute to continue the Siege, tho' a ſtrong Defence was made by thoſe within; ſo that, whereas before it was a *Blockade* only, they now laid a cloſe Siege; when he had Soldiers enongh, ſome preſently ſucceeded in the Places of others, inſomuch that many of the Garriſon Soldiers were ſlain or wounded, and unfit for Service; and the reſt, tir'd out with continual Toil and Labour, were not ſo eager to run into Places of moſt Danger, as before; and to ſtrike the more Terror into them, the King gave Command to batter Part of the Wall with Iron Pieces of Ordnance, which were then much us'd, and were very terrible: But whilſt the King was buſy about one of them, to preſs on the Work, the Fire catcht within it, and with its Force drove out a wooden Wedg or Plug, which immediately ſtruck the King to the Earth, and ſlew him.

A. D. 1460.

King *James* takes *Roxborough* Town.

And beſieges the Caſtle.

Where he is ſlain.

Thoſe Courtiers who ſtood next him, tho' they were terrify'd at this ſudden Accident, yet they cover'd his Body, leſt if his Death were divulg'd, the common Soldiers would run away.

The Queen, who that very Day came to the Camp, did not give up her Mind to Womaniſh Lamentations, but call'd the Nobles together, and exhorted them to be of good Courge, and that ſo many valiant Men ſhould not be ſo diſmay'd at the Loſs of One, as counting it diſhonourable to deſert a Buſineſs, that was almoſt ended: She told them, ſhe her ſelf would ſpeedily bring them another King in the place of him that was ſlain; in the mean time, they ſhould preſs upon the Enemy with Courage, leſt they might grow more reſolute, upon News of their King's Death, and ſo imagine, that all the Courage of ſo many valiant Men was extinguiſh'd in his Death. The Officers were aſham'd to be exceeded in Courage by a Woman; whereupon they

The Queen ſhews her ſelf a *Virago*, immediately after the King's Death.

A. D. 1460. assaulted the Castle with such Violence, that neither Party was sensible that the King was lost. In the mean time, *James* the King's Son, being about seven Years of Age, was brought into the Camp, and proclaim'd King. And 'twas not long after, before the *English*, being tired out with Watching and continu'd Service, surrender'd up the Castle to the new King, upon Condition, to march away with Bag and Baggage. The Castle, that it might not be the Occasion of new War, was levell'd to the Ground. This End had *James* II. on the 3d of *August*, in the Year of CHRIST 1460, a few Days before the Autumnal Equinox, in the 29th Year of his Age, and the 23d of his Reign. He had been exercis'd always, even from his Youth, with domestick or foreign Wars: He bore both Estates of Life, the Prosperous and Adverse, with great Moderation of Mind; he shew'd such Valour against his Enemies, and such Clemency to those who submitted themselves, that all Estates were much afflicted for his Loss; and his Death was the more lamented, because 'twas sudden, and that in the Flower of his Youth too; after he had escap'd so many Dangers, and when the Expectation of his Virtues was at the highest: And he was the more miss'd, because his Son was yet unfit for the Government. He was a most valiant Prince, endow'd with all Qualities for a Monarch, both for Mind and Body; of a strong vigorous Constitution, a pleasant Aspect, and excellent Features and Complexion; but that he had a broad red Spot on his Right Cheek, whereby he was commonly call'd by the *Scots*, James *with the Fiery Face*. In all his Actions he was very prudent and temperate; and of a stedfast Resolution in all his Undertakings, wherein he always consulted Men of soundest Judgment. He was upright, sincere, courteous and affectionate to his Domesticks, merciful to his Enemies, gracious and benign to all Men; a great Lover of Justice, but without Oppression of his loyal Subjects; who extremely lamented the unexpressible Loss of so good a King.

Roxborough-Castle surrender'd and demolish'd.

K. *James* II. his Character.

JAMES III. *The* 104 *King of* Scotland.

A. D. 1460. JAMES III. the Son of *James* II. (who was the younger of Twins, but surviv'd his Brother) was, immediately after his Father's Death, proclaim'd King, at *Kelso*; and on the 11th Day of *August*, 1460, was crown'd, being then 7 Years of Age, and all the Nobles, according to Custom, took Oaths of Allegiance to him: Whereupon he left the Army, and went with the Queen his Mother (to whom the Care of his Education was given) to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. Mean time the Estates assembled at *Edinburgh*, to consider the State of the Nation; and the Managment of Publick Affairs was committed to *Andrew Stewart* Lord *Evandale*, the Lord *Kennedy*, the Earl of *Orkney*, the Lord *Boyd* the Chancellor, the Lord *Graham*, the Bishops of St. *Andrew*'s, *Glasgow*, and *Dunkell*. And as they were then at Variance with *England*, and not free from some domestick Broils, the Governors sent in several Parties into *England*, so that they made Incursions into the bordering Counties; where they threw down several Forts, especially the Castle of *Wark*, which they demolish'd; and being call'd home in Winter, they return'd to *Scotland* with great Booty.

King *James* proclaim'd and crown'd King, in the 7th Year of his Age.

About this Time, some Chiftans of Clans, thinking of the Advantage of the King's tender Age, rais'd Disturbance in the Nation: For *Allan Macdonald*, of *Nether-Lorn*, impriſon'd his eldest Brother, and intended to have taken away his Life, but was surpriz'd by the Earl of *Argyle*, who releas'd him. At the same Time, *Donald*, Lord of the Isles, surpriz'd and took the Castle of *Inverness*, where he planted a Garrison, and proclaim'd himself *Lord of the Isles*, causing the neighbouring Country to pay him Taxes, and soon after, came to the Castle of *Blair*, and put the Earl of *Athole* to Flight with his Lady; whereupon they fled to St. *Bride*'s Church for Sanctuary, but were

moſt ſacrilegiouſly driven out of it, and after, taken and carried Priſoners to the Iſland of *Isla*. The Governors rais'd an Army to purſue them, but as they were flying from that Iſle in open Boats or Wherries, they were, by a violent Tempeſt, driven on Rocks, and daſh'd to Pieces; ſo that moſt of them periſh'd, and thoſe who eſcap'd were narrowly ſav'd from that Wreck, to undergo the juſt Puniſhment of the Law. Mean Time, the Earl of *Athole*, with his Lady, were releas'd, and return'd to their Caſtle. *A. D.* 1460.

This Year, *Henry* King of *England* was taken Priſoner by the Duke of *York*, and brought to *London*, where a Compromiſe was concluded betwixt them, upon the Terms, *That he, ſo long as he liv'd, ſhould enjoy the Name and Enſigns of a King, but the Power of Government ſhould be in* York, *under the Title of a* Protector; *and when* Henry *died, then the Title alſo of King was to be reſtor'd to* York *and his Poſterity.* Whilſt theſe Things were acted at *London*, News was brought, That the Queen was marching up with a great Army, to releaſe her Husband out of Priſon. *York* went out to encounter her with about 5000 Men, leaving the Earl of *Warwick*, and King *Henry* behind; he march'd ſo far as *Yorkſhire*, and, leſt he, who, in *France*, had defended himſelf againſt great Armies, not with Walls, but with Arms, ſhould now ſhun a Battle with a Woman, he fought againſt a far greater Number than his own; and, in the Fight, his youngeſt Son, and a great many Nobles were ſlain. The Heads of the Commanders were ſet up as a Spectacle, upon the Gates at *York*. The Queen being thus victorious, and marching on further to deliver the King; the Earl of *Warwick* met her, bringing the King along with him, as if he would defend the Contract made concerning the Kingdom. Both Armies met at St. *Albans*, where the Queen was again victorious; who ſlew the Commanders of the adverſe Army, releas'd her Husband, and march'd directly up for *London*; but conſidering, that the Earl of *Pembroke* was ſent by her to gather Forces, as was alſo *York*'s Son *Edward*, and that theſe Two had had a Fight in their March, wherein *Edward*, her Enemy was victorious; and withal, knowing what cruel Hatred the *Londoners* bore againſt her, ſhe withdrew towards the *North*, becauſe ſhe look'd on that Part of *England* as the chief Part of her Strength: But was alſo overcome in a bloody Fight at *Towton*, where more than 36000 valiant Men are reported to have been ſlain, and the Enemy preſſing upon her, gave her no Time to recollect her Forces; whereupon ſhe, her Husband and Son, fled into *Scotland*.

Henry of *England*, taken Priſoner by the Duke of *York*.

York overthrown by the Queen.

So is *Warwick*.

The Queen overthrown, and flies with her Husband into *Scotland*.

The Conqueror aſſum'd the Title of *Edward* the *Fourth*, King of *England*: Mean Time, *Henry* deſir'd Aid in his Diſtreſs, and, by Means of *James Kennedy*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, who then ſurpaſs'd all in *Scotland* in Point of Authority, and Opinion of his Prudence, he was entertain'd with a great deal of Honour and Reſpect; ſo that he was in ſome Hopes of recovering his former Dignity, and to nouriſh that Hopes by all the actual good Offices which he could, he reſtor'd the Town of *Berwick* to the *Scots*, which the *Engliſh* had held ever ſince the Days of *Edward* I. The *Scots*, upon this Obligation, did aſſiſt *Henry*'s Faction in all Things, promiſing him more Aid, in time to recover his Crown. And, that the Friendſhip now begun might be the more firmly eſtabliſh'd, the Two Queens of *Scotland* and *England* (both of them of *French* Deſcent) began to treat concerning a Marriage between King *James* his Siſter, and *Henry*'s Son, whom they call'd *Prince of Wales*; tho' neither of them, as yet, was above Seven Years old. *Philip* of *Burgundy* (Uncle to the Queen of *Scots*, but a mortal Enemy to the Queen of *England*) endeavour'd by all Means poſſible to hinder this Marriage; and ſent *Geathuſius* a Nobleman, his Ambaſſador to that Purpoſe: For *Philip* was at ſuch deadly Odds with *Renatus*, Grandfather to the Lady by the Mother's Side, that he ſought all Occaſions to hinder his Stock from increaſing; ſo that in Favour of him the Matter was, at that time, rather delay'd than broke off: But the Fortune of *Henry* kept off the Event, which *Philip* of *Burgundy* fear'd. For, being ſomething encourag'd by the Kindneſs of the *Scots* towards him, and alſo by ſome comfortable Letters ſent from his Friends out of

Berwick ſurrender'd to the *Scots* by King *Henry*.

A. D. 1461. *England*, he ſent his Wife beyond Sea to *Renatus* her Father, to procure what Aid ſhe could from her foreign Friends. She prevail'd ſo much in *France*, that her Faction were to have a ſafe Place of Retreat there, but her Adverſaries were excluded; and, moreover, ſhe obtain'd 500 Men, commanded by *Peter Bruce*, rather as Companions for her Journey, than as any Auxiliary Aid. With this ſmall Band ſhe return'd into *Scotland*, and thought fit to attempt ſomething, not doubting, but at the Noiſe of Foreign Aſſiſtance, her Countrymen would riſe and join with her, whereupon ſhe made a Deſcent at *Tinmouth*; but this ſmall Company being diſmay'd at the Report of a great Force coming againſt them, without the Performance of any Thing remarkable, return'd to their Ships; where alſo, as if Fortune had croſs'd them on all hands, they were encounter'd with a grievous Tempeſt, which drove the greateſt Part of them, who follow'd the Queen to *Scotland*, into *Berwick*; but ſome few of them were caſt upon the Iſle *Lindisfarn*, commonly call'd *Holy-Iſle*, Seven Miles South-Eaſt of *Berwick*, on the Coaſt of *Northumberland*, where they were taken by the Enemy and ſlain.

Henry's Queen ſues for Foreign Aid; Which having obtain'd, ſhe enters *Scotland* and *England* again.

But the Manly-ſpirited Queen was nothing diſcourag'd at this Misfortune, but levied a great Number of *Scots* to join with her own Soldiers, and reſolv'd to try her Fortune once again. Whereupon, ſhe left her Son at *Berwick*, while ſhe and her Husband enter'd *Northumberland*, where ſhe made great Devaſtation, by Fire and Sword, in all the adjacent Parts. At the Report of this new Army, ſome of the Nobles, as the Duke of *Somerſet*, and *Ralph Piercy*, and many of *Henry*'s old Friends beſides, who, for fear of the Times, had retir'd to King *Edward*, came in to them; but there were a far greater Confluence from the adjacent Parts of *England*, of ſuch Perſons as had liv'd vicious Lives, in hopes of ſome new Prey. To appeaſe this Commotion, *Edward* made great Military Preparation both by Land and Sea; and commanded the Lord *Montacute*, with a great Part of the Nobility, to march againſt the Enemy, and he himſelf would follow with his whole Army.

1464. Both Armies pitch'd their Tents not far from *Hexham*; but the common Soldiery, who came in for Booty, beginning to ſlip away, *Henry* thought it beſt, in ſuch a deſperate Caſe, to put it to a Puſh, and accordingly a Fight begun, wherein he was overthrown, his chief Friends were either ſlain, or taken Priſoners, and he himſelf made an haſty Retreat to *Berwick*; of the Priſoners, ſome had their Heads cut off preſently; and ſome, a while after. *Edward* having thus got the Day, by the Generals of his Forces, came himſelf to *Durham*, that ſo he might prevent the Incurſions of the *Scots* by the Terror of his neighbouring Army; and alſo, that, by his Preſence, he might quell any Domeſtick Inſurrections, if any ſuch ſhould happen. Whilſt he was there, he ſent out Part of his Army, under ſeveral Commanders, to take in the Places poſſeſs'd by his Enemies, of which having taken many by Storm, or by Surrender, at laſt he laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Alnwick*, which was greater, and better fortify'd, than the reſt, and which was maintain'd by a Garriſon of *French*, who defended the Caſtle very well, in hopes of Relief from *Scotland*, which was ſo near at hand. But the *Scots* having lately had ill Succeſs in *England*, an Army could not be ſo ſoon levy'd as the preſent Exigence requir'd, for the raiſing of the Siege; inſomuch, that whilſt others were backward, and delay'd to give in their Opinion, *George Dowglaſs*, Earl of *Angus*, undertook, with great Audacity, the Matter, which was ſo full of Hazard. He collected about 10000 Horſe, of his Friends, Vaſſals, and the Neighbouring Province, of which he was Governor: He came to the Caſtle, and mounted the *French* that were in Garriſon, upon ſome ſpare Horſes he had brought for that Purpoſe, and ſo brought them off ſafe, even to a Man, into *Scotland*, whilſt the *Engliſh* ſtood and look'd on, as amaz'd at the Boldneſs of his miraculous Enterprize; or, thinking that *Angus* had Help near at Hand; or rather, hoping to have the Caſtle given up without a Battle, and ſo they would not put the whole to an Hazard, by joining in Fight with that ſmall, though ſelect, Party. *Edward* ſettled Guards at all convenient Places, that ſo no rebellious Troops might march to and again; and then, as if he had quieted the whole Kingdom, he return'd to *London*.

Henry's Army overthrown at *Hexham*.

Alnwick-Caſtle beſieg'd.

In

In the mean Time, *Henry* determin'd to ſhelter himſelf privately amongſt his Friends in *England*; but Fortune's Malice follow'd him to the laſt: He was there known, taken, brought to *London*, and committed Priſoner to the *Tower*; and his Wife *Margaret*, diſtruſting her preſent Affairs, with her Son, and a few Followers, left *Scotland*, and ſail'd over to her Father into *France*. *A. D.* 1461. *Henry* of *England* taken Priſoner, and his Queen flies.

To return to the Affairs of *Scotland*: When the Aſſembly was held at *Edinburgh*, there were a full Appearance, but they were divided into Two Factions; Part of the Nobles follow'd the Queen, but the major Part, by far, ſtuck to *James Kennedy*, and *George Dowglaſs*, Earl of *Angus*, the Heads of the contrary Faction. The Queen lodg'd in the Caſtle; the Biſhop and the Earl lay in the Abbey of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, at the furtheſt Part of the Suburbs. The Cauſe of the Diſſenſion was, That the Queen thought it equal and juſt for her to have the Guardianſhip of her Son; the other Party judg'd it moſt fit, that One ſhould be choſen out of the whole Aſſembly, for that Care. The Queen alledg'd, That her Maternal Name, her Intereſt, and Propinquity, gave her Right; but the Adverſe Party inſiſted on the old Law. On the Third Day of the Aſſembly, the Queen came down from the Caſtle with her Followers, and caus'd herſelf to be Decreed *Tutrix of the King, and Governeſs of the Kingdom*, by her own Faction, and ſo returns into the Caſtle again. When *James Kennedy* heard of this, he haſten'd with his Party into the Market-Place, and there, in a long Speech, he told the Multitude, which were thick about him, "That he and his Aſſociates did aim at nothing but the "Publick Good, and the Obſervation of their ancient Laws; but their Ad- "verſaries were led, each one, by his private Advantage, and That he would "evidently make appear, if he might have a Place free to diſpute the Point. Having thus ſpoken, he retir'd with his Followers to his Lodging, but was not gone far from the Market-Place, before he heard, That the other Party was coming down Arm'd from the Caſtle. The Earl of *Angus* look'd upon this as an intolerable Thing, that valiant Men ſhould yield to the Threats of a few, and that their Retirement ſhould be look'd upon as a Flight; and therefore was hardly kept in by *James Kennedy* from aſſaulting the adjoining Gate of the City, and, Weaponleſs as he was, to encounter Armed Men: And, unleſs the Three Biſhops of *Glaſgow*, *Galway*, and *Dumblane*, upon Noiſe of the Uproar, had come in, his Indignation had not been ſtopp'd, 'till they had come to Blows. But, by the Mediation of thoſe Biſhops, the Matter was ſo far compos'd, that a Truce was agreed upon for one Month.

Diſputes in the Aſſembly of Eſtates about the Regency. Which the Queen claims. But *Kennedy* and *Dowglaſs* oppoſe.

A Truce for a Month betwixt the Parties.

Though the Chief of the Faction were thus quieted, yet the Multitude could not be reſtrain'd from expreſſing their Wrath and Indignation; expreſſing, That the Deſire of the Queen was prejudicial to the Kingdom, and diſhonourable to herſelf. "What (ſaid they) is the Valour of the old *Scots* at "ſo low an Ebb, that, amongſt ſo many Thouſand Men, there is none worthy "to govern the Affairs of *Scotland*, but a Woman muſt do it? What, was "there no Man that could Rule over the Nation? And that would live the "greateſt Part of his Life in Arms? What Likelihood was there, That thoſe "who had not been altogether tractable to their King, when weak, ſhould "now yield Obedience to a Woman, that was a Stranger too? What, had "they undergone ſo much Labour, and loſt ſo much Blood, theſe many Years, "by Sea and Land; That Men, born and brought up in Arms, ſhould freely give up themſelves to the Servitude of a Woman? What, if the *Engliſh* "ſhould invade them, as they had often done at other Times, in revenge of "their Loſſes, with a great Army? Who could (in that Caſe) give or accept Terms of Peace or War?" Theſe were the Diſcourſes of the Commonalty in all their Clubs. The Commonalty diſlike the Queen's Regency.

But when the Month was expir'd, their Minds were a little calmer; and, the Truce ended, there was another Convention, where the Queen alledg'd this for her ſelf, in Juſtification of her Cauſe, "That, ſeeing ſhe had not "enter'd upon the Government the Year before by Force, or againſt the "Minds of the Nobility, but was choſen to that Dignity by their unanimous "Conſent, ſhe had but uſed her own Right, and therefore ſhe took it amiſs The Queen's Speech for the Regency.

A. D. 1462. " to be degraded, and no Crime at all imputed, as to her Mal-Adminiſtrati-
" on. If, (ſaid ſhe) as it is uſual, Degrees of Affinity be regarded in Pupil-
" lages, there is none nearer than a Mother: If the Safety of the King were
" regarded, none could be more Faithful; for if the King ſhould die, other
" Men may have their various Hopes, but ſhe could hope for, or expect,
" nothing but Sorrow and Tears. And, if they had reſpect to the Good of
" the Publick, ſhe was a Stranger, and concern'd in no Intereſt of Feuds or
" Friendſhips, and That was eſpecially to be conſider'd by ſuch as ſate at the
" Helm of Government. Some had Aſſiſtance of Parents, Kinſmen and Al-
" lies, by whoſe Aid they might hope for an Excuſe for their Offences, or, at
" leaſt, an eaſier Pardon: Yea, ſometimes the Rulers were compell'd to ac-
" commodate their Actions to ſuch Mens Wills and Humours. As for herſelf,
" her Hope of Defence was in Innocency alone; ſhe had but one Son to be
" concern'd for, and both their Advantages were conjoin'd and twiſted to-
" gether. And unleſs ſhe had Reſpect to theſe Things, ſhe would chooſe
" much rather to live a quiet and happy Life in Retirement, with the good
" Liking of all People, than to undergo the Enmity of evil Men, by puniſh-
" ing their Crimes; yea, and ſometimes to incur the Diſpleaſure of the
" Good, too. Neither was it a new Thing for a Woman to deſire the Regen-
" cy of another's Kingdom, ſince not only in this and the neighbouring Na-
" tions, but even in the greateſt Nations of *Europe*, Women have the Supreme
" Power, and the Subjects have enjoy'd great Felicity under their Govern-
" ment." When the Queen had ended this Speech, the Aſſembly were di-
vided in their Sentiments, for ſome were ſo attach'd to her Intereſt, others agreed to what ſhe propos'd, to prepoſſeſs a Place in Favour, in caſe ſhe ſhould obtain the Government: But moſt Part of the Nobility ſeem'd to diſapprove of what ſhe had urg'd in her Speech. But no Man appear'd publickly to oppoſe the Queen's Requeſt, ſo much as *James Kennedy*, who ſtood up, and made a very long Speech; wherein he us'd all the Arguments he could muſter, to perſwade the Aſſembly from complying with the Queen's Deſire. In this Speech he gather'd all the Inſtances of the Diſadvantages of Female Government in ſeveral Parts of the World, eſpecially of ſuch Women as had caus'd the greateſt Misfortunes in the Kingdoms where they were admitted to Supreme Power, by Election or Birth-right; and concluded with his earneſt Advice to the Aſſembly to proceed in electing proper Perſons to undertake the Regency and the King's Education. This Speech was approv'd by a great Part of the Aſſembly, but others were ſo much in the Queen's Intereſt, that tho' they could not obtain any Share of the Government for her, yet prevail'd with the Aſſembly to let her have the Management of the King's Education: And that neither Party ſhould have any Superiority of Power in the Government, Two were choſen out of each Faction to manage Publick Affairs. Of the Queen's Faction were *William Graham* and *Robert Boid*, the Chancellor; and of the other Side were *Robert Sinclair*, Earl of *Orkney*, and *John Kennedy*: And to them were added the Two Biſhops of *Glaſgow* and *Caledonia*, or *Dunkell*. The Queen having the Care of the King's Education, had alſo the Charge of the other Four Children, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, *John* Earl of *Mar*, and Two Daughters.

James Kennedy oppoſes the Queen.

The Parliament chooſe Governors or Regents.

About this Time King *Edward* of *England* ſeeing his Competitors dead or ſuppreſs'd, thought that a Ceſſation of Arms would be neceſſary, ſo that he might have the better Opportunity to ſettle the Affairs of his Kingdom: Therefore he ſends his Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, to treat with the Eſtates for a Truce for ſome Years. Whereupon, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Abbot of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, Sir *Alexander Boyd*, and Sir *William Cranſton*, were ſent as Commiſſioners from *Scotland* to *York*, where they were met by *Engliſh* Commiſſioners; and after Conſultation, they concluded Peace for the Space of fifteen Years: Which Treaty was afterwards confirm'd by both Kings.

A Truce with *England*, concluded for 15 Years.

In the Year 1463, the Queen, Mother to King *James*, was very much afflicted by ſeveral Cauſes of Grief; as the Diſappointment of her Daughter's Marriage

Marriage with *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, by the Miſeries of King *Henry* and Queen *Margaret* her Kinſwoman, as alſo her Son *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, in his Return from the *Low Countries*, where he had been to viſit his Grandfather, was taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*, but freed ſoon after. Beſides all theſe Troubles, the Queen's Enemies endeavour'd to aſperſe her Character; which threw her into a melancholly languiſhing Condition, and when ſhe found the Period of her Days approaching, ſhe ſent for the King her Son, and when he came to viſit her, ſhe ſaid to him: *A. D.* 1463.

Queen *Mary*'s Speech to her Son King *James* III.

" That Almighty Providence which brought me to the World, and ſet a " Crown on my Head, doth now recal and remove me to a better Kingdom; " and my Happineſs is not little, that I leave this Life without Change of " that Eſtate in which I peaceably liv'd. Death now ſheweth me, as in a " Mirrour, the Frailty of all worldly Pomp and Glory; which before, by " the marble Colours of falſe Greatneſs, was overſhadow'd and cover'd from " me. My Griefs have been many, few my Contentments; the moſt emi- " nent of which was, the Hopes I conceiv'd of you and my other Children: " And now my greateſt Regret is, that I leave you, before I could ſee my " Wiſhes accompliſh'd towards you. My only Care was to have you " brought up in all Virtue and Goodneſs: But Heaven ſhall beſtow that " Charge to more prudent Governors: However take theſe Motherly Di- " rections from me, who can leave no better Legacy. Be earneſt to obſerve " theſe Commandments which are preſcrib'd unto you by Religion, for this " ſupporteth the Scepters of Princes: And a religious King cannot but have " obedient Subjects. What an unreaſonable Thing is it, that a King will " have a People to acknowledge him for their Sovereign Prince upon Earth, " and will not acknowledge GOD for his Supream LORD in Heaven? " A King who rebelleth againſt GOD, all ſubordinate Creatures will rebel " againſt him. Love my Children, and laying aſide the Dignity of a King, " receive them with the Affection of a Brother. Endeavour to make your " Subjects obey you more out of Love than Fear: Or, make your ſelf be- " lov'd and fear'd both together; ſeeing Love alone of it ſelf is often the " Cauſe of Contempt; and Fear alone begets Hatred. Remember ye govern " not the ſoft effeminate People of the *South*, but a fierce Warlike Nation of " the *North*, which oftner uſe to be intreated than commanded by their " Princes. Be ſparing to lay Taxes on them, which maketh many Male- " contents; and live upon your own, ſuffering others to enjoy what is theirs. " Beware of Flatterers, and exalting undeſerving Perſons above your ancient " Nobility. Suffer not your Prerogative to come in Queſtion; but foreſeeing " the Danger, rather give Way to all that with Reaſon is demanded of you. " Moderate your Paſſions; he ſhall never govern a Kingdom, who cannot " govern himſelf, and bring his Affections within the Circle of Reaſon. I " am afraid that Envy and Malice arm themſelves againſt you, which to o- " vercome, endeavour to be martial in your ſelf; for a Prince that is not " martial in himſelf, ſhall never be freed of Rebellion amongſt his Subjects: " A ſtrong Arm ſhould hold the Ballance of Juſtice. When Diſſention ari- " ſeth, be not a Sluggard, but with all Celerity ſuppreſs it in the Infancy. " Rebellion is like Fire in a City, which ſhould be quench'd, tho' with the " pulling down of the neighbouring Houſes. Others will inſtruct you in the " Art of governing, with greater Curioſity and Wiſdom, but not, perhaps, " with the like Love and Affection. I wiſh this Council may be engraven " in your Heart and Conſcience after my Death, for a perpetual Teſtimony " of my Sincerity in your Education. And if, by the unjuſt Counſels of o- " thers, ye be brought to practiſe ought contrary to theſe Inſtructions, re- " member ye cannot ſhun inevitable Dangers, both to your State and Perſon. " But now I am warn'd from Above, to deliver this wearied Body to the " Reſt of a deſired Grave.

After ſhe had thus counſell'd and bleſs'd her Son, ſhe died ſoon after, and was buried with all Solemnities and Funeral Rites, at *Edinburgh*, in the College of the Trinity, which ſhe her ſelf had founded, in the Year 1463.

A. D. 1465.

Intestine Commotions in *Scotland*;

Peace being obtain'd abroad, it was not long before intestine Commotions arose at home; for, when the Disputes and Controversies betwixt the Nobility, concerning the State of the Kingdom, were reported abroad, and magnified by vulgar Rumours; and moreover, the King's Minority, together with the fresh Remembrance of the Licentiousness of the late Times, were brought upon the Stage, these Temptations induc'd Men, who were turbulent enough in their own Nature, to disturb the Quiet of the Nation: As *Allan Campbell* of *Lorn*, who resolv'd to take Possession of the Estate of *John*, his elder Brother; and therefore took him Prisoner, intending there to detain him during his Lifetime: But when *Colen Campbell* Earl of *Argyle*, heard of it, he gather'd a Band of his Tenants together, freed *John*, and cast *Allan* into Prison, in his Room; resolving to carry him to Court, that he might suffer Punishment for that, as well as for his other noted Crimes; but he prevented his Punishment by Death, whether voluntary, or fortuitous, is not known.

By *Allan* of *Lorn*,

And *Donald* the *Islander*.

In another Part of the Country, *Donald* of the *Isles*, being a more powerful Person, began to make a far greater Commotion; for he judging that turbulent State of Things, to be a fit Opportunity for him to injure his Inferiors, and to increase his own Power, he came to *Inverness*, with no great Train, and was kindly invited into the Castle, by the Governor thereof; who had no Thoughts, nor so much as the least Fear, of any Hostility from him: But when he was entred, he turn'd out the Garrison, seiz'd upon the Castle, and gathering his Islanders about him, proclaim'd himself *King of the Isles*. He sent forth Edicts into the neighbouring Countries, *That the Inhabitants should pay Tribute to none but himself; and that they should acknowledge no other Lord or Master, denouncing a great Penalty to those that did otherwise.* The News hereof caus'd debauch'd Persons to flock to him from all Parts; so that having made up an Army great enough, he enter'd *Athole*, with such celerity, that he took the Earl thereof, who was the King's Uncle, and his Wife, Prisoners, before they suspected any such thing. For the Earl, hearing the sudden Tumult of a War, distrusted the Strength of his Castle of *Blare*, and went into the Church of St. *Bride*'s near adjoining, to defend himself there as in a Sanctuary, by the Religion of the Place; many also of his Vassals and Countrymen, being surpriz'd at the sudden Danger, carry'd, and laid up their best Goods there. That Church was venerated in those Parts with great Ceremony, and it remain'd inviolate, to that very Day, by reason of the great Opinion of its Sanctity; but the Consideration of gain was more prevalent with that savage and avaritious Person, than any Sense of Religion. For he violently pull'd out the Earl and his Wife from thence, and a great Number of Prisoners, besides; and after he had pillag'd the Church, he burnt it with Fire; and when the Priests spake to him, to deter him from that Sacrilege, some of them he slew, others he sent away, mal-intreated. Then having wasted the adjacent Countries, up and down, with Fire and Sword, he was returning home, with a great Booty, but a sudden Tempest arose, which sunk many of his Ships, and grievously distress'd the rest; so that he, and a few only of his Followers, were rather cast up, than landed, on the Island of *Ic*. they, who surviv'd this Shipwrack, thought, That this Calamity happen'd to them by the manifest Anger of GOD, because they had violated the Church of St. *Bride*; and therefore they went bare-footed, and cover'd only with a little Linen Garment, in an humble Manner, to do Penance for the Abuse in that Church. 'Tis reported, That from that Day forward, *Donald* their Commander went distracted, either for Grief, that he had lost his Army and the Spoil; or, because his Mind, though brutish, was at length gall'd with the Conscience of his horrid Sacrilege, and Contempt of Divine Worship. This Misfortune of their Commander occasion'd his Kindred to set the Earl of *Athole*, and his Children, at liberty, and to come to St. *Bride*'s to do Penance, and perform their Devotions.

Donald takes the Earl of *Athole* Prisoner, and pillages and burns St. *Bride*'s Church.

He is Shipwrack'd, and thereupon falls distracted.

When the News hereof was brought to Court, it broke off their Consultations, of making any Expedition against the *Islanders*. The first Tumult being thus appeas'd, the Administration of Affairs was carried on with so much

much Equity and Tranquillity, that the oldeſt Man, then alive, never remembred more ſecure, quiet, and peaceable Days; ſuch was the Prudence and Gravity of Biſhop *Kennedy*, on whoſe Authority the Court did then principally depend, and ſuch was the Modeſty of the reſt of the Nobility, that they did not grudge to yield Obedience to the wiſer ſort. For, this *James Kennedy* had obtain'd ſuch Credit by his many Merits and Services to his Country, and by his good Offices towards the former King, that he had procur'd ſuch a real Opinion of his Fidelity in all Matters, by reaſon of the Compoſedneſs of his Manners, and his near Alliance to the King, That the reſt of the King's Guardians, which were to ſucceed one another, Two and Two by Turns, did willingly admit and ſuffer him, when ever he came to Court, to be the ſole Cenſor and Superviſor of their Diligence, in that Service. By this their Concord, the King's Education was carried on very ſmoothly, and his own Ingenuity facilitated their Induſtry; ſo that all Men conceiv'd great Hopes of him. *A. D.* 1466.

Thus Matters were carried on, till about the ſixth Year of the King's Reign; when there was then at Court *Robert Boyd*, the Chief of his Family; who, beſides his perſonal Eſtate, was ally'd to many other great and noble Families; he had alſo a flouriſhing Stock of Children of his own, as *Thomas* and *Robert*; he had a Brother too, nam'd *Alexander*, who was well inſtructed and vers'd in all Learning: This *Alexander*, at the Deſire of *John Kennedy*, his Kinſman (who, by reaſon of his declining Age, was not ſo fit for youthful Services) and with the Conſent of the reſt of the King's Tutors, or Guardians, was preferr'd to the King, to teach him the Rudiments of Military Diſcipline, in the Knowledge whereof, he was eſteem'd to exceed all his Equals. The *Boyds*, upon the Account of theſe Advantages, were not content with that Place and Authority which they had at Court, though it was very great and honourable, but further ſought to engroſs all Publick Offices into their own Family; to accompliſh which, *Alexander* was deſir'd by them, to incline the King's Favour towards them: He, having got the King in the Tenderneſs and Ductility of his Age, did ſo inſinuate into him by his Complaiſance, that he could do all Things with him. Being admitted into ſuch private Intimacy and Converſe, he would often mention to the King, that he was now fit to govern, himſelf; and that it was Time for him to be freed from the Confinment of old Tutors, and to maintain a Company of noble Military Youths about him; that ſo he might enter on thoſe Studies betimes, wherein he was likely to paſs the remaining Part of his Life. Diſcourſes of this Kind were eaſily entertain'd by a Youth, unskilful in Matters, and in the ſlippery Part of his Age too, which was prone to Liberty, ſo that he began to be a little ſtubborn and headſtrong againſt his Governors: Some Things he would do, without their Advice, and many againſt it, as ſeeking an Opportunity to be deliver'd from the Severity of thoſe Seniors, as from a kind of Bondage and Captivity; whereupon, being at *Linlithgow*, when he went out a Hunting, unknown to *John Kennedy*, whoſe Turn it was then to wait, the old Man, being inform'd thereof, went forth to overtake him, not far from the Town; and having done ſo, he took his Horſe by the Bridle, and endeavour'd to keep and bring him back, alledging, that 'twas no convenient Time, nor was his Company fitting for ſuch an Exerciſe; hereupon *Alexander* ran in, and with the Bow which he had in his Hand, ſtruck the old Man a Blow on his Head, though he deſerv'd better Things at his Hands; *James Kennedy* being thus beat off, as a troubleſom Hinderer of their Sport, they proceeded on to the Place they intended, and *John Kennedy* being wounded, return'd into the Town. When *Robert Boyd* came again to Court, he did not diſapprove what his Brother *Alexander* had done; by this Means, the Seeds of Enmity were ſown between the two Factions, which grew up to the great Detriment of the Kingdom.

The *Boyds* in Favour at Court.

Alexander Boyd abuſes *James Kennedy*.

The Feud was firſt diſcover'd upon this Occaſion; That the *Boyds* would have the King remov'd from that Place to *Edinburgh*, but *James Kennedy* and his Party would have *Stirling* to be the Place of his Reſidence: But as the *Boyds* could

A. D. 1466. then do most at Court, so, without publick Consent, they carry'd the King to *Edinburgh*, there to enter upon the Regal Government. The Attendants of the Journey, were, besides their own Kindred, *Adam Hepburn* Lord of *Hales*, *John* Lord *Somervil*, *Andrew Car* of *Cessford*, and Sir *Alexander Boyd*, all Heads of their respective Families. This was acted about the 10th of *July*, in the Year 1466. The *Kennedies*, having lost the day in the Dispute, departed severally to their own Homes, *John* into *Carrick*, *James* into *Fife*, their Minds swelling with Anger, and resolving to omit no Opportunity of Revenge. The *Boyds*, thus Conquerors, not contented with the Wrong they had done, sent *John* an Ape, in Mockery, for the old Man to play and sport himself with at home, thereby upbraiding him, as if he had doted for Age.

The *Boyds* carry the King to *Edinburgh*.

Whereupon the *Kennedies* depart from Court.

Not long after, Bishop *James Kennedy* departed this Life, timely enough for himself, if we respect his Age; but his Death was lamented by many: For in that Man, besides many Virtues, there was an high Degree of Frugality at home, yet great Splendor and Magnificence abroad: He exceeded all former Bishops, yea, and all those which have succeeded him in that See, as to his Liberality towards the Publick; and yet, notwithstanding his own Ecclesiastical Revenues were not very great. He left one eminent Monument of his Munificence, which was the publick Schools of St. *Andrew*'s, which he built with great Expence, and endow'd with large Revenues out of the Church Incomes: He order'd that a magnificent Monument should be erected for himself therein, which the Malignity of Men envy'd him for, though he had deserv'd so well privately of most Men, and publickly of all Men.

Archbishop *James Kennedy*'s Death and Character.

The *Boyds* made use of Pretences in Law, to increase the domestick Power of their Family, and to abate the Potency of their Enemies, and first *Patrick Graham* seem'd most proper for their Purpose; he was the Brother of *James Kennedy*, by the same Mother, and was also Cousin by the Mother's-side, to *Robert Boyd*. He (as the Manner was in those Days) was elected Bishop by the Canons, in the Room of *James Kennedy*, but was hinder'd by the Court Faction, from having the King's Leave to go to *Rome*; so that he went privately to the Pope, without any Train, and so was easily admitted to the See of St. *Andrew*'s; for besides the Nobility of his Family, and the great Recommendation of his high Virtues, he was also well qualify'd, according to those Times. And therefore whilst he staid at *Rome*, fearing the Power of the adverse Faction, the old Controversy concerning the Liberty of the Church of *Scotland*, began to be reviv'd. For the Archbishop of *York* pretended, That the Bishops of *Scotland* were under his Jurisdiction; so that he endeavour'd to retain that Power in time of Peace, which had been usurp'd in licentious Times of War. But a Decree was made at *Rome*, in Favour of the *Scots*; and *Patrick Graham* was not only made Primate of *Scotland*, but also was constituted the Pope's Legate there for three Years, to enquire into the dangerous Manners and Conversations of Priests; and to restore decay'd Ecclesiastical Discipline to its primative Integrity and State; and yet, this great Man, though so illustrious for Endowments of Mind and Fortune, and having also the Authority of the Pope to back him, durst not return home, till the Power of the *Boyds* did somewhat decline at Court.

Patrick Graham elected Bishop of St. *Andrew*'s, in the Room of *James Kennedy*, and confirm'd by the Pope. But the *Boyds* obstruct his Admission.

Scots Bishops freed from the pretended Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *York*, by the Pope's Decree.

The *Boyds* perceiving, that the Nobility did not resort to them so much as they hop'd, they, to avert the Accusations of their Enemies, and provide for their own Security for the future, caus'd a publick Assembly or Parliament to be call'd, against the 13th Day of *October*. There *Robert Boyd*, the Elder, fell down on his Knees before the King and his Counsellors of State, complaining, That his Service to the King in bringing him to *Edinburgh*, was ill interpreted and traduc'd by the malicious Speeches of his Adversaries, who threaten'd, That the Advisers to that Journey should, one Day, suffer Punishment for the same; and therefore he humbly besought the King, That, if he had conceiv'd any Ill-will, or Disgust in his Mind against him for that Journey, that he would openly declare it; that so the Calumnies of his Detractors might be either prevented or allay'd. The King, having advis'd a little with

with the *Lords of the Articles*, made Anſwer, "That *Robert* was not the "Adviſer of him to that Journey, but rather his Companion in it; and there- "fore, that he was more worthy of a Reward for his Courteſy, than of Pu- "niſhment for his Obſequiouſneſs and Compliance therein; and this he was "willing to declare in a publick Decree of the Eſtates, that ſo all invidious, "Diſcourſe might be ſtopt; and, in the ſame Decree, Proviſion ſhould be made, "That that Matter ſhould never be prejudicial to *Robert*, nor his Companions." Whereupon *Boyd* deſir'd, That this Decree might be regiſter'd amongſt the Acts of the Aſſembly; and that the ſame ſhould be confirm'd alſo by Letters Patents, under the Great Seal; and accordingly the Decree was preſently Regiſter'd amongſt the Acts, and the Letters Patents were deliver'd to him ſoon after, *viz.* the 25th Day of the ſame Month. The ſame Day alſo, the King, by Advice of his Council, gave him other Letters Patents, wherein he was conſtituted Regent, and had the Safety of the King, his Brothers, Siſters, Towns, Caſtles, and all the Juriſdiction over his Subjects committed to him, 'till he himſelf came to 21 Years of Age; and he dealt ſo with the Nobles then preſent, that they ſolemnly promis'd to be aſſiſtant to the *Boyds* in all their publick Actions; and that they would be obnoxious to Puniſhment, if they did not carefully, and with Faithfulneſs, perform what they now promis'd: To this Stipulation, or Promiſe, the King alſo ſubſcrib'd.

A. D. 1466.

Robert Boyd made Regent.

By this Means, when the King was their Friend, Part of the Nobility in League with them, and alſo the Adminiſtration of the whole Government put into their Hands, they thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecur'd for a long Time; yea, and to lay a Foundation alſo for the future Grandure of their Poſterity, they brought it about, that *Thomas Boyd*, the Son of *Robert*, ſhould marry the King's eldeſt Siſter. That Marriage, as 'twas honourable, and ſeem'd a Prop and Eſtabliſhment of their Power, ſo it encreas'd the Hatred of their Enemies; and gave Occaſion to Variety of Diſcourſe amongſt the Vulgar. For, though, by this Means, all Paſſage to the King's Ear ſeem'd to be precluded, and they alone made the ſole Arbiters of his Words and Actions; yet they did not flouriſh ſo much in Favour at Court, as they were proſecuted with Hatred Abroad; which, after Four Years Concealment, did, at laſt, break out to the Deſtruction of their whole Family; and the wiſer ſort of the adverſe Party did not much diſlike this their ſudden Increaſe of Honour, for they hop'd, (as 'tis uſual) *That Arrogance would be the Companion thereof, which would not endure a Superior, and deſpiſe an Equal, yea and trample upon an Inferior; and when the Bounds of a Subject's Condition are exceeded, it alſo awakens Kings, who are impatient of Corrivals, to overthrow ſuch ſuſpected Perſons.* The Noiſe of this Diſcord betwixt ſuch potent Factions, let looſe the Reins to popular Licentiouſneſs: The Seeds of Hatred, which were ſuppreſt for a Time, did now bud forth again with greater Vigour; and the Seditious did willingly lay hold on theſe Occaſions for Diſturbances, ſo that there was a general Liberty taken to do what Men liſted, without Fear of being puniſh'd.

Thomas Boyd marries the King's Eldeſt Siſter.

The Greatneſs of the *Boyds* occaſions their Ruin.

Neither were the *Kennedies* wanting on this Occaſion, who partly did ſpread Abroad Rumours to inflame the People, and to caſt all the Cauſe of their Diſturbance and Miſeries upon the *Boyds*; and partly alſo, (as ſome thought) they were not much averſe from the Deſign of the Seditious, but did privily caſt Fewel into the Fire. This was plain and evident by their very Countenances, that this troubleſome State of Affairs was not unpleaſant or unacceptable to them. There ſeem'd but only One Thing wanting, utterly to ſubvert the flouriſhing Power of their Enemies, and That was, to make the King of their Party; for they had Strength enough, or too much; they knew, that the Commonalty, who affect Innovations, and love every Thing more than what is preſent, would crowd in to their Party; hereupon they agreed to try the King's Mind, by ſome crafty Perſons who ſhould pretend themſelves to be Lovers of the *Boyd*'s Faction.

In the Interim, Ambaſſadors were appointed to paſs over into *Denmark*, to deſire *Margaret*, the Daughter of that King, as a Wife for K. *James*; and that they

A. D. 1469. they ſhould take all the Care they could, that the old Controverſy concerning the *Orknays* and the Iſles of *Shetland*, which had coſt both Nations ſo much Blood, might be accorded. The chief of the Embaſſy was, *Andrew Stewart*, Son to *Walter*, who was then Chancellor of *Scotland*. The *Danes* eaſily aſſented to the Marriage, and they quitted all their Right which their Anceſtors claim'd over all the Iſlands about *Scotland*, in the Name of a Dowry; only the private Owners of Eſtates, in thoſe Iſlands, were to enjoy them upon the ſame Terms as they had formerly done. Some write, that they were paſs'd over in Mortgage 'till the Dowry was paid, but that afterward, the King of *Denmark* gave up all his Right thereto forever to his Nephew *James*, who was newly born by his Daughter.

King *James* by his Ambaſſadors deſires *Margaret*, Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, for a Wife. The King of *Denmark* reſigns up the *Orcades* and *Shetland* to the *Scots*, as a Dowry.

When the Chancellor had inform'd the King, that all Things were finiſh'd according to his Deſire, they next conſult to ſend an handſome Train of Nobles to bring over the new Queen: And here, by the Fraud of his Enemies, and Inadvertency of his Friends, *Thomas Boyd*, Son of *Robert* Earl of *Arran*, was choſen Ambaſſador, by reaſon of his Valour, Splendor, and Eſtate, fit for ſuch a magnificent Errand: He judging all Things ſafe at Home, in regard his Father was Regent, willingly undertook the Employment; and with a good Train of Friends and Followers, he went a Ship-board, and on the 8th of *September* they landed at *Copenhagen*.

Thomas Boyd, ſent Ambaſſador to bring the new Queen from *Norway*.

In the mean Time, the *Kennedies* had looſen'd the King's Affection to the *Boyds*; and whereas they thought to retain his Good-will, by Pleaſures and Vacation from publick Cares, thoſe very Baits they imputed as Crimes to them, and by magnifying their Wealth, tho' Great in it ſelf, yet as too great, and even dangerous to the King himſelf; and withal alledging, what a great Advantage would accrue to his Exchequer by the Confiſcation of their Eſtates, upon their Conviction, they did variouſly agitate the Mind of the King, who was inclin'd to Suſpicions. And the *Boyds* on the other Side, though they endeavour'd by their Obſequiouſneſs, and their hiding the publick Miſeries from him, to baniſh all melancholly Thoughts out of his Mind; yet, the Complaints of the Vulgar, and the Solitarineſs of the Court, both which were, on Purpoſe, contriv'd and encreas'd by their Enemies, could not be hid. And beſides, there were ſome, who when the King was alone, did Diſcourſe with him freely, concerning the Publick Calamities, and the Way to remedy them; yea, the King himſelf, as if he were ſomewhat awaken'd to Manly Cares, declar'd, That what was ſometimes acted Abroad, did not pleaſe him. But the *Boyds*, though they perceiv'd that the King was every Day leſs and leſs favourable to them than formerly; and withal, that popular Envy roſe higher and higher againſt them, yet remitted nothing of their former Licentiouſneſs, as truſting to the King's former Clemency, and to the Amneſty, which they had for what was paſt.

The *Boyds* undermin'd in the Abſence of *Thomas*.

Whereupon, the contrary Faction having ſecretly wrought over the King to their Party, and *Thomas* Earl of *Arran* being ſent Ambaſſador into *Denmark*, from whence he was not expected to return 'till late in the Spring. Upon theſe Accounts, they thought it a fit Seaſon to attempt ſomething againſt the *Boyds*, who were Old and Diſeas'd, and therefore came ſeldom to Court; and beſides, were deſtitute of the Aid of many of their Friends, who were gone away in the Train of the Embaſſy. The firſt Thing they did, was to perſwade the King to call a Parliament, to meet at *Edinburgh* on the 22d Day of *November*, in the Year 1469. Thither the *Boyds*, Two Brothers, were ſummon'd to come and make their Appearance; where Matters were variouſly carried towards them, as every ones Hatred of them, or Favour to them, did dictate and direct: But they were ſo aſtoniſh'd at this ſudden Blow, as having made no great Proviſion againſt ſo eminent a Danger, that their Minds were quite dejected, not ſo much for the Power of the adverſe Faction, as for the ſudden Alienation of the King's Mind from them; ſo that *Robert*, in Deſpair of his Safety, fled into *England*: But *Alexander*, who by reaſon of his Sickneſs could not fly, was call'd to make his Anſwer. The Crime objected to both the Brothers was, That they had laid Hands on the King,

Robert Boyd flies into *England*.

and

and by private Advice had carried him to *Edinburgh*. *Alexander* alledg'd, That he had obtain'd his Pardon for that Offence in a publick Convention, and therefore he humbly desir'd, that a Copy of that Pardon might be transcrib'd out of the Parliament Rolls, but this was denied him: So that he was condemn'd on his Trial, and had his Head cut off. *Robert*, a few Years after, dy'd at *Alnwick* in *England*; the Grief of Banishment being added to the Pains of his old Age. His Son, tho' absent, and that upon a publick Embassy, was declar'd a publick Enemy, without hearing; and all their Estates were confiscated. Thus stood the Matter of Fact; but they say, that the Indemnity given to the *Boyds*, was thus express'd in the Records, That the King forgave them all the Prejudice and ill Opinion that he might have conceiv'd of them; which they, who were willing to gratify the King, did interpret after this Manner, That tho' the King forgave them his personal Resentment, yet they were not exempted from the Punishment of the Law. *Thomas Boyd*, when he heard of the Calamity of his Father, tho' some put him in Hopes of Pardon, in a Time of publick Rejoicing, yet durst not come ashoar; but being inform'd by his Wife, who, upon the first News of the Approach of the *Danish* Fleet, went and told him of the Misfortunes of his Family, and that his Life would be in Danger if he landed; whereupon he, (after the Queen's landing) with the Lady *Mary* his Wife, return'd on Board of a Ship, and sailed back to *Denmark*, and travelled through *Germany* into *France*, where he, in vain, endeavour'd to obtain the Mediation of *Lewis* XI. for his Reconciliation with his Sovereign King *James*. He being known to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, he offer'd his Service to him in the Wars, where he behaved himself with great Valour and Honour, for which he was rewarded with great Respect and Gratitude; and having settled in *Burgundy*, he lived with his Wife privately, yet very honourably; and his Wife bare him a Son call'd *James*, who died without Issue, and a Daughter, who was married to *Alexander Forbes*, and after to *David* Earl of *Cassils*.

A. D. 1670.

Alexander Boyd beheaded.

A Critical or Ambiguous Pardon.

Thomas Boyd declar'd a publick Enemy in his Absence.

The Earl and Countess of *Arran* returns to *Denmark*.

Upon the Queen's landing she was receiv'd by the King, to whom she was married with the utmost Solemnity, upon the 10th of *July* 1470, of which Marriage was born (Three Years after, on the 17th of *March*, being St. *Patrick*'s Day) *James* Prince of *Scotland*, who succeeded his Father in the Throne.

King *James* IV. Birth.

Mean Time the King retaining still his Hatred to the Family of *Boyd*, he sent over for his Sister the Lady *Mary*, desiring her to Leave her Husband; but such was her Love to him, that she would not Leave him in Exile; yet having some Hopes that she might prevail with the King her Brother, she came over to *Scotland*, and used all possible Means to obtain her Husband's Pardon; but found the King not only denied her Solicitation that way, but likewise detain'd her from returning to him, and urg'd her to sue for a Divorce from him, to which she would no was consent: But the unfortunate Earl finding himself depriv'd of his beloved Wife, he contracted such Grief, that he died soon after at *Antwerp*, and was honourably interr'd by *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who erected a stately Monument, with an Inscription in Testimony of his honourable Service and Behaviour.

Thomas Boyd Earl of *Arran* dies, and is buried at *Antwerp*.

After the Death of *Thomas Boyd*, the Lady *Mary* Countess of *Arran*, continued a Widow till the Year 1474, in which Year she was married to *James* Lord *Hamilton*, by whom she had a Son named *James*, who succeeded his Father as Lord *Hamilton*, the 6th of *November* 1479. And upon the 10th of *August* 1503, was, by *James* the IV. created Earl of *Arran*, in the Right of the Lady *Mary* his Mother. The Lord *Hamilton* had also a Daughter of this Marriage, named *Elizabeth*, who was married to *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and was Grandmother to *Henry* Lord *Darnly*, Father to *James* VI. King of *Scotland*.

The King's Sister married to the Lord *Hamilton*.

The Children of that Marriage.

The Ruin of the *Boyds* did not only amaze their Friends, but also their very Enemies, so that none would adventure to aspire to that Dignity, from whence they were cast down; partly upon the Account of the Instability of human Affairs, and partly in Consideration of the King's sudden Repentance, for bestowing his Gifts and Favours; and his continu'd Perseverance in his Hatred, when once begun. This is certain, that such as had great Hopes of

A. D. 1472. Preferment by this Change of Publick Affairs, found themſelves much miſtaken: For the King, who, before that Time, had us'd himſelf to Domeſtick Eaſe, and ſeldom appear'd in Publick, being now newly married, ſpent a great Part of his Time in the Pleaſures of his Palace; he excluded the Nobility, and was wholly govern'd by a few of his Servants; for, being very paſſionate and poſſitive, he could not well bear being contradicted in his Opinion; ſo that he avoided the Liberty which Nobles would take, in adviſing him, and had only thoſe about him, who would not reprehend, but rather approve of what he did; that ſo by avoiding any Occaſion of Offence, by their Flattery they might curry his Favour.

By theſe and the like flattering Arguments, they perſuaded the King to their Opinion, for his Mind was not yet confirm'd by the Ripeneſs of Years; beſides, 'twas weaken'd by ill Cuſtom, and not fortify'd againſt the Temptations of Advantage: And beſides, he was naturally prone to Liberty. Hereupon, a new Face of Things preſently appear'd throughout the whole Kingdom, and all Matters, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, were brought to Court, to be diſpos'd of. But * Biſhop *Graham* was the only Man, who endeavour'd to ſtop the precipitous Ruin of the Church; for when his Enemies ſway'd all at home, he ſtaid at *Rome* ſome Years, but being there inform'd by his Friends, in what State things were, he, truſting in his Alliance to the King (being the Son of his Great-Aunt) reſolv'd to return home; but that he might make ſome Eſſay of the Minds of Men, before; he ſent a Bull, which he had obtain'd from the Pope, and caus'd it to be proclaim'd and publiſh'd in the Month of *September*, 1472. which rais'd up much Envy againſt him. For they that had bought Eccleſiaſtical Honours at Court, were afraid to loſe both their Prey and Money too; and they, who thought to make Advantage by this Court Nomination, were griev'd to be thus diſappointed; and that Faction did no leſs ſtorm, that had obtain'd Eccleſiaſtical Preferments from the King, for mercenary Gain, ſo that they might ſell them to others. Their Fear was, that this gainful Practice would be taken out of their Hands. All theſe made a Conſpiracy againſt the Biſhop, and in his Abſence, loaded him with Reproaches: They came to Court, and complain'd that their ancient Laws, as well as the King's late Decrees, were violated, and that the Clergy were carrying on many Matters very prejudicial to the Kingdom; and unleſs the King did ſpeedily oppoſe their Exorbitance, they would quickly bring all things under their Power; yea, and make the King himſelf ſubmit to their Deſigns.

* The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's*.

Complaints againſt the Archbiſhop.

To prevent this Danger, there were ſome ſent, by Order of the Council, to the Biſhop, before he had ſcarce ſet his Foot on Shoar, to forbid him to execute any Part of his Office, until the King had heard the Complaints made againſt him; and he was appointed to appear, the firſt of *November* at *Edinburgh*, in order to an Hearing.

In the mean time, when his Friends and Kinsfolk did aſſure him, that the King would do what was equitable in ſo juſt a Cauſe; the adverſe Faction hearing of it, did ſo engage the King and his Courtiers, by the Promiſes of great Sums of Money, that the Biſhop could never have a fair Hearing afterwards. When he was come to the Aſſembly, he produc'd the Pope's Bull and Grant, wherein he was conſtituted Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's*, Primate of *Scotland*, and the Pope's Legate for three Years, to order Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. The inferiour Churchmen were well-pleas'd to hear, that an Office ſo neceſſary was put into the Hands of ſo pious and learn'd a Man, but they did not dare to ſpeak it out, for Fear of ſome powerful Perſons, who had got the Ear of the King and his Counſellors. His Adverſaries made their Appeal to the Pope, who alone could be Judge in the Caſe; which they did on purpoſe to create Delay, that ſo the Favour of the People towards the Biſhop might in time abate. He himſelf was ſent back by the King to his Church, but forbid to wear the Enſigns and Habiliments of an Archbiſhop, till the Cauſe was determin'd; neither was he to perform any Office, but what the former Biſhops had done before him.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, *William Chivez* roſe up a new Enemy againſt the Archbiſhop. He was a young Man of a prompt Wit, and well skill'd

skill'd in the Study of Phyſick and Aſtrology; in both which Faculties he was very famous; and returning home, he quickly inſinuated himſelf into the Favour of the Courtiers; partly, upon the Account of his other Accompliſhments, and partly, becauſe of his noted Skill in Aſtrology. This Endowment won him great Reſpect and Favour at Court, and was ſoon made Archdeacon of St. *Andrew*'s. But the Biſhop would not admit him to that Office; whereupon he communicated Counſel with *John Loch*, Rector of the Publick Schools there, who was no Friend to the Biſhop, and they two plotted together, to overthrow him. The Rector, having a Grant from the Pope, whereby he was privileg'd and exempted from *Patrick*'s Juriſdiction, pronounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him. But he ſo ſlighted this Commination of one of an inferiour Order to himſelf, that though it were twice or thrice ſerv'd againſt him, yet he remitted nothing of the ordinary Courſe of his former Life; whereupon his Enemies (as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, wherein Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures are contemn'd) implor'd the Aſſiſtance of the King, and caus'd *Patrick* to be ſhut out of all Churches. Officers of the Exchequer were ſent to inventory his Goods; his Retinue was commanded, under an heavy Penalty, to depart; and a Guard was ſet upon him, to obſerve that he did nothing contrary to the Edict. The reſt of the Biſhops, that they might not ſeem ungrateful towards ſo Benevolent a King, levied a great Sum of Money, which they violently extorted out of ſmall Benefices, and preſented him with it. The King being Maſter of ſuch a Sum, ſeem'd to deal more mildly with the Biſhop, as if he took Pity on him, and accordingly he ſent the Abbot of *Holy-Rood-Houſe* and *Chivez* to him. Whereupon, the Biſhop was reconcil'd to the King, and alſo *William Chivez* and the Biſhop were made Friends; but his Money was gather'd up before, and carried to the King. Now the Biſhop ſeem'd to be freed out of all his Troubles, and ſo he retir'd to his Mannor Houſe of * *Monimail*, and prepar'd himſelf for the Execution of his Office both publickly and privately; when, behold, Agents were ſent by his Adverſaries; and becauſe he had not paid his Feees for the Popes Grant (or *Bull*, as they call it) they alſo excommunicated him: So that the Archbiſhop was reduc'd to extreme Poverty; for his Revenues, both before and after his Return, were, for the moſt part, gather'd up by the King's Collectors, and brought into his Exchequer; and whatever his Friends could make up, was given to the King and his Courtiers. And when the King's Officers were again ſent to take Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, Guards were ſet, his houſhold Servants were diſcharg'd, and he was kept Priſoner in his Caſtle, and thereby was depriv'd of the Advice of his Friends; alſo *William Chivez* his Enemy, was firſt impos'd upon him by the King, as his Coajutor, as they call him, as if he had been incapable. *William Chivez* was made Inquiſitor, by the Power of the adverſe Faction, to enquire into the Archbiſhop's Life and Converſation; many trifling, ridiculous, and incredible things were objected againſt him, and amongſt the reſt, it was ſaid, *That he had ſaid Maß thrice in one Day:* Hereupon, his Enemy being Judge, and Witneſſes being hir'd againſt him, he was ejected out of his Biſhoprick, and *William Chivez* was made Biſhop in his Room. Neither were his Enemies contented with the Miſchief they had done him; but, perceiving that he bore all their Malice with much Greatneſs of Spirit, they took order, that he ſhould be ſhut up in ſome deſolate Monaſtry, under four Keepers; *Inch Colm* was choſen to be the Place, a Rock, rather than an Iſland; from whence, three Years after, he was remov'd to *Dunfermling*, for fear of the *Engliſh* Fleet, betwixt whom and the *Scots* a War had then broke forth; and from thence he was again carry'd to the Caſtle, which lies in *Loch Leven*; where, being worn out with Age and Miſeries, he departed this Life. He was a Man guilty of no known Vice, and in Learning and Virtue inferior to none of his Age. Preferments were either ſold, or elſe given away to Flatterers.

In the Year 1476, there was a Publick Decree made againſt *John* Lord of the *Iſles*, who had ſeiz'd upon ſome Provinces, and had done great Spoil on the Maritim Coaſts; inſomuch that the King reſolv'd to march againſt him

A. D. 1472.

Patrick Graham excomunicated, and his Rents gather'd into the King's Exchequer.

* Situate upon the Head of *Monks-Moor*, five Miles north of *Falkland*.

Patrick Graham, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, his Death and Character.

A. D. 1476.

John the *Iſlander* riſes in Arms, but quickly ſubmits to the King.

him by Land, and commanded the Earl of *Crawford* his Admiral, to meet him by Sea: Hereupon, *John* perceiving that he was too weak to withſtand ſuch great Preparations, by the Advice of the Earl of *Athole* the King's Uncle, he came in an humble Manner to Court, and ſurrender'd up himſelf to the King's Mercy. The Provinces which he had forcibly enter'd upon, were taken from him, as *Roß*, *Kintire*, and *Knapdale*, but the Command of the *Iſlands* was ſtill permitted to him. The ſame Year, the Controverſy with the *Engliſh*, which was ready to break out into a War, was ended and decided. The Occaſion was, that *James Kenneay* had built a Ship, the biggeſt that ever ſail'd on the Ocean at that Time; ſhe being at Sea, was by a Tempeſt caſt upon the *Engliſh* Shore, and her Loading rifled by the *Engliſh*; Reſtitution was often ſought for, but in vain. This bred a Diſguſt betwixt the Nations for ſome Years, but at laſt the *Engliſh* ſent Ambaſſadors into *Scotland*; the chief of which were the Biſhop of *Durham*, and the Lord *Scroop*, by whom *Edward*, having been toſt by the Inconſtancy of Fortune, and his Exchequer drain'd by continual Wars, deſir'd a Pacification, which was eaſily renew'd, upon Condition, That the Value of the Ship rifled, and its Loading, might be eſtimated by indifferent Perſons, and juſt Satisfaction made.

James Kennedy built a Ship, which is rifled by the *Engliſh*, but upon a Peace made by Ambaſſadors, he receives Satisfaction.

Ambaſſadors ſent to *Charles* of *Burgundy*,

The ſame Year Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, in Behalf of the Merchants, who were diſturb'd in their Trade: When they came into *Flanders*, they were honourably receiv'd by him. But one *Andrews* a Phyſician, and a great Aſtrologer too, being occaſionally invited by them to Supper, underſtanding the Cauſe of their coming, took them aſide, and told them, That they ſhould not make too much Haſte in their Embaſſy, for, in a very few Days they ſhould hear other News of the Duke. And accordingly his Prediction was fulfill'd, for within three Days after, his Army was overthrown by the *Switzers*, at the City of *Nants* in *Lorain*, where he was ſlain. Hereupon, the Ambaſſadors return'd without effecting their Buſineſs; and when they came to the King, and told him how highly skill'd that *Andrews* was in predicting Things to come, they perſuaded him (who of himſelf was inclinable to thoſe Arts) to ſend for the Man, upon Promiſes of a good Reward; and accordingly he came, was well receiv'd, and gratify'd. He (as 'tis reported) told the King, That he ſhould ſpeedily be deſtroy'd by his own Subjects, and that Speech agreed with the Predictions of ſome Wizards, who had prophecy'd, *That a Lion ſhould be kill'd by his Whelps.* Hereupon, from a Prince, at firſt, of great Ingenuity, and good Hopes, he became very ſuſpicious and cruel; for when his Mind had entertain'd any Suſpicion, he accounted even his neareſt Kindred, and all the beſt of the Nobility, as his Enemies: And the Nobles were alſo diſguſted at him, partly by reaſon of his Familiarity with the moſt deprav'd ſort of People, but chiefly becauſe he ſlighted the Nobility, and choſe mean Perſons to be his Counſellors and Adviſers. The Chief of them were, *Thomas Preſton*, one of a good Family, but who was reſolv'd to humour the King in all things; *Robert Cochran*, a Man endued with great Strength of Body, and equal Audacity of Mind; he came to be known by the King, by a Duel which he fought with another; and preſently, of a Tradeſman was made a Courtier, and that in a fair Way of riſing to ſome greater Advancement; for having perform'd ſome lighter Matter, intruſted to him, with Diligence; and alſo applying himſelf to the King's Humour, he was ſoon admitted to adviſe concerning the moſt important Affairs of the Kingdom; inſomuch, that *Preſton* choſe him out to be his Son-in-Law. The third was *William Rogers*, an *Engliſh* Singing-Maſter, or Muſician; who, coming into *Scotland* with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, after the King had heard him ſing once or twice, he was ſo taken with him, that he would not ſuffer him to return, but advanc'd him to Wealth and Honour, ſoon after making him a Knight. The reſt of his Intimates were the moſt deſpicable ſort of the meaneſt Tradeſmen, who were only known by their Improbity and Audaciouſneſs. Whereupon, the Nobility had a Meeting, wherein the King's Brothers propos'd to purge the Court from this ſort of People; and ſome Notice of it being divulg'd abroad, *John* the youngeſt of the

Who ſoon after was ſlain at *Nants* by the *Switzers*.

One *Andrews* an Aſtrologer and Phyſician fortels the King's Death.

the Brothers, more unwary than the reſt, ſpeaking a little too boldly, and raſhly, concerning the State of the Kingdom, was ſeiz'd upon by the Courtiers, caſt into Priſon, condemn'd by the King's privy domeſtick Council, and put to Death, by having a Vein open'd, till he expir'd his laſt. The Cauſe of his Death was given out amongſt the Vulgar to be, becauſe he had conſpir'd with Witches againſt the King's Life; and to make the Matter more plauſible, twelve of the Witches of the loweſt Condition were try'd and burnt. The Death of *John* did rather ſtifle than diſſipate the Conſpiracy, which ſeem'd almoſt ready to break forth. *A. D.* 1476. *John* the King's Brother put to Death,

Alexander the next, as in Blood, ſo in Danger, tho' he endeavour'd to avert all Suſpicion as much as he could, yet the King's Officers thought they ſhould never be ſecure, ſo long as he was alive, and therefore they preſently clapt him up Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he was ſtrictly kept by thoſe who judg'd his Power would be their Deſtruction: And ſeeing he could not appeaſe the King's Wrath by the Mediation of his Friends, he began to think of making an Eſcape. He had but one of his own Servants left to wait upon him in his Chamber, him, and none elſe, he acquainted with his Deſign. This Servant hir'd a Veſſel for him, to be ready fitted in *Leith*-Road, then he ſuborn'd Meſſengers to make frequent Errands to him from the Court, who ſhould tell him Stories before the Keepers (for he was forbid to ſpeak to any Body, but in their Preſence) that the King was now more reconcileable to him than formerly, and that he would ſpeedily be ſet at Liberty. When the Day appointed for his Eſcape approach'd, he compos'd his Countenance to as much Mirth, as in that calamitous Condition he was able to do, and told his Keepers, that now he believ'd the Meſſages ſent him by the King, that he was reconcil'd to him; and that he hop'd he ſhould not be held much longer in Confinement: Hereupon he invited them to a ſplendid Supper, where himſelf drank freely with them, till late at Night, when they departed; and being all full of Wine, fell into the ſounder Sleep; ſo that he was alone, and made a Ladder of the Linen and Blankets of his Bed, long enough, as he thought, for the Height of the Wall; and firſt, to make a Trial, he caus'd his Servant to ſlide down by it; but perceiving, by his Fall, that 'twas too ſhort, he lengthned it out as well as he could, in thoſe Circumſtances, and himſelf ſlid down too, and took up his Servant (who had broke his Leg by his Fall) upon his Shoulders, and carry'd him about a Mile to the Veſſel, where they went aboard, and having a fair Wind, ſail'd to *Dunbar*; there he fortify'd the Caſtle againſt any forcible Aſſault; from whence, with a ſmall Retinue, he paſs'd over into *France*. In his Abſence, *Andrew Stewart* the Chancellor, was ſent with an Army to take in the Caſtle: They beſieg'd it cloſely ſome Months, and 'twas defended as bravely; but, at laſt, the Gariſon, for want of Neceſſaries, were forc'd to get Veſſels, and, in the Night, to depart privately for *England*, ſo that in the Morning the empty Caſtle was taken by the Beſiegers.

And *Alexander* impriſoned:

But eſcapes and fortifies the Caſtle of *Dunbar*.

He leaves it and goes to *France*.

About theſe times it was, that the Kings both of *England* and *Scotland*, being weary'd out with domeſtick Troubles, had each of them a Deſire to make Peace, and an Embaſſy was appointed to compleat it, which was kindly receiv'd, and the Peace was not only agreed upon, but an Affinity accorded to confirm it, that *Cecilia*, the Daughter of *Edward*, ſhould be married to *James* his Son, aſſoon as they were both marriageable. Part alſo of the Dowry was paid on this Condition, That, *if, when they came to Years, the Marriage were not conſummated, the Dowry ſhould be paid back to the* Engliſh: And Hoſtages were given for the Performance of the Conditions, which were ſome Burgers of the Town. But this Peace laſted not long; for, by reaſon of the old Grudges remaining ſince the laſt Wars, Incurſions were made, Preys driven, and Villages burnt: So that by reaſon of theſe mutual Injuries, the Matter broke forth into an open War. And beſides, each King had other peculiar Provocations. The Earl of *Dowglaß*, the old Exile, and *Alexander* the King's Brother, the new one, excited *Edward* thereunto. For *Alexander* going into *France*, married the Daughter of the Earl of *Bolloign*, but not being able to procure

Peace between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*; wherein it was agreed, That *Cecilia*, *Edward*'s Daughter, ſhou d marry *James*'s young Son.

But the Peace is ſoon broken.

A. D. 1476. Aid from *Lewis* II. then King of *France*, for the Recovery of his own, he ſail'd over into *England*, hoping from thence to make ſome Attempt upon *Scotland*. As for King *James* of *Scotland*, *Lewis* of *France* edg'd him on to a War, having ſent *Robert Ireland* a *Scotſman*, and Doctor of the *Sorbon*, with two *French* Knights to him, on that Errand. Hereupon the Peace was broken, ſome of the Country was waſted, and an Army alſo was ſent againſt *Scotland* by the *Engliſh*, under the Command of the Duke of *Glocester*. Whereupon the King, and thoſe who were about him, did levy Forces, tho' very unwillingly. For the Courtiers, whoſe Greatneſs was founded on the Calamities of others, and who had been the Authors of ſuch deſperate Counſels to the King, fear'd nothing more than the frequent Aſſembly of the Nobility. When he came to *Lauder*, a Town near the Borders of *Merch* and *Tiviotdale*, Countries either waſted by the Enemies, or elſe, by Force, were neceſſitated to ſubmit to him: The King yet proceeded on in his wonted Courſe of Exactions from them; he diſtruſted the Nobility, and manag'd all by his Cabinet-Council. The Nobles would endure the Indignity no longer, and therefore, in the third Watch, they met in a Church in the Town, where, in a full Aſſembly, *Archibald Dowglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, is reported to have declar'd the Cauſe of their Meeting, in theſe Words:

Dowglaſs's Oration to the Nobles in the Camp, againſt the King's evil Counſellors.

" I think it not neceſſary, noble Peers, to make a long Oration concerning " the State of the *Scotiſh* Affairs, you your ſelves partly remember it, and " partly you ſee it with your Eyes; the Chief of the Nobility are either baniſh'd, or elſe compell'd to ſuffer intolerable Indignity; and you, in whom " the Strength of the Kingdom doth conſiſt, are left without an Head, as a Ship " without a Steers-man, ſubject to all the Storms and Tempeſts of Fortune; " your Lands are burnt, your Eſtates plunder'd; the Husbandman either ſlain, " or elſe, perceiving no other Remedy or Relief, hath ſubmitted to the Enemy. And the King, being carried away by flattering Inſinuations, refers " all things, pertaining to the Good of the Common-wealth, as to Peace, " War, and the like, not to an Aſſembly of the Nobles, but to inferior Underlings; theſe Men do conſult Sooth-ſayers and Wizards, and ſo carry " their Anſwers to the King, whoſe Mind is ſick, and eaſily taken with ſuch " vain Superſtitions; and thus Decrees are made, under the Influence of ſuch " Authors, concerning the Safety of us all; for they knowing that they are " deſervedly hated by all, do perſecute all by as alternative an Hatred; and " their Endeavour is, not only to undermine your Authority, but to cut you " all off, by all the poſſible Arts and Practices they can; they have remov'd " ſome of us by Death, others by Baniſhment; neither do they aſcend gradually to play their Pranks, as inferiour Perſons, when they are prompted, " are wont to do, but theſe do immediately pitch upon the Royal Blood, to " exerciſe their Cruelty upon. One of the King's Brothers they have moſt " inhumanly put to Death; the other they have baniſh'd from his Country, " and ſo have given him as a General to our Enemies. Their next Work is, " to deſtroy the Nobility; for, being of low Eſtate and Condition themſelves, " they would have no Superior to compete with them. All thoſe, that have " either Riches to ſatisfy their Avarice, or Power to reſiſt their Audaciouſneſs, them they account as their Enemies; and yet, in the mean time, we " manage a War againſt the *Engliſh*, as our publick Enemy, as if any Enemy " were more deadly than thoſe who are never ſatisfy'd, in Point of Covetouſneſs, with your Eſtates, nor, in Point of Cruelty with your Blood. Now " to make it clear to you, that this inteſtine Plague is more dreadful " than that foreign one, ſuppoſe (which GOD forbid) that the King of " *England* ſhould conquer us, doubtleſs he would remember old Grudges, " and, in Purſuance of that Conqueſt, what End of his Succeſſes would he " propound to himſelf? or what Reward of his Victory? Would he aim at " the Life of the King his Enemy, or at your Lives? I think, at neither. " For the Diſpute between us is not for Life, but for Glory and Empire; and " a generous Mind, as 'tis vehement and eager againſt thoſe that reſiſt it, ſo " 'tis eaſily mitigated and inclin'd to Lenity by Submiſſion and Obſequiouſ-

" neſs

A. D. 1476.

" neſs, even upon the Account of remembring the Inſtability of all human " Affairs. But ſuppoſe, that the Enemies Rage ſhould aim at the King's " Life and Deſtruction, I pray, which of the Two do act more mercifully, " either he that, together with Life, takes away all Senſe of Miſery; or " they that reſerve him, whom they ought principally to love and reverence, " next to GOD, to a daily Butchery and Execution: They who keep the " King, now almoſt in the nature of a Priſoner, and do not ſuffer him to ſee " the Faces of his Friends, that he may underſtand their Affection to him, " and experience their Loyalty: They are not ſo much Enemies who pitch " Camp againſt Camp, and ſo openly profeſs their Hoſtility, as they who, " at Home, do treacherouſly contrive our Deſtruction. They alienate the " King's Mind from his Friends, and betray him to his Enemies; and thus " they deprive us of our Commander, and expoſe us as a Prey to our Ene- " mies Arms, by whom if your Lives are given you, after you are conquer'd, " yet you will fall into Shame and Servitude; and if you overcome them, " yet you will not procure Quiet to your ſelves, Strength to your Country, " nor Glory to your King, but a greater Liberty to your Enemies, to play " their Pranks at preſent, and that in Security for the future; and thus we " ſhall bring a Plague and Miſery on our ſelves, and a ſtricter Servitude on " our King, ſo that Victory will not free us from Foreign Miſeries, but will " encreaſe our Domeſtick ones. And therefore, in ſhort, my Opinion is, " That we ſhake off the Yoke at Home before we venture to engage the Ene- " my; for, otherwiſe, we ſhall all be made Slaves to the Luſts of a few " Men, we ſhall ſtrengthen the Enemy, and betray the Common-wealth. " God bleſs your Conſultations, in this Matter.

After *Dowglaſs* had ended his Speech, there follow'd, not a Debate, but a confus'd Noiſe, over the whole Aſſembly, crying out, *To your Arms againſt the Publick Enemy*; for the Minds of all preſent were ſo inflam'd, That tho' they had none to lead them, yet they were about to break in upon the King's Quarters: But the graver Sort, who, by reaſon of their Honour and Authority, had great Intereſt in the reſt, appeas'd the Tumult; for they fear'd, leſt, in an impetuous Aſſault of the People, the King himſelf ſhould come to ſome Harm: And therefore they agreed, That the prime Commanders ſhould take a ſmall Number of their chiefeſt Confidents, and, without any general Remove of the whole Army, ſhould go to the King's Pavilion, and ſo lay hold on the Offenders, who had the Management of Things, and bring them forth to be judg'd before the whole Army, that ſo they might ſuffer condign Puniſhment, according to the Laws.

Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, News was brought to the Court, that the Nobles were aſſembled, before Day, in the Church; for what, 'twas not known; but it muſt certainly be ſome great Matter which engag'd ſuch Perſons to aſſemble, unknown to the King and his Counſellors. The King was awaken'd, and roſe in great Fear out of his Bed, and ask'd thoſe about him, *What was beſt to be done?* In the mean while, he ſends *Cochran* before, to obſerve what was doing, and to bring him certain Word: When he was coming to the Church with a ſmall Retinue, he met with the chief of the Nobility coming to Court, *Dowglaſs* preſently laid Hands upon him, and took him by a Maſſy Gold-Chain, which he wore about his Neck, whereby he ſomewhat ſtrain'd his Throat, and gave him up a Priſoner to the *Marſhal*, and then he goes directly to the King's Bed-Chamber. They, which were there, made no Oppoſition, either becauſe they were aſtoniſh'd at his ſudden coming; or elſe, out of Reverence to the Man, ſo that there the reſt were ſeiz'd upon, who were thought to have corrupted the King by their wicked Counſels, only one Young Man hung about the King's Neck, and he deſir'd them to pardon him; his Name was *John Ramſay*, of a good Family, who, being excus'd upon the Account of his Age, was diſmiſs'd. Whilſt the reſt were led on to their Tryals, there was a Tumult and Noiſe rais'd over the whole Army, crying out, *Hang them Rogues*, whereupon they were preſently hurry'd away, and the Army in general was ſo intent upon their Execution,

Cochran, and the reſt of the evil Counſellors, dragg'd out by an incenſed Army to their Deaths.

A. D. 1478.

that when they wanted Ropes, upon ſuch a ſudden, they all offer'd the Reins of their Horſe-Bridles and their Baggage-Horſe Tackle for that Uſe; and they ſtrove much, who ſhould have the Honour to offer his own firſt.

Their Crimes objected, were, Braſs Money Coin'd,

This Court-Faction had committed many Injuries againſt private Perſons, but their Wrongs to the Publick lay chiefly here: They had been the Authors of Coining new Braſs-Money, which the common People call'd *Black-Money*: Upon this Project, there firſt enſued a Dearth of all Things, and afterwards a Famine; for the Sellers had rather ſuffer their Commodities to be ſpoil'd at Home, than, under a Pretence of Sale, to give them away to the Buyers. But that all Commerce might not wholly ceaſe amongſt the People, this one Remedy was found out for Bargainers and Chapmen, That they ſhould mention in their Contracts, in what ſort of Money the Payment ſhould be made. 'Tis true, ſome of our former Kings had Coin'd that kind of Money, but 'twas more for the neceſſary Uſe of the Poor, than for their own Gain; and alſo Proviſion was made by a Law, beyond what Sum Sellers might not be compell'd to take it in Payment. And thus the Buyers of ſmall Commodities had a Benefit, and alſo it ſeem'd ſufficiently caution'd by the Law, that the richer Sort ſhould have no Damage by this Way of Change or Sale. It was

Their alienating the King's Heart from the Nobility, and exciting him to Cruelty againſt his own Relations.

alſo objected againſt them, That they had alienated the King's Heart from the Nobility, and had made him conſent to the Deſtruction of his own Kindred. But that which made *Cochran* moſt envy'd, was, his Earldom of *Merch*, which Country and Title the King had given to him; or elſe had committed to his Truſt, upon the Death of the youngeſt Brother.

The *Scots* Army diſbanded.

When thoſe evil Counſellors were remov'd out of the Way, the King had no great Confidence in the Soldiery, nor the Soldiery in him, ſo that the Army was diſmiſs'd, and return'd Home; and the King, though, for the preſent, he ſuppreſs'd his Anger, and made many large and fair Promiſes to the Nobility, yet his Heart inwardly was ſet upon Revenge: And therefore ſo ſoon as he thought himſelf at Liberty, he retired, with ſome few of his Confidents, into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and the Nobility, not knowing what to think of it, had alſo their ſeperate Conſultations. Mean Time, the King of *England* gather'd Forces in the Winter-Seaſon, by the Perſwaſion of *Alexander*, the King's Brother, who inform'd him of the Diſſention betwixt the King and his Nobles in *Scotland*; and alſo aſſur'd him, That, as ſoon as ever

An *Engliſh* Army under the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and *Alexander* the King's Brother, enters *Scotland*.

he enter'd *Scotland*, great Numbers of Horſe and Foot would come in to him; whereupon he made *Richard*, his Brother, Duke of *Glouceſter*, General, and commanded him to march into *Scotland*. He began his March, when it was about *Midſummer*; and underſtanding in what Condition the *Scotiſh* Affairs were, he turn'd aſide to *Berwick*: He was receiv'd immediately into the Town, and left 4000 Men to beſiege the Caſtle; and, with the reſt of his Army, he march'd directly to *Edinburgh*, making great Devaſtation in all Places, where he came: But *Alexander* leading them on, they enter'd the City without committing any Rapine; and, by a publick Proclamation made in the Market-Place, he adviſ'd the King (ſeeing he could not come to ſpeak with him) Firſt, to perform what he had promiſ'd to *Edward*; and then, that he would cauſe Satisfaction to be made for all the Wrongs and Injuries he had offer'd to the *Engliſh*; and, unleſs he would do ſo, *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, would proſecute him and his Country with Fire and Sword. But King *James* perceiving at preſent that he was not able to perform what was requir'd, and, on the other Side, that he was as unable to withſtand the Power of the Enemy, return'd no Anſwer at all, either by Writing, or Meſſage. But the Nobles of *Scotland*, being thus forſaken of their King, that

The *Scots* Nobility raiſe an Army;

they might not be wholly wanting to the Publick Safety, levy'd another Army, and form'd a Camp at *Haddington*; and that they might ſomewhat alleviate the eminent Danger, and ſtop the Enemy in his Career of Victory, they ſent Agents to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, to deſire, That the Marriage, ſo long promiſ'd, might be conſummate; they were alſo to declare, That it ſhould not be their Fault, if the Agreements made between the Nations, were not punctually perform'd. The *Engliſh* General knew, That the *Scots* would

would not put Things to the Hazard of a Battle, in regard that Part of their Strength was with him upon the Account of *Alexander*, a popular Man, and that the reſt were divided into ſeveral Factions, and therefore he made this Anſwer, That he did not know what his King did reſolve, in reference to that Marriage; but he thought it fit, that the Money paid to King *James* upon the Account of the Dowry, ſhould be preſently repaid to him; and if they would have Peace, they ſhould promiſe to ſurrender up the Caſtle of *Berwick*; or, if they could not do that, then to make a ſolemn Promiſe, That they would not attempt to relieve the Beſieg'd, nor to hinder the Beſiegers, until it was either taken by Storm, or ſurrender'd upon Conditions. The *Scots* return'd Anſwer by their Ambaſſadors, That 'twas not their Fault the Marriage was not conſummated, but it happen'd that both Bride and Bridegroom were under Age; That the Money was not yet due, becauſe the Day of Payment was not come; and if there were not ſufficient Security given for the Payment thereof, they would give more: But the Caſtle of *Berwick*, as being built by the *Scots* in *Scotland*, and was, and had been, for many Ages, under their Juriſdiction, they could not part with it; and tho' the *Engliſh* had poſſeſs'd it ſometimes by Force, yet their Injury did not prejudice the *Scots* ancient Right; but *Glouceſter*, who was ſuperior in Strength, reſolv'd to carry the Point, and to admit of no legal Diſpute in the Caſe. The ſame Day *Colin Campbell*, Earl of *Argyle*, *Andrew Stewart*, and the Biſhops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Dunblane* ſent to *Alexander*, Duke of *Albany*, who was in the *Engliſh* Camp at * *Lethington*, a Chart ſign'd with their Hands and Seals, promiſing him, if he would be loyal to the King in the next Aſſembly, they would take Care that his Eſtate ſhould be reſtor'd, and an Indemnity given for what was paſt; for the Performance whereof, they ſolemnly interpos'd their Faith. *Alexander* acquainted *Glouceſter* with the Thing, who was very friendly, and did diſmiſs him thereupon, and ſo he return'd into his own Country; where, in the next Aſſembly of the Nobles, he was made their Regent by an unanimous Conſent, and preſently a Propoſition was made to raiſe the Siege of *Berwick*. The wiſer Sort were of Opinion, that in ſo dangerous a Time, when Things were thus unſettled by reaſon of Domeſtick Seditions, that if the Enemy were quiet, yet Storms would ariſe amongſt themſelves, that it was beſt to clap up a Peace upon any Terms; for they ſaw plainly, that if they ſhould have the better of ſo powerful an Enemy, yet it would rather provoke than diſhearten him; but if they themſelves were overcome, it was uncertain how an Enemy, fierce by Nature, and further elevated by Succeſs, would uſe his Victory: Some that were more hot-ſpirited than they had then any Reaſon for, did oppoſe this Opinion, yet it was carry'd in the Parliament After many Conditions were canvaſt to and fro, at length 'twas agreed, That on the 26th of *Auguſt*, 1482, the Caſtle of *Berwick* ſhould be ſurrender'd up to the *Engliſh*, and a Truce was made for a few Months, till they could have more Time to treat of a Peace. Thus *Berwick* was loſt, after it had been enjoy'd by the *Scots* 21 Years, ſince they laſt recover'd it. Then the Duke of *Glouceſter*, having made a proſperous Expedition, return'd in Triumph Home.

A. D. 1483.

* Near *Hadington* in East-*Lothian*.

Alexander Duke of *Albany* reconcil'd to the King, returns into his own Country, and is made Regent.

Berwick Caſtle ſurrender'd to the *Engliſh*.

Edward, by the Advice of his Council, judg'd it more for the Advantage of *England*, to nullify the Marriage, for he fear'd that the Inteſtine Diſcords of the *Scots* were ſo great, that poſſibly the Iſſue of King *James* might loſe the Crown; and if *Alexander* ſhould be made King, he hoped to have a conſtant and faithfull Ally of him, in regard of the great Kindneſs he had receiv'd at his Hands. Hereupon, an Herald was ſent to *Edinburgh*, to renounce the Affinity, and to demand the Repayment of the Dowry. When he had declar'd his Errand publickly on the 25th of *October*, the *Scots* obtain'd a Day for the Payment thereof, and reſtor'd it to a Penny; and withal, they ſent ſome to convoy the Herald as far as *Berwick*. *Alexander*, that he might extinguiſh the Remainders of the old Hatred of the King his Brother againſt him, and ſo obtain new Favour by a new Courteſy, brought him out of the Caſtle, and reſtor'd him to free Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. But the Memory

The intended Marriage between King *James* his Son, and King *Edward* his Daughter, Null'd, and the Dowry repaid.

A. D. 1482. of old Offences prevail'd more with him than this of his late Courteſy: Moreover, beſides the King's own Jealouſies, there were thoſe who did daily calumniate him, and buzz into the King's Ears with Alarms of his too great Popularity, as if now 'twas very evident, that he affected the Kingdom. The Duke of *Albany* finding, by the Malice and Detraction of a malignant Faction, his Brother's Countenance alter'd towards him; and that Danger was the Requital of his late ſetting him at Liberty, the eſtabliſh'd Reconciliation being ſhaken by Suſpicions and Fancy of Revenge, obeying Neceſſity, fled to his Caſtle of *Dumbar*, out of which he came to *England*, to repreſent to King *Edward* and the Duke of *Glouceſter* the Conſideration of his Grievances.

The Duke of *Albany* flies to *England*.

He is convicted of Treaſon, as alſo the Lord *Creighton*.

In his Abſence he is convicted of many Points of Treaſon, beſides the being acceſſary to the taking of *Berwick* Caſtle by the *Engliſh*. As, *His dangerous and long Intelligence with the King of* England; *his ſending of many Meſſengers at all Occaſions unto him: That without any Safe-conduct or Paſs from his Brother, and not ſo much as acquainting him, he had left the Country, and come into* England *to deviſe Conſpiracies againſt his King and native Kingdom.* The Lord *Creighton* as his Friend, Aſſociate and Accomplice, is forfeited with him, againſt whom Informations were given, *That often and divers Times, under the Pretence of Hunting, ſecretly with the Duke of* Albany *he rode into* England, *and there meeting with Commiſſioners ſent by King* Edward, *he deliberated of Matters of altering the State: That there he kept Appointments with* James *Earl of* Dowglaſs, *the often quench'd Fire-brand of his Country: That in Spite of the King's Forces ſent there to lie in Garriſon, he kept the Caſtle of* Creighton. The greateſt Diſcontent the King conceiv'd againſt him was Love to one of his Siſters, and ſome Feminine Jealouſies. When the Duke underſtood the Procedure againſt himſelf, and the Lord *Creighton*, and that for their Contumacy, and not appearing to anſwer and give in their Defences, they were convicted of Treaſon, and their Lands to be ſeiz'd upon; he cauſed give up the Caſtle of *Dumlar*, of which he was Lieutenant, to King *Edward*, who immediately placed by Sea a Garriſon in it.

1483. About this Time, *Edward* King of *England* left this World 1483, and his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, did firſt take the Name of Protector and Governor of the Kingdom of *England*, and after his Brother's Sons being put in the Tower and murder'd, and their Mother the Queen taking Sanctuary in a Monaſtry; in the Month of *June*, *Richard* poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Crown.

King *Edward* dies, and *Richard* uſurps the Crown.

The Duke of *Albany* finding that *Richard* by his Change of Fortune had not chang'd his Affection towards him, implored his Aid to reſtore him to his own, and to repair not his Wrongs alone, but all Injuries done in his Sufferings to the King of *England*, ſince there was now an open Breach of the Truce and Peace ſo ſolemnly by him ſet down, and confirm'd by the King his Brother. If he could be furniſh'd but with a ſmall Number of choice Men of Reputation and Power to paſs into *Scotland*, and take a Trial of the Minds and Good-will of his Friends and Confederates, he doubted not, at his entring the Country, to find Numbers, who, by his Preſence, would hazard upon the moſt deſperate Dangers.

Richard finding the Duke of *Albany* like to ſucceed, condeſcendeth, that 500 Men and Horſes ſhould be choſen upon the Borders, with others who were Outlaws, and neceſſitated ſometimes to make Incurſions, and with *James* the old Earl of *Dowglaſs*, a Man well known and renown'd in the Weſt Borders, ſhould make an Inroad into *Scotland*.

The 22d Day of *July*, the baniſh'd Champions, having choſen a good Number of their Borderers, put forward towards *Lochmaben*, to ſurprize a Fair, and ſpoil a publick Market, ſeiz'd upon all the Buyers and Sellers, which here meet and traffick every St. *Magdalen*'s Feſtival. Under Pretence of Devotion and the Liberty of Trading, many *Engliſh* had reſorted hither. At the Twelfth Hour of the Day, when the Merchants and Country People were in greateſt Security, the Fair was invaded, and not Blood but Wares ſought after. The Laird of *Johnſton*, who was Warden, and the Laird of *Cock-pool*,

A Skirmiſh at *Lochmaben*.

Cock-pool, with many ſtout Borderers, having ſurvey'd and ridden through the Places where the People were met, to prevent and hinder all Diſorders and Dangers, at the Noiſe of an Incurſion of the *Engliſh*, diſpatch'd Poſts to the adjacent Bounds for Supply; and in the mean *Time* rencounter'd the Plunderers of the Fair. Here it is fought with greater Courage than Force, and in a long continu'd Skirmiſh, the Danger of the Loſs ſtirring up and inciting the Parties, as much as Fame and Glory. *A. D.* 1483.

The Day was near ſpent, the Advantage of either ſide diſputable, when the Supply of freſh Men come to defend their Country and Friends, turn'd the Fortune of the Fight, and put the *Engliſh* Borderers all to the Rout. The The Duke of *Albany*, by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe, and the good Attendance of his Servants, got upon *Engliſh* Ground; but the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, loaden and heavy with Years and Arms, was taken by *Robert Kirkpatrick* (who for that Service got the Lands of *Kirk-michael*) and brought as in Triumph to *Edinburgh*. It is recorded, that when the Earl was come into the King's Preſence, he turn'd his Back, and refus'd to look him in the Face, conſidering the many Outrages he had perpetrated againſt his Father, and this late Offence: Yet the King taken with the goodly Perſonage, Gravity, and great Age of the Man, commiſerating his long Patience and croſs Fortune, being in his young Days deſign'd to be a Church-man, confin'd him, as in a free Priſon, in the Abby of *Lindores*. *Dowlaſs* taken and impriſon'd.

Beſides he conſider'd, that when Occaſion ſerv'd, he might bring him out of this Solitarineſs, and in theſe turbulent Times, by his Counſel and Preſence, play more advantageouſly his Game of State, being a Man of long Experience in the Affairs of the World, and the moſt learn'd of all his Nobility. He was now become tir'd of the Earl of *Angus*, the Remembrance of his firſt Offence remaining deeply engraven in his Heart, and to counterpoiſe his Greatneſs, this was the only Weight. The Duke of *Albany* found little better Entertainment in *England*, the Battle being loſt, ſome Men taken and kill'd (this being the firſt Road upon *Scotland* under the Reign of *Richard*, who had been formerly ſo fortunate in his own Perſon) his Fame injur'd, and Reputation by this diminiſh'd, the Duke began to be diſlik'd by him, and was not receiv'd with that Kindneſs he was wont; whereupon, by the Aſſiſtance and Convoy of *John Liddale*, he ſecretly retir'd to *France*. *Albany* ſlighted, retires to *France*.

After the Skirmiſh of *Lochmaben* ſundry Incurſions were made by the *Scots* upon the *Engliſh* Borders, and by the *Engliſh* upon the *Scottiſh*: The Champaign Ground is ſcour'd, Houſes burnt, Booties taken, with great Loſs to both, and little Advantage to any of the Parties. *Richard* having his Reign in the Infancy, and not yet ſettl'd nor come to any Growth and Maturity, being obnoxious to the Scandal of the Murder of his Brother's Sons, and poſſeſs'd with Fears of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, then remaining in *France*, who by all honeſt and good Men was earneſtly invited to come home, and hazard one Day of Battle for a whole Kingdom, knowing it neceſſary for the Advancement of his Deſigns to have Peace with all his neighbouring Princes, to render himſelf more ſecure and ſafe at home, and terrible to his Enemies abroad, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Scotland* to treat a Peace, or a Suſpenſion of Arms for ſome Years. King *James* chearfully accepted this Embaſſy; for by a Peace he thought to calm the ſtormy and wild Minds of his tumultuous Subjects, reducing them to a more quiet Faſhion of Living, and ſeclude his Rebels and baniſh'd Subjects from Entertainment in *England*, and all Places of Refuge and Sanctuary. The two Kings agreeing in Subſtance, Commiſſioners are appointed to met at *Nottingham* on the 17th of *September*. For the King of *Scotland* appear'd the Earl of *Argyle*, *William Elphinſton* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, the Lord *Drummond* of *Stobhall*, the Lord *Oliphant*, *Archibald Whitelaw* Secretary, and *Duncan Dundaß* Lion King of Arms. For *Richard* of *England* appear'd the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Stanly*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, *John Gunthrope* Privy-Seal, *Thomas Barrow* Maſter of the Rolls, and Sir *Thomas Bryan* Chief Juſtice.

A. D. 1484. In the latter End of *September* theſe conclude a Peace between both Realms for the Space of three Years: The ſame to begin at the Riſing of the Sun *Sept.* 29. in the Year 1484. and to continue unto the Setting of the Sun on the 29th of *Sept.* in the Year 1487. During which Time, it was agreed, That not only all Hoſtility and War ſhould ceaſe between the two Realms, but that alſo all Aid and Aſſiſtance againſt Enemies ſhould be afforded.

Peace between *Scotland* and *England* for three Years.

The Conditions. It was agreed, *The Town and Caſtle of* Berwick *ſhould remain in the Hands of the* Engliſh *for the Space of the aforeſaid Term, with the ſame Bounds the* Engliſh *poſſeſs'd.*

That all other Caſtles, Holds and Fortreſſes, during the Term of three Years, ſhould remain in the Hands of thoſe that held them at that preſent, the Caſtle of Dunbar *only excepted, which the Duke of* Albany *deliver'd to the* Engliſh *when he left his Country. Which Caſtle, for the Space of ſix Months, ſhould be expos'd to the Invaſion of the* Scots, *if they could obtain it, and during the aſſaulting of this Caſtle, the Truce ſhould not be broken. Neither ſhould the* Engliſh *within the Caſtle do any Harm to the* Scots *dwelling thereabouts, except to thoſe who invade the Caſtle, and at that Time. And that it ſhould be lawful to any of the Parties to uſe all Stratagems, and extend their Power either for winning or defending the ſaid Caſtle.*

It was agreed, *That no Traitor of either Realm ſhould be receiv'd by any of the Princes of the other Realm; and if any Traitor or Rebel chance to arrive in either Realm, the Prince thereof ſhould deliver him upon Demand made.*

Scots *abiding within the Realm of* England, *and ſworn there to the King, may remain ſtill, ſo their Names be made known to the King of* Scotland *within forty Days.*

If any Warden of either Realm ſhall invade the other's Subjects, he to whom ſuch a Warden is ſubject, ſhall within ſix Days, proclaim him Traitor, and certify the other Prince thereof within twelve Days.

In every ſafe Conduct this Clauſe ſhall be contain'd, Providing always, that the Obtainer of the ſafe Conduct be no Traitor.

If any of the Subjects of either Prince, do preſume to aid and help, maintain and ſerve any other Prince, againſt any of the Contractors of this Truce, then it ſhall be lawful for him to whom he ſhew'd himſelf Enemy, to apprehend and attack the ſaid Subject coming or tarrying within any of their Dominions.

The Collegues comprehended in the Truce (if they would aſſent thereunto) on the Engliſh *Part, were the King of* Caſtile, *the King of* Arragon, *the King of* Portugal, *the Arch-Duke of* Auſtria *and* Burgundy, *and the Duke of* Bretaign. *Upon the* Scottiſh *Part,* Charles *King of* France, *the King of* Denmark *and* Norway, *and the Duke of* Guelderland. This Treaty was appointed to be publiſh'd the firſt of *October*, in all the great and notable Towns of both Realms.

It was agreed, *That Commiſſioners ſhould meet at* Lochmaben *the 18th of* November, *as well for Redreſs of Wrongs done on the Weſt Marches, as for declairing and publiſhing the Peace, where the greateſt Difficulty was to have it obſerv'd.*

Richard, after this Truce, intreated a Marriage between the Prince of *Rothſay*, eldeſt Son to King *James*, and Lady *Anne de la Pool*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, by his Siſter. To this Effect Ambaſſadors met at *Nottingham*, others ſay at *York*, and it was concluded. Writings thereupon being drawn up, ingroſs'd and ſeal'd, and Affiances made, and taken up by Proctors and Deputies of both Parts, Lady *Anne* thereafter was ſtil'd the Princeſs of *Rothſay*. But by the Death of her Uncle ſhe enjoy'd not long that Title.

After the League and intended Marriage, King *James* wrote friendly Letters to *Richard* concerning the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, Whether he could be content that the ſame ſhould remain only ſix Months in the Power of the *Engliſh*, or during the whole Space of the Truce? That he did not intend to ſeek it by Arms during the Term of the whole Truce. Notwithſtanding he earneſtly requir'd it out of Friendſhip between them, ſince it was given unto the *Engliſh*

gliſh by Treaſon, and neither ſurpriz'd nor taken in lawful War, it might be friendly render'd. *Richard* delay'd with complementing Letters all the Time of his Government, which was not long. For in the Year 1486, *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* came with ſome Companies out of *France* (of which that famous Warrior *Bernard Stewart* Lord *Aubigny*, Brother to the Lord *Darnley* in *Scotland*, had the leading) which, by the Reſort of his Countrymen turn'd into an Army, and rencountred *Richard* at *Boſworth*, where he was kill'd, and *Henry* proclaim'd King of *England*: To which Victory it was uncertain whether Virtue or Fortune did more contribute. *A. D.* 1486. *Henry* VII. made King of *England*.

Alexander Duke of *Albany*, before this Diſaſter of *Richard*, at a Tilting with *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, by the Splinter of a Spear in his Head, had receiv'd his Death-wound. He was a Man of great Courage, an Enemy to Reſt and Peace, and delighting in Changes and Revolutions. He left behind him two Sons, *John* Duke of *Albany*, begotten of his ſecond Marriage upon the Earl of *Bulloigne*'s Daughter, who was Tutor to King *James* V. and Governor of *Scotland*, and *Alexander*, born of the Earl of *Orkney*'s Daughter his firſt Wife, Biſhop of *Murray* and Abbot of *Scoon*: Into which Places he was intruded, to make the Government of his Brother more peaceable.

Margaret the Queen, about theſe Times, a good and virtuous Lady, died 1416. and was buried at *Cambuskenneth*, the 29th of *February*. *Margaret* the Queen dies.

The Overthrow and Death of *Richard* being known abroad, King *James*, taking the Advantage of the Time, beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Dunbar*. The garriſon'd Soldiers finding no Relief nor Aſſiſtance from their Country, and aſcertain'd of the Change of their Maſter, render'd up the Fort into the Hands of the *Scots*; it was of no great Importance to the *Engliſh*, and only ſerv'd to be a fair Bridge of Treaſon for *Scottiſh* Rebels, and a Citadel of Conſpiracies.

Henry King of *England*, after his Victory and Coronation, ſent *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb* Ambaſſadors to King *James*, for renewing the Truce, and if it were poſſible, to agree upon a ſtable and laſting Peace between the Realms. King *James* taking a Promiſe of the Secrecy of the Ambaſſadors, that what he imparted to them, ſhould not be laid open to his Nobility, told them, *He earneſtly affected a Peace with all his Neighbours, but above all others with their King, as much for his own Valour, as for the Honour and Intereſts of the two Kingdoms: But he knew his People ſo ſtubborn and oppoſite to all his Deſigns, that if they underſtood his Mind and Reſolutions, they would endeavour to croſs his Intentions; wherefore publickly he could not condeſcend to ſeven Years Truce, a long Peace being hardly obtain'd from Men brought up in the free Licence of War, who diſdain'd to be reſtrain'd within the narrow Limits of Laws. Notwithſtanding, they ſhould undertake for him to King* Henry, *in the Word of a Prince, that this Truce, before the expiring of it ſhould be renew'd, and with all Solemnities again confirm'd.*

The Ambaſſadors reſpecting his Good-will towards their King, accepted the Conditions. Thus was there a Truce or Peace agree'd and confirm'd for ſeven Years to come between the two Realms. Peace with *England* for 7 Years.

After ſo many Broils, the King enjoying Peace with all his Neighbours abroad, became exceeding religious; the Miſeries of Life drawing the Mind to the Contemplations of what ſhall be after it. During his Reſidence at *Edinburgh* he was wont to come in Proceſſion from the Abby of *Holy-Rood-Houſe* to the Churches in the High-Town, every *Wedneſday* and *Friday*. By which Devotion he became belov'd by his People: Nothing more winning their Hearts than the Opinion they have of the Sanctity of a Prince. And that he did not this for the Faſhon, nor hypocritically, the Application of his Wit and Power to the Adminiſtration of ſtrict Juſtice did prove: For he began to ſuppreſs the Inſolencies of ſtrong Oppoſers, defend and maintain the Rights of the Poor, againſt Tyrants and Abuſers of their Neighbours. He ſat himſelf in Council daily, and diſpos'd Affairs of moſt Weight in his own Perſon.

A. D. 1487. In the Month of *October*, 1487. the Peace with *England*, was confirm'd and a Parliament was call'd, in which many Acts were made againſt Oppreſſors: Juſtices were appointed to paſs through the whole Kingdom, and ſee Malefactors deſervedly puniſh'd: Acts were made that no Convention of Friends ſhould be ſuffer'd for the Accompanying and Defence of criminal Perſons: But that every one attainted ſhould appear at the moſt with ſix Proctors; that, if found guilty, they ſhould not be reft from Juſtice by Violence. Such of the Nobility who fear'd and likewiſe hated the King, finding how he had acquir'd the Love of his People, by his Piety in the Obſervance of Religion, and his Severity in executing Juſtice, were driven unto new Meditations. They began to ſuſpect that he would one Day free himſelf from theſe turbulent Spirits, who could not ſuffer him to enjoy a Peace, nor reign. He had advanc'd at this Time to Offices of State and Places, Men whoſe Fortunes did wholly depend upon his Succeſs and Welfare: At which ſome Noblemen, whoſe Ambition was to be in Publick Charge, and of the Council, pretending to that out of Right, which was only due unto them by Favour; did highly ſtorm, and look upon thoſe others with envious Eyes. They were alſo jealous of the Remembrance of the Diſſervice they had done him, and that he would never forget old Quarrels; and ſo were prepar'd and ready to make a Revolution of the State, but had not yet found their Center to begin Motion, nor a Ground for Rebellion. All this while there was not Matter enough for an Inſurrection, nor to diſpoſe the Peoples Hearts to a Mutiny.

The King delighted with his Buildings of the Caſtle of *Stirling*, and the Beauty of the Place, for he had rais'd there a fair and ſpacious Hall, and founded a Chappel for Divine Service, which he nam'd *The Chappel-Royal*; and beginning to be poſſeſt and taken up with Religion, endeavour'd to endow this Foundation with conſtant Rents and ample Revenues, and make this Rock the choice Sanctuary of his Devotions. The Priory of *Coldingham*, then vacant, and falling into his Hands, he annex'd the ſame unto his Chappel-Royal, and procur'd an Act of Parliament, That none of the Lieges ſhould attempt to do contrary to this Union and Annexation, or to make any Impetration thereof at the Court of *Rome*, under the Pain of Treaſon. The Priors of this Convent having been many Years of the Name of *Home*, it was by the Gentlemen of that Name ſurmis'd, that they were intereſted, and ſhould be wrong'd in their Eſtates, by reaſon of the Tithes, and other Caſualities appertaining to this Benefice, if a Prior of any other Sirname was promoted to this Place. The King being often petition'd and implor'd, that he ſhould not alter the accuſtom'd Form of the Election of that Prior, nor remove it from their Name, nor ſuffer the Revenues to be otherways beſtow'd than they were wont to be of old; and he continuing in his Reſolution of annexing them to the Chappel; after long pauſing and Deliberation amongſt themſelves, they proceeded upon ſtronger Grounds to overturn his Intentions and divert his Purpoſe. The Lord *Hales* and others of the Sirname of *Hepburn*, had been their conſtant Friends, Allies and Neighbours; with whom they enter'd into a Combination, that they ſhould mutually ſtand to the Defence of one another, and not ſuffer any Prior to be receiv'd for *Coldingham*, if he were not one of their two Sirnames. This Covenant was firſt privately by ſome mean Gentlemen ſworn to, and after drew on their Chiefs to be of the Party. The Male-contented Lords knowing theſe two Sirnames to be numerous, active and powerful in thoſe Parts of the Country where they remain'd, laid hold upon this Overture, and beginning from their Particulars, they made the Cauſe to be general; and ſpread Rumors abroad, "That the "King was become terrible and not to be truſted; notwithſtanding all his "Proteſtations and outward Demeanour, that he yet meditated Revenge, "and had begun to invade and ſhake the ancient Privileges of the *Home*, "more out of Spite and Diſcontent againſt them, for having aſſiſted and fol-"low'd the Lords of the Reformation of the State, than any Intention of "the increaſing the Rents of his new erected Chappel. That e're long he

"would

" would be aveng'd upon all whom he either knew were acceſſary, or ſuſ- A. D.
" pected to have been upon the Plot of *Lawder*-Bridge, or his Commitment 1487.
" in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; that it was ſometime better to commit a Fault
" unpardonable, than venture under the Pardon; that the King had taken a
" Reſolution to live upon the Peoples Contributions, and give his own Re-
" venues to particular Men. The Faults of his Counſellors are highly exag-
" gerated; they were baſe Perſons, and he himſelf given to Diſſimulation,
" Indevotion and Revenge; and as Occaſion ſerv'd he would remember old
" Wrongs: It was good to obey a King, but not to lay the Head upon a
" Block to him, if a Man could ſave himſelf.

After long ſmother'd Diſcontent and Hatred of the Nobility and People, Rancour breaking daily forth into Seditions and Alterations; the Lords *Hume* and *Hales* being the Ring-leaders, many Noblemen and Gentlemen under feign'd Pretences, eſpecially the Courſes of ſwift Horſes, keept frequent Meetings: Where they renew'd their Covenant agreed upon at *Lawder* Church, the Neceſſity of the Times, and the Danger of the Common-wealth requiring it, and gave their Oaths, that at what Time ſoever the King ſhould challenge them directly or indirectly, or wrong them in their Rights, Poſſeſſions, Places, or Perſons, they ſhould abide together, as if they were all one Body, eſpouſe each other's Quarrels, and the Wrongs done to any one of them ſhould be look'd upon as done to them all.

When the King underſtood the Confederacy of the Lords, to anticipate the Danger, he made Choice of a Guard for the Preſervation of his Perſon and Servants, of which he made *John Ramſay* of *Balmain*, a Man whom he had preſerv'd at *Lawder*, and advanc'd to be Maſter of his Houſhold at Court, Captain; giving him a Warrant not to ſuffer any Man in Arms to approach the Court by ſome Miles. This, inſtead of cooling, exaſperated the Choler of the Male-contents, and ſtirr'd them to aſſemble with numerous Retinues all in Arms. The King ſcarce believing the Minds of ſo many were corrupted, and perſuading himſelf the Authority of the publick Name of a King would ſupply the want of ſome Power, ſummon'd certain of them in forty Days to anſwer according to Law.

Of thoſe, ſome rent his Summons, and beat ſhamefully his Heralds and Meſſengers for diſcharging their Offices; others appear'd, but with Numbers of their Adherents, Friends, Allies and Vaſſals. And here finding, that the Faults of great Delinquents are not without great Danger taken notice of and reprehended, he us'd ſome Stratagems to ſurpriſe the Heads and Chiefs of their Faction: But unadviſedly giving Truſt to the Promiſes of thoſe who lent their Ears, but not their Hearts to his Words, his Deſigns were diſcover'd before they produc'd any Effect: His Secrets were all laid open to his great Diſadvantage, the Diſcoverers taking themſelves to the factious Rebels, and inculcating ſeditious Thoughts in all whom they ſaw diſtaſted with his Government. The King perceiving himſelf betray'd, and his Intentions divulg'd, remain'd in great Doubt to whom he ſhould give Credit. The Nature and Manner of all Things being chang'd by the League of the Confederates, he thought it high Time to remove a little further from that Torrent which might have overwhelm'd him, and made them Maſters of his Perſon. To temporize and win Time, he caus'd furniſh the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* with Proviſion of Victual, Ammunition, and Garriſons, to defend them from the Dangers of War; he reſolv'd to make his Abode beyond the River of *Forth*, and to leave the South Parts of the Kingdom. After which Deliberation, he enter'd a Ship with Sir *Andrew Wood* (a famous Navigator and ſtout Commander at Sea) which pretended to make Sail for the *Low Countries*, and was lying at Anchor in the *Forth*. Thoſe who ſaw him aboard, ſpread a Rumour that he was flying to *Flanders*. The Lords of the Inſurrection making uſe of this falſe Report, ſeiz'd on his Carriage in the Paſſages towards the North, rifled his Coffers, ſpoil'd his Servants of their Stuff and Baggage. And then after Certainty that he was but landed in *Fife*, and from that was in Progreſs to the northern Parts, preparing and directing his good Subjects to

A. D. 1487. be in Readineſs to attend him at his Return, they ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of *Dunbar*. With the Money found in his Coffers they hir'd Soldiers againſt him, and the Harneſs and Weapons of his Magazines arm'd them. Having gather'd ſome Companies together, tumultuouſly they over-ran the Countries upon the South of the *Forth*, rifling and plundering all Men who went not with them, or whom they ſuſpected not to favour their deſperate and ſeditious Ends. In his Progreſs the King held Juſtice Courts at *Aberdeen* and *Inverneſs*, where *William* Lord *Creighton*, not long before forfeited with the Duke of *Albany*, ſubmitted himſelf to his Clemency, and was receiv'd into Favour and pardon'd; after which Grace he ſhortly left this World. Whilſt the King was in the North, the Lords in the South are making their Preparations: When they were aſſembled at *Linlithgow*, they found themſelves many in Number, and ſtrong in Power, the Succeſs of their Proceedings being above their Hopes. There only wanted a Man eminently in Eſteem with the People, and Noble of Birth, to give Luſtre to their Actions, ſhadow their Rebellion, and be the Titular and painted Head of their Arms. When they had long deliberated upon this great Man, they aſſented all, that there was none to be paralell'd to the Prince of *Rothſay*, the King's own Son. So ſtrongly Providence befools all human Wiſdom and Foreſight; his Keepers being corrupted by Gifts, Penſions, and Promiſes of divers Rewards, he was deliver'd into their Hands; and by Threats, that they would otherwiſe give up the Kingdom to the King of *England*, he was conſtrain'd to go with them. To heighten the Hatred againſt the King, and the more eaſily to deceive the People, (for the Love of Subjects is ſuch towards their natural Kings, that except they be firſt deceiv'd by ſome Pretence and notable Sophiſm, they will not ariſe altogether in Arms and rebel) they made Proclamations, and by their Deputies, by way of Remonſtrances, ſpread Abroad ſeditious Papers to aſperſe the King and his faithful Friends; commanding, "That all true Subjects ſhould come in Defence of the Prince, and take Arms; becauſe his Father's Jealouſies and ſuperſtitious Fears were riſen to that Height, that nothing but his Son's Death or Impriſonment could temperate them. That he was raiſing an Army to take his Son out of their Hands, that he might do with him as he had done with his own Brothers: That Force was the only Means to work his Safety, and keep the Plotters of this Miſchief within Bounds. They alſo ſhould take Arms to reduce the Government to a better Form, for that the Kingdom was oppreſs'd with inſupportable Grievances; the King being altogether given to follow the Advice, Projects and Counſels of baſe Men, to amaſs and gather great Sums of Money from his People, upon which he ſtudied to maintain his Court and State, and give away his own."

William Lord *Creighton* is pardon'd.

James the Prince is enticed to head the Rebels.

When this Engine was prepar'd for the People, and ſpread Abroad, they ſent to the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, then cloſely as a Monk ſhut up in the Abbey of *Lindores*, to come out, be of the Party, and aſſiſt them with his Counſel and Friends, promiſing, if their Attempt had happy Succeſs, to reſtore him again to his ancient Poſſeſſions and Heritage, former Dignities and the Places of Honour of his Anceſtors. The Earl, whom Time and long Experience had made wary and circumſpect, having a Suſpicion, that the Earl of *Angus*, who poſſeſs'd the greateſt Part of his Eſtate, had been the chief Motioner of this Liberty, and that rather to try what he would do, than that he minded really to ſet him free, refus'd to come out of his Cloiſter: And by his Letters diſſwaded them from their bold Enterprize againſt their Prince; wiſhing they would ſet his Houſe and himſelf for a Pattern and Preſident of Rebellion. He ſent to all ſuch of his Friends, whom his Diſaſters had left unruin'd, to take Arms for the King, as the *Dowglaſſes* of *Cavers* and others.

The King neither loſing Courage nor Counſel, for the Greatneſs of the Danger of the Rebellion, truſting much to his good Fortune, with ſuch Forces as came with him from the North, in Captain *Wood*'s Ships, and other Boats and Veſſels prepar'd to that End, paſs'd the *Forth* near *Blackneſs*, an old Fortreſs and Sea-port in *Weſt-Lothian*, not far from the Caſtle of *Abercorn*, and that Place where the Forces of the Earl of *Dowglaſs* left him, and the

Blackneſs, a conſiderable Fort on the River's ſide.

the King his Father obtain'd ſo harmleſs a Victory. Before the Arrival of the King at this Place, the Earl of *Glencairn*, Lords *Graham*, *Maxwell*, and *Ruthven*, with others, advertis'd by Letters of the Rendeſvouz, had come to the Place, had encamp'd, and were attending him: And he muſter'd a ſufficient Army to rencounter the Lords of the Aſſociation, who from all Quarters were aſſembled, having with them the Prince to add Authority to their Quarrel. The Two Armies being in Readineſs to decide their Differences by a Battle, the Earl of *Athole*, the King's Uncle, ſo travell'd between the Lords of either Party and the King, that a Suſpenſion of Arms and Reconcilement was agreed upon: And the Earl of *Athole* render'd himſelf a Pledge for the accompliſhing of the King's Part of the Reconcilement, to the Lord *Hailes*, and was ſent to be kept in the Caſtle of *Dumbar*. *A. D.* 1487.

This was not a ſmall Fault of this Prince: The Confederate Forces were not at this Time equal to his, neither had they eſſay'd to hinder the landing of his Army, being but in gathering; the Caſtle of *Blackneſs* was for his Defence, and his Ships traverſing up and down the *Forth*, in caſe of Neceſſity for Succour: And if he had hazarded a Battle, he had been near to have recover'd all that Reputation he had before loſt. Now, upon either Side, ſome common Soldiers are disbanded, ſome Gentlemen licenſed to return to their own Dwelling-Places. The King, in a peaceable Manner, retireth to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The Earl of *Athole* was now remov'd from him, and many of the other Lords who lov'd him return'd to their Houſes; the Counſel of Man not being able to reſiſt the Determinations of GOD. The Lords ſuſpecting ſtill the King to be implacable in their Behalf, and unacceſſible in his Caſtle, keeping the Prince always with them, entring upon new Meditations, hold ſundry Meetings how to have his Perſon in their Power, and make him a Prey to their ambitious Deſigns. The Town of *Edinburgh* is peſter'd with Troops of arm'd Men, and the Villages about repleniſh'd with Soldiers. The King warn'd of his Danger, fortifies of new the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* for his Defence, and is brought to ſuch a Tameneſs, that reſolving to do that with the Love of every Man, which he fear'd in the End he ſhould be conſtrain'd unto with the univerſal Hatred of all, and his own Damage and Danger, out of a paſſive Fortitude, ſent Commiſſioners, indifferent Noblemen, to the Lords and his Son to underſtand their Intentions, and what they meant: "Why his Son was kept from him, and continu'd the Head of "their Faction? Why his Uncle was ſo cloſely impriſon'd, and himſelf as it "were block'd up by their tumultuous Meetings in Arms? He was content "they ſhould have an Abolition of all that was paſt, that their Puniſhments "ſhould not be infinitely extended, and that they ſhould think upon a general "Agreement after the beſt and fitteſt Manner they could deviſe and ſet down." They finding their Offence flew higher than Hopes of Pardon could aſcend unto, their Suſpicions, and the Conſcience of their Crime committed, breeding ſuch a Diſtruſt out of an Apprehenſion of Fear, anſwer'd, "That they found no true Meaning: Open War was to be prefer'd to a Peace "full of Deceit, Danger and Fears; that being aſſur'd he would weave out his "begun Projects againſt them, they could not think of any Safety, nor have "Aſſurance of their Lives nor Fortunes, unleſs he freely reſign'd the Title of "his Crown and Realm in Favours of his Son, and voluntarily depoſed himſelf, leaving the Government of his People and Kingdom to the Lords of "his Parliament, diveſting himſelf wholly of his Royal Dignity. Neither "would they come to any Submiſſion or Capitulation, until he conſented to "this main Point, and granted it ſubmiſſively.

The King ſends a Meſſage to the Nobles.

They inſiſt on the King's reſigning the Crown to his Son.

King *James*, notwithſtanding of this Anſwer, after a clear Proſpect of the Inconveniences and Miſchiefs which were growing, and the many Injuries, Indignities, and Affronts put upon him, yet really affecting a Peace, ſought unto *Henry* King of *England*, as alſo to the *Pope*, and King of *France*, to make an Attonement between him and his Subjects. The Kings accordingly interpos'd their Mediation in a round and Princely Manner, not only by way of Requeſt and Perſwaſion, but alſo by way of Proteſtation and Menace, declaring, "That they thought it to be the common Cauſe of all Kings,

A. D. 1487.

" if Subjects ſhould be ſuffer'd to give Laws unto their Sovereign; a legiti-
" mate King, though a Tyrant, was not ſubordinate to the Authority of Sub-
" jects. King *James* was not a Tyrant, for his Errors proceeding moſt Part
" from Youth and evil Counſel: That, ſuppoſe the King had done them
" Wrong, it was not wiſely done, for a Deſire of Revenge to endanger their
" particular Eſtates, and the Peace and Standing of the whole Kingdom.
" What State was there ever ſo pure, but ſome Corruption might creep into
" it? That they ſhould be very cautious how they ſhook the Frame of Mo-
" narchial Government too far: That they would accordingly reſent and re-
" venge it." Rage prevailing againſt Reaſon and Fears, they made that ſame Anſwer to theſe Ambaſſadors which they had ſent to the King himſelf before. As for the *Pope*'s Embaſſy, which (being ſent by *Adrian de Caſtello*, an *Italian* Legate) was coming, the Lords fearing the Danger of it (for in thoſe Times it might have drawn the moſt Part of all the Towns and the Commons, for Fear of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to have adher'd to the King, or ſtood in an Indifferency) made all poſſible Haſte before it ſhould be deliver'd, to make Head againſt their Sovereign, and decide their Quarrel in a Battle: *Urban* IV. armed *Henry* III. King of *England* againſt all thoſe that would not return to their due and old Obedience to him, and againſt all his diſloyal Subjects.

The King was in a ſtrong Fort, and if he had remain'd ſtill there, Matters in a little Time had fallen forth more to his Wiſhes, and his Enemies might have been brought to a Submiſſion: For his good Subjects of the North, as the *Forbeſſes*, *Ogilvies*, the *Grants*, *Frazers*, *Meldrums*, many of the *Gordons*, *Keiths*, and others who adher'd to him out of Affection and Duty, were advancing towards him. But whether miſinform'd or betray'd by ſome of his own, who made him believe, that unleſs he could command the Country about *Edinburgh*, the Caſtle was of no ſuch Importance as was the Caſtle of *Stirling* for him, in Conſideration of the Paſſage over the River of *Forth* at a Bridge for thoſe who were coming to his Aid: The Lords of the Aſſociation counterfeiting a Retreat, and diſperſing themſelves in the Country, that they might draw him from that Hold, he raſhly and unadviſedly iſſued out of the Caſtle, and left his beloved Town of *Edinburgh*. The Earl of *Glencairn*, Lords *Graham*, *Maxwell*, and *Ruthven*, accompanied him to *Blackneſs*; his Forces here encreaſing, he march'd towards *Stirling*, the Rendeſvouz and deſtinated Place of Meeting for all his loyal Subjects, there he diſplay'd his Royal Standard. Here the perfidious Conſtable (an unparallel'd Example of Ingratitude) who had betray'd the Son, in an hoſtile Manner, kept the Father out of his own Caſtle, Cannons mounted, Piſtols cock'd, and levell'd at him, and expos'd him a Prey to his Rebels. In the Amazement and Deliberation what next to go about, being thus ſhut out of his Caſtle, Tidings came to him, that the Confederates were come near to *Falkirk*, a little Town Six Miles Eaſtward from *Stirling*. That his Army ſhould not be diſcourag'd by this unexpected Accident, truſting to his Right and preſent Power, being more ſtout than prudent, he reſolveth to ſet all upon the Hazard of a Battle. The Confederates had paſs'd the *Carron*, a River under *Falkirk*, and were encamp'd above the Bridge near the *Torwood*: The King ſet forward with his Army upon the other Side of the *Torwood*, near a ſmall Brook nam'd *Sawchy-Burn*. This Field is a Plain not far diſtant from that of *Bannock-Burn*, where King *Robert* the *Bruce* overthrew the great Army of *Edward* of *Caernarvan*. Here both Armies advanc'd forward in Battle Array.

The King goes from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling*, but is deny'd Admittance.

The Rebels rang'd their Hoſt in Three Squadrons; the Vant-guard was led by the Lords *Hume* and *Hailes*, and their Friends, conſiſting of Eaſt *Lothian* and *Merſe*-men; the middle Ward was compos'd of the *Liddeſdale*, *Annandale*, *Ewſdale*, *Tiviotdale*, *Tweedale*, and *Galloway*-men: The main Battle was of Weſt *Lothian*-men, where moſt of the Lords were, and amongſt whom the Prince was kept. In the King's Army, the Earl of *Monteith*, Lords *Erskine*, *Graham*, *Ruthven*, and *Maxwell* commanded the Vant-guard. The Left Wing, which conſiſted of Weſtland and Highland-men, was committed to

He is forc'd to give Battle at *Bannockburn*.

to the Earl of *Glencairn*. The Lord *Boyd*, and *Lindſay* the Earl of *Crawford*, commanded in the Rear or great Battle, amongſt whom was the King, arm'd from Head to Foot, upon a great Courſer, eaſy to be known and diſcern'd from the reſt. The firſt Charge was valiantly given, and Launce meeting with Launce, the Van-guard of the Lords began to give Ground, and was ſtrongly repuls'd. But the next Charge being given by the *Annandale* Men and the Rank Riders of the Borders, the middle Ward of the King's Army is beaten back to the main Battle. Notwithſtanding which it is fought a while with marvellous Obſtinacy, and great Hardineſs and Aſſurance, until the Standard Royal was beaten down, and thoſe who defended it were ſlain, the Violence of the Bickering being moſtly where it was planted. The King's Army now beginning to bow, not being ſufficient to reſiſt the Numbers of freſh Aſſailers, the Horſemen obeying no Direction, turn'd their Backs. In this Rout and Confuſion of Horſe and Foot, the King, ſeeking to retire towards the River of *Forth*, where not far off ſome Boats and the Ships of Sir *Andrew Wood* attended the Fortune of Battle, by the Fall of his Horſe, in leaping a Ditch, being ſore bruis'd, was carry'd by ſuch who knew him not, to a Mill at *Bannockburn*. The Day was now the Confederates, and Wrong had prevail'd againſt Right, when the Prince of *Rothſay*, amaz'd at the Noiſe and Clamours of the flying and following Soldiers, and in Suſpicion of the worſt, gave out expreſs and ſtrait Commandment, with Threatnings to the Diſobeyers, that none ſhould preſume to purſue his Father, nor others in the Chaſe. Notwithſtanding which, he was follow'd and kill'd in the Mill in cold Blood. Thoſe who follow'd him were the Lord *Gray*, *Robert Stirling* of *Keir*, and Sir *Andrew Borthwick*, who is ſaid to have ſtab'd the King with a Dagger.

A. D. 1488.

The Rebels obtain the Victory.

The King is ſlain.

The Enſigns taken, the Army diſſipated and put to Flight, and the Baggage rifled, the Death of the King being rumour'd through the Armies, the Victors turn'd ſlow in the Chaſe, and gave Field-room to all that would fly, no Severity being us'd againſt any found unarm'd; for the Lords of the Aſſociation purſu'd the King, not the People. The Diſcomfited fled towards *Stirling*; the Victorious retir'd to their Camp, and the next Morning to *Linlithgow*. On the King's Side, *Alexander Cunningham* Earl of *Glencairn* was ſlain; and, as ſome have recorded, the Lords *Erskin*, *Semple* and *Ruthven*, *John Ramſay* of *Balmain*, created Earl of *Bothwel*, and his chief Favourite, with their Friends and Vaſſals; the Laird of *Innes*, *Alexander Scot* Director of the Chancery, with ſome Noblemen's Friends and Vaſſals. Many were hurt, who recover'd of their Wounds; and this Battle ſeem'd rather a brave Encounter and Meeting of Launces in ſome Liſts, than a Field of great Deeds of Arms; and the Victory was obtain'd rather by Diſorder, and the Raſhneſs of the Vanquiſh'd, than by the Valour of the Victorious. This Battel was fought in the Year 1488. the 11th Day of *June*, which is the Feſtival of St. *Barnabas*, the 29th Year of the Reign, and 35th of the Age of this King. He had Iſſue *James* IV. who ſucceeded him, *Alexander* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and *John* Earl of *Mar*. The Conſpirators, with all Funeral Rites and Royal Pomp, as in Expiation of the Wrongs they had done him living, buried his Body near his Queen, in the Abby Church of *Cambuskenneth*.

He is buried at *Cambuſkenneth*.

This King, as to his Perſonage, was of a Stature ſomewhat higher than ordinary, well proportion'd; his Hair was black, his Viſage was rather long than round, approaching in Colour more to thoſe in the Southern than Northern Climates. As to his Conditions, he was a Prince of an haughty and tow'ring Spirit, lov'd to govern alone, affecting an abſolute Power and Royal Prerogative over his People: Tho' he ſeems not to have been naturally evil inclin'd, but to have been conſtrain'd to leave his natural Inclination, and neceſſitated to run upon Precipices and Dangers; his turbulent Subjects never ſuffering him to have reſt. Many Princes who in the beginning of their Reigns have been admir'd for their great Actions, by the Ingratitude of their Subjects have turn'd from one Extremity to another, and become their rebellious Subjects Executioners. He was provok'd to do many Things by the Inſolence of private Men: And what ſome call Tyranny and Fierceneſs in a

His Character

A. D. 1488. Prince, is but juſt Severity. He ſought to be fear'd, believing it to be the only way to Obedience. It is true, Injuries took ſuch deep Impreſſions in his Mind, that no After-ſervice could blot them out. The taking away of his Favourites, made him ſtudy Revenge, which made him appear more cruelly diſpos'd towards thoſe of his Subjects who had (contrary to Law) aſſum'd the Sovereign Authority in the Trials and Executions at *Lawder*.

Thoſe who blame Monarchs for having Favourites, would have them inhumane, baſe and contemptible, and would deprive them of Power to confer Favours according to the diſtinguiſhing Power of their Underſtanding and Conceptions. The Choice that a Prince maketh of Men whom he advanceth to great Imployments, is not ſubject to any Man's Cenſure. And were it bad, yet ought it to be paſs'd over, if not approv'd; leſt the Diſcretion and Judgment of the Prince be queſtion'd, and his Reputation wounded: Favourites are Skreens to ſhadow Princes from their People. Why ſhould a People not allow a Prince ſome to whom he may unmask himſelf, and diſcover the Secrets of his Heart? If his Secrets ſhould be imparted to many, they would be no longer Secrets. Is is impoſſible for a Prince to love all his Subjects alike, ſince he is not belov'd of them all alike? This is a Deſire to tyrannize over the Affections of Princes, whom Men ſhould reverence.

He ſeemeth too much to have delighted in Retiredneſs, and to have hated Buſineſs; and, that he troubled not himſelf with any but for Formality's ſake, more deſirous of Quietneſs than Action. This was the Fault of the Governors of his Youth, who put him off Buſineſs of State, that they might the more eaſily reach their own Ends, and by making him their Shadow, govern after their Pleaſure. Of this Delight in Solitarineſs, his Brothers took their Advantage, and wan the People to their Faction.

He was much given to Buildings, and repairing of Chappels, Halls and Gardens, as uſually are the Lovers of Eaſe; and the rareſt Frames of Churches and Palaces in *Scotland* were moſtly about this Time: An Humour, which tho' it be allowable in Men which have not much to do, yet it is hurtful in Princes; as to be taken with Admiration of Watches, Clocks, Dials, Pictures and Statues. For the Art of Princes is to give Laws, and govern their People with Wiſdom in Peace, and Glory in War; to ſpare the Humble, and proſtrate the Proud.

He is blamed of Avarice, yet there is no great Matters recorded of it, ſave the giving to whom he pleas'd of Church Benefices. He was of a credulous Diſpoſition, and therefore eaſy to be abus'd, which hath given Opportunity to ſome to write that he was given to Divination, and to enquire of future Accidents; which, if it be credible, was the Fault of thoſe Times. *Edward* IV. of *England* is ſaid to have had the ſame Fault, and that by the Miſinterpretation of a Prophecy of a Necromancer, which foretold that one, the firſt Letter of whoſe Name was *G*, ſhould uſurp the Kingdom, and diſpoſſeſs the Children of King *Edward*, he took away the Life of his Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*; which being really practis'd in *England*, ſome *Scots* Writers (that a King of *Scotland* ſhould not be inferior in Wickedneſs to any of his neighbour Princes) without Grounds have recorded the ſame to have been done by this King. His Love was great to learn'd Men, he us'd as Counſellors in his important Affairs, *John Ireland* a Doctor of Divinity, and one of the *Sorbon* in *Paris*, made Archdeacon of St. *Andrew*'s, Mr. *Robert Blackader* whom he promoted to be Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *William Elphinſton*, whom, of an Official or Commiſſary of *Lothian*, he ſurrogated in the Place of Mr. *Robert Blackader*, and made Biſhop of *Aberdeen*; and his Faults, either in Religion or Policy may be attributed to theſe and his other Counſellors.

But altho' the King was ſo ill advis'd by his Courtiers, as to hate or diſlike many of the Nobility, Clergy, and even his own Relations, yet that was no Authority for his Subjects to riſe in Rebellion againſt him, and to make his Son the chief Actor of his Deſtruction. For, tho' he was innocent of what was then done, yet the Remembrance of that Crime was a Trouble to that Prince's Mind during his Lifetime. He was in the 16th Year of his Age when his

his Father the King was thus ſlain. After this Battle the Rebels remov'd their Camp to *Linlithgow* the next Day. *A. D.* 1488.

Mean time the King's Death was not well known, and as ſeveral Boats had carry'd off ſome wounded Men, and put them on Board of the Fleet which lay in *Leith* Road; it was rumour'd that the King was gone on Board one of his Ships: Upon this Report the Rebels, with the Prince, remov'd their Camp to *Leith*; from whence they ſent, in the Prince's Name, to require Sir *Andrew Wood* the Admiral, to come aſhore to ſubmit to the Prince: But Sir *Andrew* was ſo very conſtant in his Love and Loyalty to his lawful King, that he refus'd to come aſhore, unleſs Hoſtages were given for his ſafe return. The Rebels agreed to his Requeſt, and two young Noblemen were ſent as Hoſtages: Whereupon Sir *Andrew* came aſhore, and being brought before their Council, he was deſir'd to declare, if he knew where the King then was, and who they were that were carry'd off to the Ships? He anſwer'd, That as to the King, he knew nothing of him, but that he and his two Brethren hearing of the Preparation for a Battle, had landed with their Boats to give their Aſſiſtance to the King and his good Subjects, but finding (to their great Sorrow) that his Army was defeated, they return'd to their Fleet, having brought with them ſome wounded Men, who were carry'd to the Sea-ſide: He added, That if the King were alive, he was reſolv'd to obey none but him; and if ſlain, would be aſſiſting to revenge his Death: And at the ſame time exclaim'd againſt all ſuch as had been ſo baſe as to riſe in Rebellion againſt their lawful King. Yet they diſmiſs'd him, and ſent him ſafe on Board, to relieve the Hoſtages: But when the Hoſtages were return'd, they ſummon'd the Inhabitants of *Leith* to fit out their Ships to ſubdue Sir *Andrew Wood*; but they declar'd, that Sir *Andrew*'s Ships were ſo well man'd and arm'd, that all their Strength could not do him any Hurt. Upon this the Rebels remov'd their Camp to *Edinburgh*, where they had Information of the King's Death, and order'd a magnificent Funeral for him at *Cambuskenneth*, a Monaſtry near *Stirling*, where he was buried, on the 25th Day of *June*, 1489. Mean time they call'd an Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, and proclaim'd his Son King in his ſtead.

Sir *Andrew Wood*, the Admiral of the Fleet, ſummon'd by the Rebels to come aſhore.

But refuſes till Hoſtages were ſent for his ſafe Return.

His loyal Behaviour.

JAMES IV. *The* 105 *King of* Scotland.

JAMES IV. the only Son of *James* III. was crown'd at *Edinburgh*, the 23d Day of *June*, 1489. in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, being then at the Head of the Ringleaders of the Rebels. Thoſe who had continued loyal to the late King did not immediately acknowledge their Power, ſo that the new King was oblig'd to ſummons the Governor of *Edinburgh*-Caſtle by an Herald, to ſurrender it, which having got Poſſeſſion of, he went ſtraight to *Stirling*, and took Poſſeſſion of that Caſtle. *A. D.* 1489.

K. *James* IV. crown'd.

When the Rebellion in *Scotland* was known to the Court of *England*, they ſent five Ships of War out, to wait the Event of the Diſturbance; and finding that their private Hopes were fruſtrated, they fell to plundering the Maritim Towns on both Sides of the River *Forth*: Whereupon the new King's Council ſent to Sir *Andrew Wood*, to let him know the Death of the late King; and gave him publick Security for his Safety, ſo that he came aſhore, and receiv'd the Command of what Ships could be fitted out: But he choſe to venture an Engagement with his own two Ships, and with them ſail'd to *Dunbar*, where the *Engliſh* Ships lay, and making up directly to them, fought them with great Valour, and at laſt took, and carried them all to *Leith*-Road, and came aſhore, and preſented the Commanders to the King. By this Victory, Sir *Andrew Wood* not only atchiev'd great Honour, but was alſo liberally rewarded by the King; and his Conduct and Courage, as alſo the Valour of his Soldiers and Sailors, was mightily applauded by all Men.

Sir *Andrew Wood* receiv'd into Favour.

A. D. 1489. Altho' at this Time, the young King's Party had taken Poſſeſſion of the Crown and Royal Power, yet there were many of the Nobility of the Kingdom, who exclaim'd mightily againſt them, ſaying, That the Subjects of *Scotland* were not then under the Government of a Monarch, but at the Mercy, and under the Power of an Obligarchy, the moſt deprav'd Form of all Government: That tho' the Title of King was given to a young Prince, ſcarce ſixteen Years of Age, Yet he was Govern'd by his Father's Murderers, who under falſe Pretences, intended to ruin the Nation: Therefore, it would not only be a moſt abominable Shame, to themſelves, but alſo would be a Scandal to their Poſterity, that they ſhould ſuffer thoſe, who had ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes for the Preſervation of their King and Country, to be branded, unjuſtly, with the Names of Traitors, and baniſh'd or murder'd; whilſt they who were really Traitors, and had abus'd all Divine and Human Laws, were their Judges, and uſurpt the Titles of Deliverers of their Country, and Reſtorers of the Liberty. Wherefore they exhorted their Friends to conſider, that the late King was ſlain by thoſe Perſons, and that his Son was in great Danger, while in their Hands; for which Cauſe they were reſolv'd to oppoſe them with all the Strength they could draw to their Aſſiſtance.

Some of the Nobles combine againſt the young King's Party.

Many ſuch Diſcourſes they ſpread abroad amongſt the People, and, to excite a greater Flame of Indignation and Hate, *Alexander* Lord *Forbes*, Chief of that noble Family, carried the King's Shirt upon a Spear (all over bloody, and torn, with the Marks of the Wounds he receiv'd) through *Aberdeen*, and all the chief Towns of the adjacent Country; and, as if it had been by a publick Proclamation, he excited all Men, by the Voice of an Herald, to riſe in Arms to revenge ſo barbarous a Fact. And *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lennox*, a Man of great Wealth and Power, and who, by an honeſt kind of Popularity, was equally dear to high and low, was as active in the Countries on this ſide the *Forth*; for he rais'd up the Earls that were his Neighbours, and with a good Force, endeavour'd to paſs over the Bridge at *Stirling*, to join his Aſſociates; but that Bridge being poſſeſs'd by the King's Forces, he ſought to paſs over at a Ford, not far from the Riſe of the River. His Deſign was diſcover'd to *John* Lord *Drummond*, by *Alexander Macalpin*, his Vaſſal, who had join'd himſelf to the Enemy; by whom alſo Information was given, that all things were ſecure and ill guarded in the Enemies Camp; that every one ſtraggled up and down, as they pleas'd; that they had no Watch ſet in convenient Places, nor us'd any Military Diſcipline at all: Hereupon the Lord *Drummond*, with ſome Courtiers, and a few Volunteers, who purpoſely came in to aſſiſt him, ſet upon them as they were aſleep: Many were kill'd in their Sleep, the reſt run headlong away, without their Arms, and ſo return'd from whence they came; many were taken Priſoners, but by their Friends that knew them, a great Part of them were diſmiſs'd; they only were ſeverely dealt with, who had either written or ſpoke moſt contemptibly of the Government.

But are overthrown.

The Joy for this Victory was encreas'd by the News of another, at the ſame time, wherein *Andrew Wood* had prevail'd in a Sea-fight againſt *Stephen Bull*. For *Edward* King of *England*, hearing that five of his Ships were taken by two of the *Scots*, and thoſe much ſmaller alſo than his, was willing to blot out the Infamy of the Thing, and yet could find out no juſt Pretence for a War; yet he call'd his ableſt Sea-Commanders together, and offer'd them what Ships, and Warlike Furniture they pleas'd, and ſo he perſuaded them to revenge the Ignominy caſt on the *Engliſh* Nation; promiſing them great Rewards, if they could bring *Wood* to him, alive or dead: But when thoſe, that knew the Valour of the Man, and his proſperous Succeſſes, made ſome Delay in the Caſe, *Stephen Bull*, a Knight of known Courage, undertook the Expedition; and Opportunity ſeem'd to favour his Deſign, becauſe he knew that Sir *Andrew Wood* was ſhortly to return out of *Flanders*; and he thought it would be a Matter of no great Difficulty to attack him unawares in his Paſſage; thereupon he choſe out ſeveral Ships of War, and equipp'd them well, and ſo ſtood for the Iſle of *May*, an Iſland uninhabited in the * Bay of *Forth*,

* Off of the Point of *Fife*.

Forth, chooſing that Place for the Conveniency of it, becauſe in every ſide of the Iſland there is ſafe riding, and Harbour for Ships; and there the Sea alſo grows ſo narrow, that no little Veſſel could paſs by, without being diſcover'd. Whilſt he rode there, he continually kept ſome of his skilfulleſt Mariners abroad in Fiſher boats, to watch, and to diſcover to him his Enemies Ships; he had not rode at Anchor there many Days, when Sir *Andrew Wood*'s Ships appear'd, making towards him. *Bull* knew them, and preſently weigh'd Anchor, and as Victor already in his Mind, he prepar'd himſelf for the Fight. *Wood* ſtood no longer but till his Men had arm'd themſelves, and ſo made up to him. Thus did theſe two valiant Commanders engage, as if they had had the Courage of mighty Armies, and they fought obſtinately, till the Night parted them, the Victory inclining to neither ſide. The next Morning each of them incourag'd their Party, and with renew'd Strength, went to it again; they caſt Iron Hooks (call'd Grapling Irons) into one anothers Ships, and ſo fought hand-to-hand, as if they had been at a Land Fight, and that with ſo great Eagerneſs, that neither of them took Notice of the falling back of the Tide, till they came to the Heaps of Sand at the Mouth of the River *Tay*; there the Water being ſhallower, the great Ships of the *Engliſh* could not be ſo eaſily manag'd, but were forc'd to a Surrender; and ſo they were tow'd up againſt the Stream of the River *Tay* to *Dundee*, where they ſtaid till the Dead were buried, and the Wounded were diſtributed abroad to Chirurgeons for their Cure. This Battel was fought the 10th Day of *Auguſt*, in the Year of our Redemption 1490. *A. D.* 1490.

Sir *Andrew Wood*'s ſecond Victory over the *Engliſh*.

A few Days after Sir *Andrew Wood* went to the King, and carry'd with him *Stephen Bull*, with the other Commanders of the Ships, and the notedeſt of his Soldiers, which he preſented to him. Sir *Andrew* was highly commended by the King for this Exploit, and honourably rewarded. The King freely diſmiſs'd the Priſoners and their Ships, and ſent them back to their King, with an high Commendation of their Valour. For in regard they fought for honour, not for Booty, he therefore would ſhew, that Valour was to be honour'd even in an Enemy.

King *Henry*, tho' he was much griev'd for the Loſs of his Men in this unhappy Fight, yet he gave King *James* Thanks, and told him, That he gratefully accepted his Kindneſs, and admir'd the Greatneſs of his Mind.

About this time a ſtrange kind of Monſter was born in *Scotland*; in the lower part of his Body it reſembl'd a Male Child, not much differing from the ordinary Shape of a Human Body newly born; but above the Navel, the Trunk of the Body, and all the other Members were double, repreſenting both Sexes. The King gave ſpecial Order for it's careful Education, eſpecially in Muſick, wherein it arriv'd to admirable Skill; and moreover it learn'd ſeveral Tongues; and ſometimes the two Bodies did diſcover ſeveral Appetites, diſagreeing one with another, and ſo they would quarrel, one liking this, the other that; and yet ſometimes again they would agree and conſult, as it were, for the Good of both: This was alſo memorable in it, that when the Legs and Loins were hurt below, both Bodies were ſenſible of the Pain in common; but when it was prick'd, or otherwiſe hurt above, the Senſe of the Pain did affect only one Body; which Difference was alſo more perſpicuous in its Death; for one of the Bodies died many Days before the other; and that which ſurviv'd, being half putrify'd, pin'd away by Degrees. This Monſter liv'd twenty eight Years. Of it *Buchannan* ſays, *I am the more confident in relating this Story, becauſe there are many honeſt and credible Perſons yet alive, who ſaw this Prodigy with their Eyes.*

A ſtrange Monſter.

When the People of the North of *Scotland* heard of this Naval Victory, they gave over all Thoughts of War, and return'd each to his own Home. The Tumults and Broils being ſo eaſily pacify'd, the King applied his Mind not only to quell all Seditions for the preſent, but alſo to prevent all Occaſions of Strife for the future: He ſummon'd his Firſt Parliament to be held at *Edinburgh*, the 6th Day of *November*; where many wholeſome Laws were made for the eſtabliſhing of publick Concord: And to the End that Peoples Minds

K. *James* IV. his firſt Parliament.

A. D. 1490. might the better agree in general, the Fault was caſt but upon a few particular Perſons, and the Puniſhments were either very eaſy, or elſe wholly remitted. When a Diſpute aroſe concerning the Lawfulneſs of the War, *John Lyon*, Lord *Glames*, roſe up, and ſhew'd ſeveral Heads of Articles, which the Nobles had formerly ſent to the King in order to a Pacification, to which *James* the Third had often both aſſented and ſubſcrib'd; and that indeed he had ſtruck up a Peace with his Nobles upon thoſe Terms, unleſs ſome evil Counſellors had drawn away his Mind therefrom, and ſo perſwaded him to call in the old Enemy to fight againſt his own Subjects. And by Reaſon of this his Inconſtancy, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Errol*, *Marſhal*, and the Lord *Lyons* himſelf, with many other noble Perſons, had forſaken him at that Time, and had ſet up *James* the Fourth his Son, as being a great Lover of the publick Peace and Welfare. After a long Diſpute, at laſt they all conſented to a Decree, wherein thoſe who were ſlain in the Battle of *Stirling* were affirm'd to have been cut off by their own Default, and that their Slaughter was juſt; and that they who had took up Arms againſt the Enemies of the Publick, though covering their hidden Fraud under honeſt Pretences, were guilty of no Crime, nor conſequently liable to any Puniſhment. All who had Votes in the Aſſembly, ſubſcribed to this Decree, that ſo they might give a better Account of the Fact to Foreign Ambaſſadors, who they heard were coming. Many other Statutes were then alſo made, to reſtore to the Poor what had been taken violently from them; to inflict light Mulcts on the Rich, and to indemnify both Parties: That their taking up of Arms at that Time might never turn to the Prejudice of them or their Poſterity. This Moderation of Spirit was highly commended in a young King, of but Sixteen Years old, and who was alſo a Conqueror, and had the Command of all: But it was further heighten'd by his Benignity, and Faithfulneſs in performing his Promiſes; to which may be added (which the Vulgar do moſt admire) that he was of a graceful well-ſet Body, and alſo of a vivid and quick Apprehenſion; ſo that by his uſing this Victory neither with Avarice nor Cruelty, and by his real pardoning of Offenders, in a ſhort Time there grew up a great Concord amongſt both Factions, both of them equally ſtriving to ſhew their Love and Duty to the King. A few only, who were moſt obſtinate, were puniſh'd with a ſmall Fine, or with the Loſs of Part of their Eſtates, but none at all were depriv'd of their whole Patrimony; neither were the Fines brought into the King's Exchequer, but expended on the Charges of the War. This his Royal Clemency was the more grateful, becauſe Men did yet retain freſh in their Memories, upon what ſlight Occaſions in the former King's Reign many eminent Men were depriv'd of all; and how much inferior to them thoſe were, who came in their Places. Moreover, to engage the chief Leaders of the contrary Faction to a greater Fidelity, he join'd them in Bonds of Affinity to himſelf: For whereas his Aunt had Two Daughters, begot by ſeveral Husbands, he married *Gracina Boyd* to *Alexander* Lord *Forbes*, and *Margaret Hamilton* to *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*. Thus in a ſhort Time the Minds of all were reconcil'd, and a happy Peace and Tranquility did enſue: There was ſo great an Increaſe of Grain and Fruits of the Earth, as if a Golden Spring had ſuddenly ſtarted up out of a more than Iron Age. Thus, after the King had ſuppreſs'd Robberies by Arms, and other Vices by the Severity of the Laws; leſt he might ſeem a ſharp Avenger of others, but indulgent to himſelf; and withal, to make it appear, that his Father was ſlain againſt his Will, *he wore an Iron Chain about his Waſte as long as he liv'd, and every Year he added one Link thereunto:* And tho' this Practice might ſeem formidable to thoſe who were the Cauſers of his Father's Death; yet they had ſuch Confidence, either in the Gentleneſs of the King's Diſpoſition, or in their own Power, that it occaſion'd no Inſurrection at all.

King *James* the Fourth his great Character.

His Generoſity and Clemency.

His ſorrowful Reſentment for his Father's Death.

Peter Warbeck (others call him *Perkin*) comes into *Scotland*.

Amidſt this publick Jubilee, and alſo the private Rejoicings of particular Perſons, about the Seventh Year of the King's Reign, *Peter Warbeck* came into *Scotland*; the Cauſe of his coming being as follows: *Margaret*, the Siſter of *Edward* the Fourth King of *England*, having married *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*,

Burgundy, ſhe endeavour'd all the Ways ſhe could, if not to overthrow, yet at leaſt to vex *Henry* the Seventh: In order whereunto ſhe rais'd up one *Peter Warbeck*, as a Competitor for the Kingdom; he was a Youth born of mean Parentage at *Tournay*, a City of *Flanders*, but of ſuch Beauty, Ingenuity, Stature of Body, and Manlineſs of Countenance, that he might eaſily be believ'd to have been deſcended of a Royal Stock. When *Margaret* (who was intent on all Occaſions to diſturb the Peace of *England*) had got this Youth, ſhe kept him a while privately by her, 'till ſhe had inform'd him with what Factions *England* labour'd at that Time, what Friends and what Enemies ſhe had there; in a Word, ſhe made him acquainted with the whole Genealogy of the Royal Progeny, and what Happineſſes or Misfortunes had attended each of them. When Things ſeem'd thus to be ſomewhat ripe, ſhe was reſolv'd to try Fortune, and took private Order, that he ſhould be ſent in a decent Equipage, firſt into *Portugal*, then into *Ireland*; where he had a great Concourſe of People flock'd about him, and was receiv'd with Applauſe, as the Son of King *Edward* of *England*. When a War broke forth ſuddenly betwixt the *French* and the *Engliſh*, he was call'd for out of *Ireland* by *Charles* the Eighth, and had great Promiſes made him; ſo that coming to *Paris*, he was there honourably receiv'd in the Garb and Equipage of a Prince, and had a Guard appointed him; yea, the *Engliſh* Exiles, who were numerous at that Court, put him in a ſure Hope of the Kingdom. But that Tumult being quieted, upon Terms, he departed privately out of the Court of *France*, for fear leſt he ſhould have been deliver'd up, and ſo retir'd to *Flanders*, where he was highly careſs'd by *Margaret*, as if it were the firſt Time that ever ſhe had ſeen him, and was diligently ſhew'd to all the Courtiers, and ſeveral Times, in the hearing of many of them, he was deſir'd to relate the Story of all his Adventures. *Margaret*, as if this were the firſt Time ſhe had ever heard it, did ſo accommodate her diſſembled Affections in Compliance with each Part of his Diſcourſe, both when he related his Succeſſes, and alſo his Misfortunes, that every Body thought ſhe had believ'd what he had ſpoken to be certainly true. *A. D.* 1490. His Story.

After a Day or Two, *Peter* was deſir'd to go abroad in the Habit of a Prince, and had Thirty Men to be his Guard, wearing a *White Roſe*, (which is the Badge of the *York*-Family amongſt the *Engliſh*) and ſo was every where declar'd as the undoubted Heir of the Crown of *England*. When theſe Things were divulg'd, firſt in *Flanders*, afterward in *England*, the Minds of Men were ſo ſtirr'd up, that a great Concourſe of People flock'd in to him, not only of thoſe who lurk'd in Holes and Sanctuaries for fear of the Laws, but even of ſome Noblemen, whom their preſent State did not pleaſe, or who deſir'd Innovations. But ſince a longer Delay, which *Peter* hoped would bring in more Force to him, was likely to abate his preſent Strength, if he were diſcover'd to be a Counterfeit, therefore he determin'd to try his Fortune in a Fight; ſo that having gotten a pretty great Party together, he landed ſome few of them in *Kent*, to try the Affections of the *Kentiſh*-men, but in vain. All thoſe who landed were taken, ſo that he was forc'd to ſteer his Courſe for *Ireland*; and there alſo he met not with the Entertainment he hop'd for; ſo that he ſail'd over into *Scotland*, well knowing, that Peace betwixt *Scotland* and *England* never us'd to continue very long. He being admitted into the King's Preſence, made a lamentable Complaint of the Ruin of the *York*-Family, and what miſerable Calamities he himſelf had ſuffer'd; and therefore he earneſtly beſought him to vindicate Royal Blood from ſuch Contempt and Shame. The King bid him be of good Chear, and promis'd he ſhould ſhortly find, That he had not deſir'd Help in his Diſtreſſes in vain. A few Days after, a Council was call'd, where *Peter* made a ſad Story of his Misfortunes; That he being born of a King, the moſt flouriſhing of his Time, and that of the higheſt Hopes too, was left deſtitute by the untimely Death of his Father, and ſo was like to have fallen into the Tyrannical Hands of his Uncle *Richard*, before he was ſenſible almoſt what Miſery was: That his Elder Brother was cruelly murder'd by *Richard*, but that he himſelf was *Warbeck*'s feigned Harangue of himſelf.

A. D. 1490. ſtolen away by his Father's Friends, ſo that now he durſt not live a poor and precarious Life, even in that Kingdom of which he was the lawful Heir. That he had ſo miſerably liv'd amongſt Foreign Nations, that he preferr'd the Condition of his deceas'd Brother before his own, in regard he was ſnatch'd away from all further Calamity by a ſudden and violent Death: That he himſelf was reſerv'd as the Ridicule of Fortune, and that his Sorrow had not that Alleviation, that he durſt bewail his miſerable State amongſt Strangers, to incline them to pity him; for after he had begun openly to profeſs what he was, Fortune had aſſaulted him with all her Darts; and, to his former Miſeries, had added a daily Fear of Treachery, for his crafty Enemy had ſometimes dealt with thoſe who entertain'd him, to take away his Life; and ſometimes he had privily ſuborned his Subjects, under the Name of Friends, to diſcover his ſecret Deſigns, to corrupt his true Friends, and to find out his ſecret ones, and to calumniate his Stock and Pedigree, by falſe Accuſations amongſt the Vulgar; to reproach his Aunt *Margaret*, and thoſe *Engliſh* Nobles that own'd him; and yet notwithſtanding, that ſhe, being ſupported by a good Conſcience againſt the revilings of Enemies, and alſo out of Compaſſion to her own Blood, had ſupported him in his low Eſtate with her Aſſiſtance: But at laſt, when he perceiv'd that he could not have Aid enough from her to recover his Kingdom, (being a Widow, and old too) he had ſollicited Neighbour-Kings and Nations, deſiring them to reſpect the common Chances of Man's Life, and not to ſuffer Royal Blood to be oppreſs'd by Tyrannical Violence, and ſo himſelf to pine away with Grief, Fear, and Miſery; and that he, tho' for the preſent afflicted, yet was not ſo dejected in his Mind, but that he hoped the Time would come, that, being reſtor'd to his Kingdom by the Aid of his Friends, (of whom he had many both in *England* and *Scotland*) he ſhould be able to conſider every particular Man's Service, and reward him accordingly; eſpecially if the *Scots* would join their Forces with his, and if ever he was reſtor'd to his Kingdom by their Arms, they ſhould ſoon underſtand, that they had won a faſt Friend, and that at ſuch a Time too, when the Trial of true Friendſhip is wont to be made; for he and his Poſterity would be ſo grateful for the Obligation, that they would ever acknowledge, That the Acceſſion of his better Fortune was due to them alone. Beſides which, he added many Things in Praiſe of the King, part of them true, and part accommodated to the preſent Deſign.

Having thus ſaid, he held his Peace; but the King call'd him up to him, and bid him take Heart, for he would refer his Demands to the Council, whoſe Advice, in ſuch an Affair, he muſt needs have: Mean time, he promis'd him faithfully, That he ſhould not repent that he made his Court his Sanctuary. Upon this, *Peter* quitted the Aſſembly, and the Matter being put to a Debate, the wiſer Sort, who had moſt Experience in State-Affairs, thought it beſt to reject his Requeſt, either becauſe they judg'd he was a Counterfeit, or elſe, that they foreſaw there would be more Danger by the War, than Advantage by the Victory, tho' they were ſure of it. But the major Part, either thro' Unskilfulneſs in Affairs, or Inconſtancy of Spirit, or elſe to gratify the King, argued, That *Peter*'s Cauſe was moſt juſt, and that they greatly pitied the Man: They added alſo, That now Matters were in ſome Confuſion in *England*, and Mens Minds were yet fluctuating after the Civil War, and therefore it was good to lay hold of this Opportunity; and that which the *Engliſh* were wont to do to them, they themſelves ought to try for once, to make uſe of the Enemies Diſtractions for their own Advantage; and promis'd themſelves Victory before they had put on their Armour; eſpecially, if any Forces of the *Engliſh* came in to join them; nay, if they ſhould not come in ſuch Numbers as they hoped, yet one of theſe Two Things muſt neceſſarily follow, That either they ſhould conquer *Henry*, and ſo ſettle this new King on his Throne; who, in Recompence for ſo great a Benefit, muſt needs grant them all that they deſir'd: Or, if they could end the Matter without Blows, yet *Henry*, upon the quelling Domeſtick Tumults, not being yet fully ſettled in his Throne, would ſubmit to what Conditions they pleaſed: But if he re-

fus'd

fus'd ſo to do, when War was once begun, many Advantages might offer themſelves, which now were unforeſeen. *A. D.* 1494.

This was the Opinion of the major Part, and the King himſelf inclin'd to them, and his Vote drew in the reſt. And after this, he treated *Peter* more honourably than before, gave him the Title of Duke of *York*; and as ſuch, ſhew'd him to the People: And at the ſame time gave him *Catharine Gordon*, Daughter to the Earl of *Huntly*, to Wife; a Woman of as great Beauty as Birth: This Affinity gave him Hopes of thriving, and bettering his Condition, and therefore by Advice of his Council, he levied an Army, and march'd for *England*; firſt of all carrying it warily, and having his Troops ready to engage, if any ſudden Aſſault ſhould be made upon him. But afterwards, when he underſtood by his Spies, that the Enemy had no Army in the Field, he ſent out Parties to plunder, and in a ſhort time waſted almoſt all *Northumberland*, and the Country thereabout. He ſtaid ſome Days in thoſe Parts, but not one *Engliſhman* ſtirr'd, in Behalf of *Peter*: And it being told him, that an Army was levying againſt him in the adjacent Counties, he thought it dangerous to venture his Soldiers, who were loaden with Booty, againſt the new and freſh Forces of the *Engliſh*; and therefore reſolv'd to return into *Scotland*, and there to leave their Booty; and ſo ſoon as the time of the Year would permit, to undertake a new Expedition. Neither did he fear that the *Engliſh* would follow him in his Retreat, for he knew that new-rais'd Soldiers would not be long kept together; neither would they make after him, if they could, through a Country ſo lately haraſs'd and deſolated by the Wars; eſpecially having no Proviſions prepar'd before-hand. And beſides, *Peter* was afraid, that in regard none of the *Engliſh* came in to him, as he hop'd, that if he ſtaid any longer in his Enemies Country, his Cheat would be diſcover'd, ſo that he himſelf ſeem'd to approve of the King's Reſolution, coming cunningly to him, and compoſing his Speech and Countenance ſo, as might beſt move Compaſſion, he humbly beſought him, That he would not make ſuch Havock in a Kingdom that was his own by Right; and that he would not ſo cruelly ſhed ſo much Blood of his Subjects, for that no Kingdom in the World was of ſo much Worth to him, as for its ſake to have its Peoples Blood ſo largely ſpilt, and his Country ſo waſted with Fire and Sword, to procure it. The King began now to ſmell out, and underſtand, whither this unſeaſonable Clemency did tend, and therefore told him, That he fear'd he would preſerve that Kingdom, in which not a Man did own him as a Subject, much leſs as a King; not for himſelf, but for his capital Enemy; and ſo by the common conſent they retir'd home, and the Army was disbanded.

King *James* marries *Katharine Gordon*, his Kinſwoman, to *Warbeck*, and aſſiſts him with an Army againſt *England*.

King *James* begins to diſcover *Warbeck*'s Cheat.

Henry being made acquainted with the Invaſion, and alſo the Retreat of the *Scots*, appointed an Expedition againſt them the Year after, and in the mean time levied a great Army; and that he might not be idle in the Winter-time, he ſummon'd a Parliament, who approv'd of his Deſign to make War on *Scotland*, and granted a ſmall Subſidy upon the People for that End. That Tax rais'd up a greater Flame of War upon him at home, than that which he deſign'd to quench abroad. For the Commonalty complain'd that their Youth and Soldiery were exhauſted by Wars, and Impreſſments, which had been made within theſe few Years, ſo that their Eſtates were impair'd, and brought very low: But the Nobles and Counſellors, were ſo far from being mov'd with theſe Calamities, that they ſought to create new Wars in a Time of Peace, that ſo they might impoſe new Taxes on them, who were already in great Want and Neceſſity; and thus, whom the Sword had not conſum'd, Famine and Poverty would. Theſe were the publick Complaints of all the Commons: But the *Corniſh* were more enrag'd than all the reſt, for they, inhabiting a Country which is for the moſt Part barren, are wont rather to gain than loſe by Wars: And therefore, that warlike People, having been accuſtom'd rather to encreaſe their Eſtates by Military Spoils, than to leſſen them by paying Taxes and Rates; they firſt of all roſe againſt the King's Officers and Collectors, and ſlew them; and then, being conſcious that they had engag'd themſelves in ſo bold an Attempt, that there was no retreat, nor

King *Henry* of *England* prepares an Army againſt *Scotland*.

An Inſurrection in *England* prevents King *Henry*'s Deſign againſt *Scotland* at that time.

A. D. 1495. Hopes of Mercy, the Multitude flocking in daily more and more to them with Arms, they began their March towards *London*. By this Insurrection the King was so busied this whole Year, that the Army which he had design'd against *Scotland*, was employ'd against the Rebels in his own Kingdom.

In the mean time King *James* foreseeing, that King *Henry* would not let the Injuries of the former Year pass unreveng'd, and being also inform'd, that he was raising great Forces against him; he, on the other side, levy'd an Army, to the Intent, that if the *English* invaded him first, he might be in a Posture to defend himself; if not, then he himself would make an Inroad into the Enemies Country, and there so waste and destroy the bordering Counties, so as not to afford sufficient Necessaries, even for the very Husbandman. And hearing of the *Cornish* Insurrection, he presently began his March, and enter'd *England* with a great Army, dividing his Forces into two Parts; one went towards *Durham* to ravage that Country, and with the rest he besieg'd *Norham*, a strong Castle scituated on a very high Hill, by the River *Tweed*. But neither here, nor there, was there any thing considerable done: For *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham*, a very prudent Person, foreseeing, that the *Scots* would not omit the Opportunity of attempting somewhat during the civil Broils in *England*, had fortify'd some Castles with strong Garisons, and had taken care that the Cattle, and all other driveable and portable Things, should be convey'd unto Places, either safe by Nature, or made so by Moors and Rivers. And he sent for the Earl of *Surry*, who had great Forces in *Yorkshire*, to assist him; and therefore the *Scots* only burnt the Country, and not being able to take *Norham*, which was stoutly defended by those within, rais'd the Siege, and without any considerable Action return'd home. The *English* follow'd them not long after, and demolish'd * *Aytown*, a small Castle, seated almost in the very Borders, and return'd out of their Enemies Country, without any memorable Performance also.

King *James* invades *England*, but to little Purpose

* In the *Mers* on the River *Aye*, a Mile above *Aymouth*.

Amidst these Commotions, both foreign and domestick, *Peter Hialas*, a Man of great Wisdom and Learning, arriv'd in *England*: He was sent by *Ferdinanao* and *Isabel*, King and Queen of *Spain*. The Purport of his Embassy was, That *Katharine* their Daughter, might marry Prince *Arthur* King *Henry*'s Son, and so a new Affinity and Friendship might be contracted betwixt them. The *English* did willingly embrace the Affinity, and therefore were desirous to finish the War with *Scotland*; and because King *Henry* thought it was below his Dignity to seek Peace at the *Scots* Hands, he was willing to use him as a Mediator. *Peter* willingly undertook the Business, and came into *Scotland*; where he plied King *James* with several Arguments, and at last made him inclinable to a Peace; and then he wrote to King *Henry*, That he hop'd Peace would be agreed without any great Difficulty, if he pleas'd to send down some eminent Person of his Council, to propose the Conditions. King *Henry*, as one that had often try'd the Inconstancy of Fortune, and that the Minds of his Subjects were grown fierce by these late Tumults, as being rather irritated than wholly suppress'd, commanded *Richard Fox*, who resided in his Castle at *Norham*, to join Counsels with *Hialas*. These two had many Disputes about the Matter with the Ambassadors of *Scotland*, at * *Jedburgh*, and after many Conditions had been mutually propos'd, they could agree upon nothing. The chiefest Impediment was, the Demand of King *Henry*, that *Peter Warbeck* should be given up to him, for he judg'd it to be a very reasonable Proposition, in regard he was but a Counterfeit, and had been already the Occasion of so much Mischief. King *James* peremptorily refus'd so to do, alledging, That it was not honourable in him to surrender up a Man of the Royal Progeny, who came to him as a Supplicant; whom he had also made his Kinsman by Marriage, against his Faith given to him, to be made a Laughing-stock by his Enemies. And thus the Conference broke off; yet the Hopes of an Agreement were not altogether cast off, for a Truce was made for some Months, till King *James* could dismiss *Warbeck*, upon honourable Terms, according to his Promise.

An Ambassador from *Spain* to *England*.

Who mediates a Peace between *Scotland* and *England*.

The chief Town in *Tividale*, standing on the West of the River *Jed*.

For

For now, by the Conference with the *Engliſh*, and other evident Indications, it plainly appear'd, that the Tale concerning *Peter*'s State and Kindred was a mere Falſity, and therefore the King ſent for him, and told him, what ſingular Good-will he had born him, and how many Courteſies he had beſtow'd upon him, of which he himſelf was the beſt Witneſs: As firſt, That he had undertaken a War againſt a potent King for his ſake; and had now manag'd it a ſecond Year, to the great Inconvenience of his Enemy, and the Prejudice of his own Subjects: That he had refus'd an honourable Peace, which was freely offer'd him, merely becauſe he would not ſurrender him up to the *Engliſh*; and thereby he had given great Offence, both to his Subjects and his Enemy too; ſo that now, he neither could, nor would, any longer withſtand their Deſires. And therefore, whatever might enſue, whether Peace or War, he deſir'd him to ſeek out ſome other and fitter Place for his Baniſhment, for he was reſolv'd to make Peace with the *Engliſh*; and when it was once ſolemnly made, to obſerve it as religiouſly; and to remove from him whatſoever might be an Impediment or Diſturbance thereto: Neither ought he to complain, that the *Scots* had forſaken him, ſeeing the *Engliſh* had done ſo firſt, in Confidence of whoſe Aſſiſtance the *Scots* had begun the War: And yet, notwithſtanding all theſe Circumſtances, he was reſolv'd to accommodate him with Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, to put to Sea. *A. D.* 1496.

Warbeck was mightily troubled at this unexpected Diſmiſſion; yet he remitted nothing of his diſſimulated height of Spirit, but in a few Days, ſail'd over into *Ireland* with his Wife and Family: From whence ſoon after he paſs'd into *England*, and there join'd himſelf with the Reliques of the *Corniſh* Rebels: But after many Attempts, being able to do no Good, he was taken; and having confeſs'd all the Pageantry of his former Life, he ended his Days in an Halter.

Warbeck diſmiſt out of *Scotland*.

Taken and hang'd in *England*

When the War between *Scotland* and *England* was almoſt ended, and a great Likelihood of Peace appearing, behold, there happen'd a new Quarrel upon a very light Occaſion, which had almoſt broken out into a fierce War. Some *Scots* Youths went over to the Town of *Norham*, which was near to the Caſtle (as they were oft wont to do in Times of Peace) there to recreate themſelves in Sports and Paſtimes with their Neighbours, as if they had been at home, for there was but a ſmall River which divided them. The Gariſon in the Caſtle accus'd thoſe *Scots* as Spies, and ſo from Words they came to Blows; many were wounded on both ſides, and the *Scots* being fewer in number, were forc'd to return home with the Loſs of ſome of their Company. This Buſineſs was often canvaſs'd in the Meetings, between the Lords of the Marches; and at laſt King *James* was very angry, and ſent an Herald to King *Henry*, to complain of Breach of Truce; and unleſs Satisfaction were given, according to the juſt Laws, which were made by general Conſent, about Reſtitution betwixt the Borderers, he commanded him to denounce War againſt him. King *Henry* had been exercis'd by the Violence of Fortune, even from his Cradle, and therefore was more inclin'd to Peace: His Anſwer was, That whatever was done of that kind, was againſt his Will, and without his Knowledge; and if the Gariſon-Soldiers had offended in the Caſe, he would take order, that Examination ſhould be made, and that, the Leagues being kept inviolate, the Guilty ſhould be puniſh'd. But this was ſlowly done, and King *James* look'd upon the Anſwer as dilatory, that ſo the Puniſhment might be deferr'd, and the Reſentment thereof worn out with Time; and therefore it rather provok'd than ſatisfy'd the King. But *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Durham*, who was owner of the Caſtle, being much troubl'd, that an occaſion of breaking the League ſhould be adminiſtred by any of his Tenants, to prevent it, ſent ſeveral Letters to King *James*, full of great Submiſſion, Modeſty, and Civility, which ſo inclin'd the King's Mind, that he wrote him Word back, That he would willingly ſpeak with him, not only about the late Wrongs done, but alſo about other Matters which might be advantageous to both Kingdoms. *Fox* acquainted his King herewith, and, by his Conſent, he waited upon King *James* at *Melroſs*, where he then was.

A War like to ariſe on a ſmall Occaſion betwixt *Scotland* and *England*;

But accommodated by the Biſhop of *Durham*.

A. D. 1500. There King *James* made a grievous Complaint of the Injury acted at *Norham*; yet by the prudent and grave Discourse of *Fox*, he was so pacify'd, that for Peace-sake, of which he shew'd himself very desirous, he remitted the Offence. Other things were acted privately betwixt them; but it appear'd afterward, that the Sum of them was this, That King *James* did not only desire a Peace, but both before, and also now, an Affinity with *Henry*, and a stricter Bond of Union: And if *Henry* would bestow his Daughter *Margaret* upon him in Marriage, he hop'd that the Thing would be for the Benefit of both Kingdoms: And if the Bishop, whose Authority he knew to be great at home, would do his Endeavour to accomplish the Affinity, he did not doubt but it would be soon effected. He freely promis'd his Service, and coming to the Court of *England*, acquainted the King with the Proposition, and thereupon gave Hopes to the *Scots* Ambassadors, that a Peace would easily be accorded betwixt the two Kings. Thus at length, three Years after, which was *Anno* 1500, even about one and the same time *Margaret*, *Henry*'s eldest Daughter, was betroth'd to King *James* IV, and also *Katharine*, Daughter to *Ferainand* King of *Spain*, to Prince *Arthur*, *Henry*'s Eldest Son, and their Marriages were celebrated with great Pomp the next Year after.

A Conference between King *James* and *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham* concerning the Marriage of King *Henry*'s Daughter *Margaret* to King *James*.

Which took Effect.

After the Marriage all things were quiet, and the Court turn'd from the Study of Arms to Sports and Pastimes, so that there was nothing but Masks, Shews, Feastings, Dancings, and Balls; it was as a continu'd Jubilee, and, upon that Account, every Day was kept as Holy-day: There were also Horse-Tiltings frequently made, mostly according to the *French* Mode, betwixt which (as Tragical Acts) there interven'd the Challenges of Moss-Troopers one of another, who were wont to live upon Spoil; which Sport the King was well pleas'd to behold, because he judg'd that the killing of them was a Gain to him. When the Noise of these Tournaments came to foreign Nations, many Strangers, and especially from *France*, came daily over to shew their Prowess, who were all liberally entertain'd by the King, and as bountifully dismiss'd. Neither did he rest in these ludicrous Exercises, but he laid out a great deal of Money upon Buildings, at *Stirling*, *Falkland*, and sundry other Places, and especially in building of Monasteries: But his Cost about Ships was greatest of all, for he built three stately ones of a great Bulk, and many also of a middle Rate; one of his large Ships was accounted the biggest that any Man had seen sail on the Ocean, it being also furnish'd with all Manner of costly Accommodations: The Measure of it is kept in some Places. But the Greatness of it appear'd by this, That the News thereof stirred up *Francis* King of *France*, and *Henry* VIII. King of *England*, each of them to build a Ship in Imitation thereof, and each endeavouring to out-do the other; when their Ships were finish'd, and fitted with all Necessaries for sailing, and brought to Sea, they were so big, that they stood there like unmoveable Rocks, unfit for any use.

A very large Ship built by King *James*.

These Works being very expensive, did exhaust King *James*'s Treasure, so that he was forc'd to devise Ways to get Money, and amongst the rest, he pitch'd upon one, by the Persuasion, as it was thought, of *William Elphinstone* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, which was very displeasing to all the Nobility. Amongst the Titles of possessing Lands in *Scotland* there was one, which in Process of Time, by Custom grew strong, and was kept for a Law, being fetch'd by Imitation from the Laws of the neighbouring States; *That if the Possessor of Lands die and leave a Minor to succeed him, his Tutelage belongeth to the King, and the Profit of the Lands, until the Minor be of the Age of One and twenty Years.* This was of those Lands which were term'd Wards. The King causeth bring up his Wards, but bestoweth no more of the Rents upon them than was useful to such of that Age. Another Law, not any thing better than this, which they call *Recognition*. *That if the Evidences of any Possessor of Ward-Lands be not in all Points formal, and above Exceptions of Law, the Lands shall return to the Lord Superior:* And like to this, *That if a Possessor of Ward-Lands, without the Consent of the Superior, sell and put away the half, or more, of his Land and Farm, the whole Land and Farm should return to the Superior*

or

or Lord Paramount. There are alſo Lands held with Clauſes, which they call Irritant, *That if two Terms of a Few-Duty run unpaid into the Third, the Land falleth into the Superior*. When thoſe Laws, and other like them, by reaſon of the Incurſions and Troubles with *England*, and the civil Broils at home, had been long out of Uſe amongſt the Subjects, and the Execution of them as it were in a Manner forgot, theſe Projectors awaken'd them: Many of the Subjects by theſe Inquiries were offended at the King; but chiefly the moſt honeſt, who were conſtrain'd either to buy their own Lands and Inheritances from the Exchequer, or quit and freely give ſome Portion of them to thoſe Monſters of State. Yet the King was ſo dearly belov'd of his People, that in the Height of thoſe Grievances, none refus'd or made Difficulty to give all that the Laws ordain'd. The King ſeeing their Willingneſs to perform, and knowing their great Diſability thereunto, out of his ſingular Grace and Goodneſs remitteth not only the Rigour, but even the Equity almoſt of his Laws, inſomuch that thereafter none of his Subjects were damnify'd in their Perſons or Eſtates by his Proceedings; which gain'd him the Hearts of all: And to put away all Suſpicions and Jealouſies from their Minds, of any Wrong intended, he ſuffer'd the Promoters and Projectors of this Polling, with others of the moſt active, to be thrown into Priſons, where ſome ended their Days. *A. D.* 1506.

The Year 1507, *James* Prince of *Scotland* and the *Iſles*, was born at *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, the 21ſt of *January*: The Queen in her Throwes of Birth, being brought near the laſt Agony of Death, the King (overcome with Affection and religious Vows) took a Pilgrimage for her Recovery, on Foot, to St. *Ninian*'s in *Galloway*; a Place famous for the Burial of St. *Ninian* the Apoſtle of the *Britains*, and notorious by the many Proceſſions and Viſits of the neighbouring Countries of *England* and *Ireland*. At his Return he found his Queen recover'd; but the Child after died at *Stirling* with the Biſhop of *Galloway*, who was appointed to attend him. The Year following the Queen brought forth another Son, nam'd *Arthur*, at *Holy-Rood-Houſe*; but he died alſo in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*: And King *Henry* VII. of *England*, his Grandfather, died the ſame Year: And King *James* ſent Ambaſſadors to the Coronation of the young King, his Brother-in-law. 1507. The Queen deliver'd of a Son, Who died ſoon after. And afterwards of a ſecond, who died alſo.

After the Death of his two Sons, and his Father-in-law, as if he had been warn'd from above to think of his own Mortality (whether he had a reſolute Intention ſo to do, or that for Reaſons known to himſelf, he would have it ſo appear) he gave out, That out of Remorſe, for bearing Arms in the Field where his Father was ſlain, he had a Reſolution to leave his Kingdom, and viſit the holy Sepulchre: And to prepare his Way, *Robert Blackader* Abbot of *Dunfermling*, was directed; but the Abbot in his Journey was arreſted by Death, and the King found other Hindrances to keep him at home.

Amidſt theſe Deliberations, his Queen was deliver'd in the Palace of *Linlithgow* of her Third Son, in the Month of *April*, 1512. who ſucceeded to the Crown, and was baptiz'd *James*. 1512. A Third born

About this time *Bernard Stewart*, that famous Warrior under *Charles* VIII. of *France*, who commanded the *French* in *Boſworth-field*, came to *Scotland*, follow'd by *Andrew Forman* then Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, and Biſhop of *Murray*, with *Alexander Stewart* the King's natural Son, after promoted to be Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s. The Cauſe which was given out by the Rumours of the People of their coming, was, That the *French* King having no Male Children, crav'd the Advice and Counſel of the King of *Scotland* his Confederate, concerning the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter; whether he ſhould beſtow her upon *Francis* of *Valois*, the Dauphine and Duke of *Angoleſm*, or upon *Charles* King of *Caſtile*, who had preſented her with many Tokens of Affection, and by his Ambaſſadors earneſtly ſought her from her Father. But their great Errand was, to divide the King from his Brother-in-law King *Henry*, and make him aſſiſt *Lewis*; theſe two Potentates intending a War againſt each other.

A. D. 1512. *Anne* Daughter to *Francis* Duke of *Bretaign*, after the Death of her Sister *Isabella*, remain'd sole Heir of that Dutchy, her Wardship falling to the *French* King *Charles* VIII. He terrify'd her Subjects, Kindred, and the principal Persons about her, so that making void the pretended Marriage of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, which was by Proxy, she was married unto him; notwithstanding he had the Daughter of *Maximilian* at his Court, with great Expectation of a Marriage to be celebrated with her. After the Death of King *Charles*, *Lewis* XII. having married *Jane* the Sister of *Charles* and Daughter to *Lewis* XI. by his many Favours bestow'd upon Pope *Alexander* VI. and his Son *Cæsar Borgia*, obtain'd a Brieve of Divorce against her, by the Power of which (her Weakness for the bearing of Children being prov'd by his Physicians) he had married *Anne* of *Bretaign*, for he would not lose so fair a Dowry for the Rumour of Malecontents, which in a little Time would grow stale and vanish. Pope *Alexander* being dead, *Julius* II. a magnificent Prelate, and a stout Defender of the Church, being suspicious of the Power of the *French* in *Italy*, and that they would not rest content with the Kingdom of *Naples* and Dutchy of *Milan*, but one Day hazard for all; began to study Means to send the *French* back to their own Country, his ordinary Discourse being, that he would, one Day, make *Italy* free from *Barbarians*. Whereupon he requir'd King *Lewis* to give over the Protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and of *Annibal Bentivoglio*, whom he had thrust out of *Bologn*. The King refusing to forsake his Confederates, the Pope betook himself to his spiritual Arms, and threaten'd with Excommunication the Duke, and all who came to his Aid and Support, especially the *French*. They declin'd his Sentence, and appeal'd to a General Council, with which they threaten him. *Henry* VIII. then in the Fervour of his Youth, amidst a great Treasure left by his Father, and by more than ordinary Bands of Love and Friendship ty'd to the Pope, interpos'd himself as an indifferent Mediator and Intercessor for Peace between the two Parties, but in Effect was the chief Maintainer of the Quarrel. Conditions being refus'd by King *Henry*, he endeavour'd to draw the *French* Arms from the Pope's Territories, by cutting them out Work nearer home, and bringing a Necessity upon them to defend their own. Upon this Determination, he requir'd King *Lewis* to restore to him his Dutchies *Guyenne* and *Normandy*, with his ancient Inheritance of *Anjou* and *Main*, and the other old Possessions of the *English* in *France*, which wrongfully had been detain'd and kept from him and his Ancestors. The War of *Italy* by these Threatnings was not left off: For the Pope coming to *Bologn*, with Intention to invade *Ferrara*, was besieg'd with his Cardinals, and he sent Declarations to the Christian Princes, protesting the *French* not only thirsted after the Patrimony and Inheritance of St. *Peter*, but even after Christian Blood. Mean while he absolv'd the Subjects of King *Lewis* from their Oath of Allegiance, and at a Council at *Lateran* he dispatch'd a Bull, wherein the Title of *Most Christian King* was transferr'd upon King *Henry* of *England*, who to his former Titles of *France*, having now the Approbation of the Pope, and the Kingdom interdicted, prepar'd an Expedition in Person. After which, with five thousand Horses, and forty thousand Foot, he landed in *Picardy*, and encamp'd before *Therovenne*, a Town upon the Marches of that Province. Here the Emperior *Maximilian*, resenting yet his old Injury, enter'd into the King of *England*'s Pay, and wore the Cross of St. *George*: But so long as he stay'd in the Army, it was govern'd according to his Counsel and Direction.

King *James* before his Meeting with *Bernard Stewart* and Bishop *Forman*, was fully purpos'd to prove an indifferent Beholder of this War: But *Bernard* having made Interest with the Courtiers, and the Bishop with the chief Church-men of the Kingdom, after their long and earnest Intercession he was drawn in to assist the *French*.

Mean time Bishop *Forman* was sent to King *Henry*, to demand certain Jewels left by their Father's Will, or her Brother Prince *Arthur*'s, appertaining to Queen *Margaret* his Sister.

King

King *Henry* miſtruſting that Embaſſy, offer'd all and more than they demanded from him. Shortly after the *Engliſh* beginning to interrupt the Traffick of the *French* by Sea, King *James* ſent his Ships, lately well mann'd and equipp'd for Fight (which not long before had been prepar'd to tranſport the King into *Syria*) to his Couſin Queen *Anne* of *France*, ſuppoſing this Gift would rather ſeem to the *Engliſh*, a Pledge of Friendſhip and Alliance, than any Supply of War. But *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, having got the Command of them, inſtead of ſailing towards *France*, arriv'd in *Ireland*, whether by Tempeſt of Weather, or that he would interrupt the King's Proceedings in aſſiſting the *French*, it is uncertain: And after he had ſpoil'd *Carrick-Fergus* a maritime Village, return'd with them to the Town of *Air*.

A. D. 1512.

James Earl of *Arran* ſent with a Fleet to *France*.

He arrives in *France*.

The King being offended at the Invaſion of *Ireland*, but more the lingring of the Earl, for he had receiv'd Letters from Queen *Anne* and Biſhop *Forman*, regreting the long and vain Expectation of his Ships, gave the Earl of *Angus*, and Sir *Andrew Wood* a Commiſſion for both him and them. The Earl of *Arran* by his Friends at Court, underſtanding the King's Diſpleaſure, e'er they could find him, hoiſeth up Sails, and committeth himſelf rather to the uncertain Fortune of the Seas, than the juſt wrath of a King. After great Tempeſt he arriv'd in *Bretaign*, and put into the Haven of *Breſt*.

Now Matters grew more exaſperate between the Brother Kings; for *Robert Car* Warden of the Borders was kill'd by three *Engliſh*, *Heron*, *Lilburn*, and *Starhed*: And *Andrew Barton*, who, upon an old Quarrel begun in the Reign of King *James* III. had purchas'd Letters of Repriſal againſt the *Portugueſe*, by *Thomas Howard* the *Engliſh* Admiral was ſlain, and his Ships taken. To this laſt Grievance (when it was expoſtulated) King *Henry* is ſaid to have anſwer'd, *That Truce amongſt Princes was never broken for taking or killing of Pirats.*

Alexander Lord *Hume* Warden of the Eaſt Marches, in Revenge of accumulated Injuries, with three thouſand Men invaded the *Engliſh* Borders, and burnt ſome Villages, and forrag'd the Fields about. But having divided his Forces, and ſent a Part of them loaden with Spoils towards *Scotland*, he fell into an Ambuſh of the *Engliſh*: Where Sir *William Bulmure* with a thouſand Archers put him to Flight, and took his Brother *George* Priſoner. During theſe Border Incurſions, the Lord *Dacres* and Doctor *Weſt* came as an Embaſſy from *England*, not ſo much for eſtabliſhing a Peace, and ſettling theſe Tumults, begun by the Meeting of Commiſſioners, as to give their Maſter certain and true Intelligence of the Proceedings of the *Scots* with the *French*, and what they attempted.

Monſieur *de la Motte* was come with Letters from the *French* King to ſtir up King *James* to take Arms againſt the *Engliſh*, and had in his Voyage drown'd three *Engliſh* Ships, bringing ſeven with him as Prizes to the Harbour of *Leith*. *Robert Barton* in revenge of *Andrew Barton*'s Death, at the ſame time return'd with thirteen Veſſels all Prizes. King *Lewis* had ſent a great Ship loaden with Artillery, Powder and Wines; in which Mr. *James Ogilvie* Abbot of *Dryburgh* arriv'd, with earneſt Requeſt for renewing of the ancient League between *France* and *Scotland*; and Letters from Queen *Anne* for the Invaſion of *England*. In which ſhe regretted he had not one Friend nor Maintainer of his Honour at the Court of *France* (after the late Delay of ſending his Ships) except her ſelf and her Ladies: That her Requeſt was, He would for her ſake, whom he had honour'd with the Name of his Miſtreſs in his Martial Sports in time of Peace, march upon the *Engliſh* Bounds, now in the Time of an appearing War againſt her Lord and Country.

The King thinking himſelf already engag'd and intereſted in his Fame, drawn away by the Promiſes, Eloquence, and other Perſuaſions of the *French*, aſſembled the three Eſtates of his Kingdom to deliberate about a War with *England*. Many oppos'd it, but in vain; for at laſt, for fear of the King's Diſpleaſure, it was concluded to declare War: But before the *Scots* committed any Hoſtility againſt the *Engliſh*, they determin'd and declar'd that King *Henry* ſhould, by an Herauld, be fairly advertis'd, and deſir'd to deſiſt from

King *James* ſends a Herauld to King *Henry* of *England*.

A. D. 1512. further Invaſion of the Territories of the *French* King, or Duke of *Gelders*, who was General of the *French* Army, the King of *Scotland*'s Confederates and Kinſmen: Which not being yielded unto, the War as lawful and juſt ſhould be denounc'd.

King *Henry*'s Anſwer.

Henry VIII. then beſieging *Therovenne*, anſwer'd the Herald who deliver'd his Commiſſion: "That he heard nothing from him, but what he had ex-"pected from a King, a Deſpiſer of GOD's and Mans Laws; as for him-"ſelf, he would not give over a War ſo happily begun for any Threats. Nei-"ther did he care much for that Man's Friendſhip, of whoſe Inconſtancy he "had ſo often had Experience, nor for the Power of his Kingdom.

After this Anſwer from the King of *England*, a Declaration by King *James* was publiſh'd, in theſe Words:

K. *James*'s Reaſons for the Declaration of War againſt *England*.

"Though Princes ſhould direct their Actions more to Conſcience than "Fame, and are not bound to give an Account of them to any, but to GOD "alone, and when Armies are prepar'd for Battle, they look not ſo much to "what may be ſaid, as to what ought to be done; the Victors being ever "thought to have had Reaſon upon their Side, and the juſteſt Cauſe: Yet to "manifeſt our Sincerity, and the Uprightneſs of our Proceedings, as well "to theſe preſent Times as to Poſterity, who may hereafter enquire after "our Deportments, that all may take a full View of our Intentions and "Courſes, we have been mov'd to lay down the Juſtneſs and Equity of our "Arms before the Tribunal of the World.

"The Laws of Nations and of Nature, which are grounded upon that "Reaſon by which Man is diſtinguiſh'd from other Creatures, obliges every "one to defend himſelf; and to ſeek Means for one's own Preſervation is a "Thing unblamable: But the Laws of Sovereignty lay greater Obligations "upon us, and above all Men Monarchs, and they to whom GOD hath "given the Government of States and Kingdoms, are not only bound to "maintain and defend their own Kingdoms, Eſtates and Perſons, but to re-"lieve from unjuſt Oppreſſion, ſo far as is in their Power (being requir'd) "their Friends, Neighbours and Confederates, and not to ſuffer the Weak to "be overthrown by the Stronger. The many Innovations and Troubles "rais'd upon all Sides about us, the Wrongs our Subjects have ſuffer'd, by "the Inſolencies and Arrogancy of the Counſellors of *Henry* King of *England* "our Brother-in-Law, are not only known to our Neighbours, but blaz'd "amongſt remoteſt Countries. Roads and Incurſions have been made upon "our Borders; ſundry of our Subjects have been taken, and, as in a juſt War, "made Priſoners; the Warden of our Marches, under Aſſurance, hath been "miſerably kill'd; our Merchants at Sea invaded, ſpoil'd of their Goods, "Liberties, and Lives: Above others, the chief Captains of our Ships put to "Death, and all by that King's own Commiſſion. Upon which Breaches be-"tween the two Kingdoms, Diſorders and manifeſt Wrongs committed upon "our Subjects, when by our Ambaſſadors we had divers Times requir'd Sa-"tisfaction and Reparation, we receiv'd no Juſtice or Anſwer worthy of "him or us; our Complaints being rejected, and we diſdainfully contem-"ned: That longer to ſuffer ſuch Inſolences, and not by juſt Force to reſiſt "unjuſt Violence, and by Dangers to ſeek a Remedy againſt greater or more "imminent Dangers: Not to ſtand to the Defence of our Subjects, and take "upon us their Protection, were to be deficient to our Honour and Repura-"tion, and to invite others to offer the like Affronts and Injuries to us "hereafter.

"Beſides theſe Breaches of Duty, Outrages, and Wrongs done unto us, "our Brother *Henry* King of *England* without any juſt Cauſe, or Violence "offer'd to him or any of his by the King of *France*, hath levied a mighty "Army againſt him, invaded his Territories, uſing all Hoſtility; continu-"ing to aſſault and force his Towns, make his Subjects Priſoners, kill and "ranſom them, impoſe Subſidies, and raiſe Money from the quieter Sort. "Which Wrongs, Dammage and Injuſtice we cannot but repute done unto "us, in reſpect of our earneſt Interceſſions unto him, and many Requeſts "rejected,

" rejected, and that ancient League between the Two Kingdoms of *France* A. D.
" and *Scotland*, in which theſe Two Nations are obliged reſpectively, and 1512.
" mutually bound, to aſſiſt each other againſt all Invaders whatſoever; That
" the Enemy of the One ſhall be the Enemy of the Other, and the Friends
" of the One the Friends of the Other. As all Motions tend unto Reſt, the
" End of a juſt War being Peace, that our Brother (who hath no ſuch great
" Enemy as the too great Riches and Abundance in which he ſwimmeth)
" may entertain Peace with his Brother Princes, and moderate that bound-
" leſs Ambition, which maketh him uſurp Dominion over his Equals; we
" have been compell'd to take us to defenſive Arms; for our Brother hath
" now declared himſelf, and vaunteth that he is ſole Judge and Umpire of the
" Peace of *Europe*, and that from his Will, the Differences of Succeſſions and
" Titles of Principalities, Wrongs and other Intereſts depend, as that all
" ſhould be obſequious to his Authority; and what particular Authority can
" be more intolerable, than that he ſhould hinder ſo great and juſt a Prince as
" the King of *France* to claim his own, and defend his Subjects.

" If our Brother the King of *England* by the Supply and Aſſiſtance of
" many Neighbour Countries, now by the Provocation of the Pope, ſhould
" extend his Power and Victory over *France* (under what Colour and Pre-
" tence of Juſtice ſoever) to what an Extremity ſhall the Kingdom of *Scot-*
" *land* be reduced, having ſo powerful and ambitious a Neighbour? Fear
" of any Neighbour Prince's Greatneſs, when it extendeth itſelf over adja-
" cent Territories, is a good Cauſe of Defence and taking of Arms, which
" cannot be but juſt, ſince it is moſt neceſſary.

" We are not ignorant, that here will be objected againſt us, the Breach of
" a League contracted between our Brother and us: We have not broken
" that League; but for great Cauſes and Reaſons ſeparated our ſelves from
" it, our Brother having taken away the Means, Occaſions and Reaſons of
" obſerving it. In all Leagues, Confederations, Alliances and Promiſes
" amongſt Princes, the laſt Confederation is ever underſtood to be contracted
" without Prejudice to the Rights of any former Alliances: And when our
" Ambaſſadors made that League with our Brother, it was to be underſtood
" that it ſhould hold no longer, nor we longer be bound unto it, than he
" ſhould keep to our firſt Allies and ancient Confederates, not breaking their
" Peace, nor troubling the Government and Eſtates of their Countries. A
" National League is ever to be preferr'd to any Perſonal, an Ancient to a
" New; the Leagues between the Kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland* having
" continued many Ages, ſhould juſtly be preferr'd to that which we, as a new
" Ally of the Houſe of *England*, did contract, which yet we are moſt willing
" to keep: But the Love of our Country paſſing all private Reſpects, hath
" mov'd us to ſeperate our ſelves for a Time from it.

" All Leagues, Confederacies, Alliances, and Promiſes amongſt Princes,
" are reſpectively and mutually underſtood with this Condition and Law;
" providing both keep upon either Side; the one Party breaking or depart-
" ing from the League, Alliance or Promiſe, the other is no longer bound to
" keep nor adhere to it. So long as the King of *England* kept unto us, we
" kept unto him: He having now many Ways broken unto us, we are no
" longer obliged to keep unto him: That ſame Oath which obliged and tied
" us, after his Breach, abſolving and making us free; and of this, we divers
" Times advertiſed him, giving him Aſſurance, except we would betray that
" Truſt and Confidence our Subjects and Confederates repos'd in us, for the
" Maintenance of their Peace and Safety, we could not but aſſiſt them in
" their juſt Cauſe (howſoever the juſteſt Actions have not ever the moſt profi-
" table Events) and be conſtrain'd to have a Recourſe to Arms for a Remedy
" of their preſent Miſery.

" And now notwithſtanding of our advanc'd Expedition and Preparations
" for War, that the World may judge rightly of our Intentions, We declare
" and manifeſt, That if our Brother ſhall leave off the Invaſion of our Con-
" federates, uſe no more Hoſtility againſt them, and give Satisfaction for the

A. D. 1513.

" Wrongs done unto our Subjects, that we ſhall diſband our Forces, and are " content that all Matters of Difference, as well between the King of *France*, " and our Brother, as our Brother and us, be amicably judged, decided and " taken away: As that not only a Truce and Ceſſation of their Miſery for a " Time, but a perfect and laſting Peace be concluded and eſtabliſh'd, to the " full Contentment, and laſting Happineſs of the Three Kingdoms and our " Poſterity."

Whilſt the King ſtay'd at *Linlithgow*, attending the gathering of his Army, now ready to ſet forward, and full of Cares and Perplexity of Mind, he went to the Church of St. *Michael* to hear Evening-Prayers, and while he was at his Devotion, an ancient Man came in, his Amber-colour'd Locks hanging down upon his Shoulders, his Forehead high, and inclining to Baldneſs, his Garment of Azure Colour, ſomewhat long girded about him with a Towel, of a comely and Reverend Aſpect. Having enquir'd for the King, he intruded himſelf into the Crowd, paſſing through 'till he came to him, with a Clowniſh Simplicity, leaning over the Canon's Seat, where the King ſate, *Sir*, (ſaid he) *I am ſent hither to entreat you for this Time to delay your Expedition, and to proceed no farther in your intended Journey: For if you do, ye ſhall not proſper in your Enterprize, nor any of your Followers. I am farther charg'd to warn you, if you be ſo refractory as to go forward, not to uſe the Acquaintance, Company or Counſel of Women, as ye tender your Honour, Life and Eſtate.* After this Warning, he withdrew himſelf back again into the Crowd. When Service was ended, the King enquir'd earneſtly for him, but he could no where be found, neither could any of the By-ſtanders (of whom diverſe did narrowly obſerve him, meaning afterwards to have diſcourſed further with him) feel or perceive how, when, or where he paſs'd from them, having as it were vaniſh'd among their Hands.

A ſtrange Apparition, forbidding the King to proſecute his Expedition againſt *England*.

After this Army had muſter'd in the *Borrow-moor* of *Edinburgh* (a Field then ſpacious and delightful by the Shades of many ſtately and aged Oaks) about the midſt of the Night, a Proclamation was heard at the Mercat-Croſs of the Town, *Summoning a great many Burgeſſes, Gentlemen, Barons and Noblemen to appear within Forty Days before the Tribunal of one* Plot-Cock: The Provoſt of the Town in his Timber Gallery having heard his own Name cited, cried out, *That he declin'd that Judicatory, and appeal'd to the Mercy of God Almighty.*

Yet the King was not mov'd with thoſe Advertiſements, thinking them Tricks contriv'd by thoſe who hated the *French*, and favour'd the *Engliſh* Faction: Being ſo boldly and to the Life perſonated, that they appall'd and ſtruck with Fear ordinary and vulgar Judgments, as Tragi-Comedies of Spirits. The Earl of *Angus* diſſwaded him from that Expedition, and many of the moſt Reverend Church-men; but that which moſt conjur'd him, was *Margaret* his Queen, who at that Time was with Child, whoſe Tears and Prayers ſhook his Reſolutions: She had acquainted him with the Viſions of her Sleep; that her Chains and Armlets appear'd to be turn'd into Pearls; ſhe had ſeen him fall from a great Precipice; ſhe had loſt One of her Eyes. When he had anſwer'd, *Theſe were but Dreams, ariſing from the many Thoughts and Cares of the Day. But it is no Dream* (ſaid ſhe) *that ye have but One Son; if otherwiſe than well happen unto you, What a lamentable Day will that be, when ye ſhall leave behind you, ſo tender and weak a Succeſſor, under the Government of a Woman, and leave for Inheritance a miſerable and bloody War? It is no Dream that ye are to fight a mighty People; now turn'd inſolent by their Riches at Home and Power Abroad: What a Folly is it to make this War yours, and to quench the Fire in your Neighbour's Houſe of* France, *to kindle and burn up your own in* Scotland? *Ye have no ſuch Reaſon to aſſiſt the* French, *as ye have to keep your Promiſes to* England, *and enjoy a Peace at Home. Though the* Engliſh *ſhould make a Conqueſt of* France, *will they take your Crown, or diſinherit their own Race, this is even as the Left Hand would cut off the Right? Should the Letters of the Queen of* France, *a Woman twice married (the firſt Half in Adultery, the laſt almoſt Inceſt) whom ye did never,*

The Queen ſollicites the King to deſiſt from the War.

nor

nor ſhall ever ſee) prove more powerful with you, than the Crie of your little Son, and mine; than the Tears, Complaints, and Curſes of the Orphans and Widows which ye are to make? If ye will go, ſuffer me to accompany you; it may be my Countrymen will prove more kind towards me, than they will to you; and for my Sake yield unto a Peace. I hear the Queen my Siſter will be with the Army in her Husband's Abſence; if we ſhall meet, who knows what GOD by our Means may bring to paſs. A. D. 1513.

The King marches into *England*.

The King anſwer'd all her Complaints with a ſpeedy March, which he made over the *Tweed*, not ſtaying till the whole Forces came to him, which were raiſing and prepar'd.

The 22d of *Auguſt* coming into *England*, he encamp'd near the Water of *Twiſel* in *Northumberland*, where at *Twiſel-haugh* he made an Act, *That if any Man were ſlain or hurt to Death by the* Engliſh, *during the time of his Abode in* England, *his Heirs ſhould have his Ward, Relief, and Marriage:* Mean time *Norham*, *Wark*, *Ford*, *Eatel*, were taken and caſt down. Amidſt this Hoſtility, the Lady *Ford* (a noble Captive) was brought in a Pity-pleading Manner, with her Daughter (a Maid of excellent Beauty) to the Camp. Not without the Earl of *Surrey*'s Direction, as many ſuppos'd; for to try the Magick of their Eloquence and Beauty upon the King, who delighted in their Company, and not only hearkned to the Diſcourſe of the Mother, but gave Way to her Counſel: Which was, if ſhe ſhould be diſmiſs'd, to ſend him true and certain Intelligence of what the *Engliſh* would attempt, by taking her away to their Camp: But in Effect prov'd the winning of Time to the Earl of *Surrey*, and the loſing of Occaſion to him. Her few Days Stay bred in him a Kind of Careleſſneſs, Sloth, and Delay, a Neglect, and, as it were, a Forgetfulneſs of his Army and Buſineſs: He being eighteen Days in *England*, in a Territory not very fertile, had conſum'd much Proviſion, the Soldiers began to want Neceſſaries, and a Number in the Night by blind Paths return'd to their own Country: In a ſhort time, only the Noblemen and their Vaſſals attending the King, requeſted him not to ſpend more Time in that barren Soil, but to turn their Forces againſt *Berwick*, which Town was of more Importance than all the Hamlets and poor Villages of *Northumberland*: Neither was it impregnable or difficult to be taken, the Town and Caſtle being no Ways provided and furniſh'd to endure a Siege.

The Lady *Ford*'s Treachery to the King.

The Earl of *Surrey* ſends a Challenge to King *James*.

Whilſt the King thus ſpent his Time, the Earl of *Surrey* ſent an Herald to his Camp, requiring him either to leave off the Invaſion of his Maſter's Country, and turn back, giving Satisfaction for Wrongs committed; or that he would appoint a Day and Place wherein all Differences might be ended by the Sword. This Challenge being conſider'd in Council, moſt Voices were; "That they ſhould return home, and not with ſo ſmall a Number, as re- "main'd, endanger the State of the whole Kingdom; enough being already "atchiev'd for Fame, and too much for their Friendſhip with *France*: Why "ſhould a few Soldiers, and theſe already tir'd out by forcing of Strengths "and throwing down Caſtles, be hazarded againſt ſuch Multitudes of the "*Engliſh*, ſupply'd lately and encreas'd with freſh Auxiliaries? *Thomas* "*Howard* Admiral, a Son of the Earl of *Surrey*, having newly brought with "him to *Newcaſtle*, out of the Army lying in *France*, five thouſand choſen "Men, and one thouſand Seamen. If they ſhould return home, the *Engliſh* "Army could not but disband, and not conveniently this Year be gather'd "again, conſiſting of Men levied from far and diſtant Places. Again, if they "ſhould be engag'd to come to a Battle, their own Country, being Fields to "them well known, would prove more commodious and ſecure to fight "upon, than *Engliſh* Ground, beſides the Opportunity of furniſhing and "providing the Camp with all Neceſſaries at leſs Charges." The *French* Ambaſſador and others of his Faction remonſtrated to the King, "What a "ſhameful Retreat he would make, if at the Deſire of the Enemy he re- "turn'd, and without the Hazard of a Battle, being ſo near unto him; "that by fighting in *England*, he kept his own Country unforrag'd; and "conſum'd the Proviſion of his Enemy, which at laſt would weaken his

A. D. 1513. Which is accepted by the King.

" Forces: That for Contentment to both Armies, *Islay* a *Scottish* Herald " ſhould return with *Rouge-Croſs* the *Engliſh*, and condeſcend upon a Day, " promiſing them in the mean time, to tarry till the Cauſe were decided in " a Battle.

The Day ſet and appointed by the Heralds, in which the two Armies ſhould have join'd, being come, and the *Engliſh* not appearing, nor any for them, the Nobles again reſorted to the King, and ſhew'd, " How, by the " Slight of the Enemy, Matters were prolong'd and delay'd from one Day " to another: The *Engliſh* Forces daily encreaſing, whilſt the *Scottiſh* wore " away, and waxed fewer; that Slight ſhould be oppos'd to Slight; the " Day deſign'd by the Heralds not being kept, it would be no Reproach to " them to turn home without Battle; or, if retiring, to fight upon their " own Ground. If this Counſel pleas'd him not, but that he would there " give them Battle, the next was to ſtudy all Advantages for Victory, either " by Stratagem, or the Odds and Furtherance of the Place of Fight; where " the *Cheviet* Hills decline towards the plainer Fields ariſing behind them " with their high Tops, with beſt Ordnance ſhould be fortify'd; the Water " of *Till* running deep and fordleſs upon the Right-hand, and but paſſable at " the Bridge, the firſt Companies of the Enemy being paſs'd; before they " could be reliev'd and ſuccour'd by their Followers, the Bridge by the Ar- " tillery ſhould be beaten down, and the Enemy charg'd when they began " to paſs the Water.

The King, impatient of Counſel, anſwer'd, " Though their Number en- " creas'd to as many more as they were, he with that Remainder of his " Army would fight them. That Advantages were to be embrac'd accord- " ing to the Occaſion of the Fight, without tedious Deliberation; if any " Man was afraid he might, if he pleas'd, return home." By this ſtrange Reſolution the King imagin'd every Man in his Army had the ſame Strength, Courage, Boldneſs and Reſolution with himſelf.

This Anſwer aſtoniſh'd the Nobility, and ſince they could not perſuade him to a fair Retreat, but that he would fight, and that without the Advantage of the Bridge, being inferior in Number to the *Engliſh* (for they were reckon'd by the Scouts ſix and twenty thouſand) they fortify'd themſelves according to the Commodity of the Hill, where they lay encamp'd, with a Reſolution not to ſuffer the King to hazard his Perſon in the Battle. If Victory ſhould incline to them, their Gains were but ſmall, and Glory leſs; being but ſome few of the Nobility, and a ſmall Parcel of the Body of the State of *England*, and a Number of Yeomen, and preſs'd Horſemen, the Flower of the Kingdom being in *France*. But if they were overthrown, their Loſs would prove incomparable, yea unſpeakable; as a martial young King would be either kill'd, taken, or put to Flight: Wherefore they thought it fitting, that the King pleas'd (with ſo many as either Chance or Election might ſeparate with him) to be a Spectator of the Fortune of the Day. To this the King reply'd; " He neither wanted Ability to diſcharge the Part of " a Soldier, nor Wiſdom to command as a General, and to outlive ſo many " valiant Countrymen, would be more terrible to him than Death it ſelf." When forc'd to give Way for his perſonal Preſence in the Field, they appointed ſome to be array'd in like Furniture of Arms, and a like Guard as the King; to perſonate him in ſundry intended Quarters of the Field, that the Enemy ſhould not ſet One Man as their chief Mark, from whoſe Death the Victory and Concluſion of the War might depend: And if the King ſhould fall, the Army would not loſe Courage, nor be brought to believe he were loſt, ſo long as they ſaw a General, with his Cognizance and Guard preſent and near them to be a Witneſs of their Valour and Atchievements, as not long before, at the Battle of *Fornou* in *Italy*, had been practis'd by the *French* to their King, *Charles*.

By this Time the Earl of *Surrey*, with the Power of the North of *England*, was come within three Miles of the Place, where the *Scottiſh* Army was encamp'd, and perceiving he could not but with great Diſadvantage fight them, he

he ſent an Herald, requiring the King to come forth of Strength, to ſome indifferent Ground, where he would be ready to encounter him. The King being forward to condeſcend to this Requeſt, the Lords cry'd out, "It was "Madneſs to accept of Opportunity of fighting from his Enemies, and to "ſet all at a main Chance according to their Appointment, it being their "Advantage to prolong Time, and trifle with him, in whoſe Camp there "was already Scarcity of Victuals, which ere long might put him to ſuch a "Stand, that he ſhould not know well what to do. Neither was it likely he "could be furniſh'd from the inner Parts of the Country, by reaſon of the "tireſome Ways for Carriages to paſs, after the falling of ſo great and con-"tinued Rains, and the ſoftning of the Ground: That by ſitting ſtill, and "committing nothing to Fortune, he might have his Enemy at his Pleaſure; "if they dared aſſail him, at their Perils be it: He wanted nothing but Pa-"tience to be victorious. A. D. 1513.

The *Scots* keeping their Trenches, the Earl endeavour'd to draw them out, and the ninth of *September*, he remov'd his Camp, and march'd towards the ſame Hill of *Flowden* where they lay encamp'd; his Van-guard with the Cannon paſs'd the Water of *Till* at *Twiſel*-Bridge, the Reerward going over at *Mylnford*. King *James* ſeeing them paſs the Water, imagin'd they meant to win a Hill between his Camp and them; to prevent which (ſetting Fire to the Cabbins rais'd of Boughs, Trees, and Reeds) he remov'd to another Hill, before the *Engliſh* could obſerve his Motion, the Smoke darkning the Air between the two Armies. Whilſt the *Scottiſh* Army was removing, the *Engliſh* advanc'd to the Foot of *Flowden*-Hill, by which they had double Advantage, the *Scots* Ordnance could not much annoy them, they marching upwards, and under the Level thereof; again, by their Shot, they might eaſily gall their Enemies as they came downwards upon them. The fatal Battle of *Flowden*.

The fatal Hour of the Battle approaching, the *Engliſh* drew up in good Order Six and twenty thouſand Men, in two Battles, either of which was equal in Number to the whole *Scottiſh* Army. *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Admiral, had the Van-guard, of which Sir *Edmund Howard* his Brother led one of the Wings, and Sir *Marmaduke Conſtable* the other; the Lords *Dacres* and *Clifford*, with Sir *Edward Stanley* kept the Rear; the Earl of *Surrey* with *Latymer*, *Scroop*, and Sir *Stephen Bull* kept the main Battle. The *Scots* by their ſmall Number, not being able to order many Battalions, marſhal'd themſelves in four, three of which ſhould enter in Fight, and the fourth to attend for Supply. The King kept the middle or main Battle; *Alexander Gordon* Earl of *Huntley* had the right Wing of the Van; the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſe* led the other, with the Lord *Hume*. The third Army was guided by *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, where *Mackenzie* and *Macklean* were with their *Highlanders*. *Adam Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell* with his Friends and the Flower of the Gentry of *Lothian*, kept off for ſudden Diſpatches and Chances of the Battle. The Form of the *Scots* Army.

The Earl of *Huntley* march'd down the Hill, where they encamp'd, near the Foot of *Branxtown*, and encounter'd that Part of the *Engliſh* Hoſt which was led by Sir *Edmund Howard*, which after a furious and long Fight he put to Flight, and ſo eagerly purſu'd the Advantage, that Sir *Edmund* had either been kill'd or taken, if he had not been reſcued by the Lord *Dacres*. The Battalion which the Earls of *Lennox* and *Argyle* led (being *Highlandmen*) encourag'd with the firſt Glance of Victory, looſing their Ranks, abandoning all Order (for all that the *French* Ambaſſador *la Motte*, by Signs, Threatnings and Clamours, could do to hold them) broke furiouſly upon the Enemy, by whom they were not only valiantly receiv'd, but, by Sir *Edward Stanley*'s traverſing the Hill, enclos'd, and cut down at their Backs. The middle Brigade, which the King led, with which now the Earl of *Bothwell* with the Power of *Lothian* was join'd, fought it out couragiouſly Man to Man, Numbers upon either Side falling, till the Darkneſs of the Night forc'd, as it were by Conſent of both, a Retreat: Neither of them underſtanding the Fortune of the Day, or unto whom the Victory appertain'd.

A. D. 1513.

The King with many of the *Scots* Nobility ſlain.

Beſides the Loſs of ſo valiant a Prince, many brave *Scots* did here fall, eſteem'd to be above five thouſand, of the nobleſt and worthieſt Families of the Kingdom: Who choſe rather to die, than outlive their King and Countrymen. The King's Natural Son *Alexander* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Biſhop of the Iſles, the Abbots of *Incheffray* and *Killwinning*, the Earls of *Crawford*, *Morton*, *Argyle*, *Lennox*, *Errol*, *Caithneſs*, *Bothwell*, *Athole*, the Lords *Elphinſton*, *Erskin*, *Forbes*, *Roſs*, *Lovet*, *Sinclair*, *Maxwell*, with his three Brothers, *Semple*, *Borthwick*; Numbers of Gentlemen, as *Balgony*, *Blackader*, *Bothard*, Sir *Alexander Seton*, *Mackenzie*, with *Macklean*, *George* Maſter of *Angus*, and Sir *William Dowglaſs* of *Glenberry*, with ſome two hundred Gentlemen of their Name and Vaſſals were here ſlain.

The *Engliſh* left few leſs upon the Place, but moſt Part of them being of the common Sort of Soldiers, and Men of no great Mark, compar'd with ſo many Nobles kill'd: But by the Loſs of ſo good and valiant a King, Number was not eſteem'd, nor the Loſs thought any thing of.

The Companies of the Lord *Hume* had reſerv'd themſelves all the Time of the Fight, keeping their firſt Order; and, when by the Earl of *Huntley*, he was requir'd to relieve the Battallion where the King fought, he is ſaid to have anſwer'd, *That that Man did well that Day who ſtood and ſav'd himſelf.* And after the Retreat, his Followers are ſaid to have gather'd a great Booty of the Spoils of the Slaughter'd. This Fight began *September* the 9th, about four of the Clock Afternoon, *Anno* 1513, and continued three Hours.

About the Dawning of next Morning, the Lord *Dacres* with his Troops came to view the Field, and ſeeing the brazen Ordnance of the *Scots* not tranſported, with moſt Part of the fallen Bodies not rifled, ſent ſpeedy Advertiſement to the *Howards* and the penſive Army; ſet up Trophies, and tranſported the great Ordnance to *Berwick*, amongſt which were ſeven Culverins, of like Size and Make, call'd the *Seven Siſters*.

Divers Reports of the Fortune of the King are ſpread, without affirming any thing for certain, only what Fame hath publiſh'd: The *Engliſh* hold that he was kill'd in this Battle; the *Scots*, that many in like Arms, with the like Guards, were kill'd, every one of which was held for the King: Amongſt others *Alexander* Lord *Elphinſton*, his Favourite, who had married *Elizabeth Barley*, one of the Dames of Honour of Queen *Margaret*. He was a Man not unlike to the King in Face and Stature, and repreſenting him in Arms in the Field, with the valianteſt and moſt couragious of the Army fought it out, and acting Heroically his Part, as a King, was kill'd, Heaps of ſlaughter'd Bodies environing his. In the Search where the Fight was, the Number, Talneſs, and Furniture of the dead Bodies being obſerv'd, their Faces and Wounds view'd, his Body, as if it yet breath'd Majeſty, was amidſt the others, acknowledg'd for his Maſter's, and brought to *Berwick* and embalm'd. That it was not the Body of the King, the Girdle of Iron, which he ever wore, which then was not found about him, gave ſome Doubts. Some have recorded, That the Fortune of the Day inclining to the *Engliſh*, four tall Men mounted upon luſty Horſes, wearing upon the Points of their Launces, for Cognizances, Streamers, mounted the King on a Sorrel Steed, and convoy'd him far from the Place of Fight, and that he was ſeen beyond the *Tweed*, between *Kelſo* and *Duns*. After which, what became of him is uncertain. Many hold, he was kill'd in the Caſtle of *Hume*, either by the Intelligence between the *Engliſh* and the Lord *Hume*'s Kindred, or out of Fear (for they were at the Slaughter of the King's Father, and the moſt violent in that Fight) or of Hopes of great Fortunes, which would follow Innovations, and the Confuſion of the State, being Men who liv'd beſt in a troubl'd Commonwealth and upon the Borders.

One *Carr*, a Follower of the Lord *Hume*'s, that ſame Night the Battle was fought, thruſt the Abbot of *Kelſo* out of his Abbacy; which he never durſt attempt, had the King been alive. Another, *David Carbreath*, in the Time of *John* the Governor, vaunted, That however *John* wronged the *Humes*, he was one of Six who had abated the Inſolence of King *James*, and brought him

him to know he was mortal. To theſe is added, that the Governor *John*, not long hereafter, did cut off the Heads of the Lord *Hume* and his Brother, without any known great Cauſe. The common People believ'd he was living, and had paſs'd over the Seas, and, according to his Promiſe, viſited the holy Sepulchre in *Paleſtine*: And that there, for his other Offences, and the bearing of Arms againſt his Father, in Prayers and Pennance, he ſpent the Remainder of his Days: That he would return again when he found Opportunity, and the Neceſſity of *Europe* requir'd him. This Report was of as great Truth, as that which the *Britons* have of the Return of their King *Arthur*, and the *Burgundians* not long before conceiv'd of their Duke *Charles*, after the Battle of *Nancy*, moſt of them believing he had eſcaped from the Conflict. *A. D.* 1513.

This King was of a vigorous Conſtitution, his Stature being neither too tall, nor too low, of a pleaſant Countenance, and pregnant Wit; but by the Faults of the Times in which he liv'd, not poliſh'd with Letters. He excell'd in Horſemanſhip, Fencing and Shooting. By much Watching, ſlender Diet, and Uſe, he was enabled to endure all Extremities of Weather, Scarcity, and Want of Reſt, with good Health of Body. King *James* the IVth's Character.

He was juſt in giving Judgment, in puniſhing Malefactors ſevere, yet tractable and moderate. With the Peril of ſome few, he reſtrain'd Vices, and rather ſhook the Sword than ſtruck with it. He knew there were ſome Things, which though Princes might, yet they ought not to do. He was eaſy of Acceſs, moſt courteous in Speech, and meek in anſwering every Man. He was ſo far from being overtaken with Anger, or other violent Paſſions, that he was never obſerv'd to have given an evil or diſobliging Word to any; or that the Colour of his Face changed by any Offence offer'd him, or Informations given him, relying without Paſſion upon his own Magnanimity.

He was of a free and liberal Diſpoſition, far from any Oſtentation. As he underſtood well the Art of giving, ſo he uſed prudent Means to acquire what was wanting to ſupply his own Occaſions.

Tho' he delighted more in *Mars* than the *Muſes*, he was a great Admirer and Advancer of learned Men. *William Elphinſton*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, builded, by his Liberality, the College of *Aberdeen*, and named it *The King's College*, by Reaſon of thoſe Privileges and Rents the King beſtow'd upon it.

His Generoſity did ſhew itſelf in not delivering of *Perkin Warbeck*: He truſted much, and had great Confidence in his Nobility, and govern'd by Love, and not by Fear.

He was ſomewhat addicted to Actions of Raſhneſs, and was ſo infected with that Crime, (the Deſire of Fame) which the Ambitious take for Virtue, that he preferr'd it to his own Life, and the Peace of his Subjects.

He had Children, *James* and *Arthur*, who died Infants; *James* who ſucceeded him; *Alexander*, born after his Death, who died young; *Alexander*, a natural Son, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, ſo much admired and regretted by *Eraſmus*; *Margaret*, by a Daughter of the Lord *Drummond*, married to the Earl of *Huntley*, and *James* Earl of *Murray*.

This good (tho' unfortunate) King was ſlain in the Twenty Fifth Year of his Reign, and Thirty Ninth of his Age, being in the Year of our Redemption 1513, and was ſucceeded by his Son *James*, who was then an Infant.

JAMES V. *The* 106 *King of* Scotland.

JAMES V. the Son of King *James* IV. was crown'd at *Stirling*, the 24th Day of *February*, 1514, being then but One Year, Five Months, and Ten Days of Age. The late King having in his Will and Teſtament (made before that unhappy Expedition) appointed, that in caſe of his Death, the Queen ſhould have the Regency of the Kingdom, and the Tutelage of her *A. D.* 1514. *James* V. crown'd.

A. D. 1514. Son while she continued a Widow, which Will being publickly read, the Queen was invested with the Regal Power by the Consent of the chief Counsellors of the Realm; as they were willing to fulfil their late Sovereign's Will, and likewise consider'd that she having the Government of the Kingdom, might prevail with her Brother *Henry* King of *England*, to forbear prosecuting the War against the Nation. The Queen being establish'd in the Government, and having all due Respect and Obedience paid her by the Subjects, she wrote to her Brother, the King of *England*, "That out of Compassion to "the Tears and Prayers of a Widow, his Sister, and of his Nephew, who "was an Orphan, he would not only cease from prosecuting the War against "*Scotland* (which then was at War against itself by such Divisions) but "would by his Courage and Valour defend her, and the Infant her Son, from "any Injuries offer'd by Foreign Enemies from Abroad, or factious Nobility "at Home." To which King *Henry* return'd Answer, "That with the "Peaceable he would entertain Peace, and with the Turbulent, War. If "the *Scots* would live peaceably, they should enjoy it for his Part; but if "they would rather fight, he would not refuse them: That the King her "Husband had fallen by his own Rashness, and too great Love for *France*. "He regretted his Death as an Ally, therefore would forbid all Hostility, "against *Scotland*, during the Minority of her Son:" Whereupon, they made a Truce for one Year, so that they might have Time to accommodate their Affairs to conclude Peace for a longer Time.

The Queen takes the Government upon her.

Peace for one Year agreed between *Scotland* and *England*.

After the Queen had been appointed Governess of the Kingdom, there happen'd great Contention about the Election of the Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s, in the Room of *James Stewart*, who was slain in the late Battle of *Flodenfield*. Those that stood up for the Primacy, were *Andrew Forman*, Bishop of *Bourges*, and Bishop of *Murray* in *Scotland*, and then Legate to Pope *Julius*; *Gawin Dowglass*, Bishop of *Dunkell*, Uncle to the Earl of *Angus*, and *John Hepburn*, Prior of St. *Andrew*'s. *Gawin Dowglass* was presented by the Queen, *Andrew Forman* by the Pope, and *John Hepburn* was chosen by the Chapter and Canons; as also his Election was favour'd by several of the Nobility, and they insisted on it as his Due, so that none durst take upon them to publish the Pope's Bull in favour of *Andrew Forman*, 'till *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, the Lord Chamberlain and Warden of the East Marches, was prevail'd upon to engage his Interest among his Relations, Vassals and Tenants, and having secur'd the Abbacy of *Coldingham* for his younger Brother *David*, he, with a strong Party, went to the Mercat-Cross of *Edinburgh*, and made open Proclamation of the Bull; which unexpected Action provoked the Prior, and all of the Name of *Hepburn*, to Plot against the *Humes*. They set up *William Elphingston*, the Bishop of *Aberdeen*, against *Andrew Forman*, but that reverend Prelate being so far advanced in Years, that he would not accept of any Alteration of Life, 'till his eternal Change; which happen'd about that Time: He departed this Life at *Edinburgh*. This Bishop, with the Assistance of the late glorious Prince, King *James* IV. founded the College of *Aberdeen*, and endow'd it with as ample Privileges as any University in *Europe*. 'Tis said, That in the old Town or City of *Aberdeen*, where this College was founded, there was, in the Reign of King *Alexander* II. Anno 1210. a Place of Study, call'd *Studium Generale in Collegio Canonicorum*, where there were Professors and Doctors of Divinity, as also of the Canon and Civil Laws.

Competitors for the Primacy of St. *Andrew*'s.

Andrew Forman is declar'd Archbishop, by the Lord *Hume*'s Party

The University of *Aberdeen* when founded.

The beforemention'd Contest of the Churchmen for the Primacy, being carried to such a Height, it created great Strife among the Nobility, so that they were strangely dissatisfy'd at one anothers Power or Preferments in the Government. For, as *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, had great Power, and sway'd all the bordering Countries; so *Alexander* Lord *Gordon*, had great Power over all the northmost Part of the Country: And at the same Time, The Earl of *Angus*, who was no less powerfull than they, went another Way to work: For finding the Queen young, and inclin'd to live single, he was the more assiduous in tendering his Services, which were not unac-

unacceptable at that Time, as ſhe found the Nation ſo divided into Factions, and her own Party not the ſtrongeſt. *A. D.* 1514.

Mean Time, *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, being the neareſt in Blood to the King, could not but be offended to ſee every Nobleman ſet up for the firſt or greateſt Man of the Nation, whilſt his own Relation to the King, and Superiority, in many Reſpects, were neglected, and the Nation like to ſuffer by the Diviſions of turbulent and evil-diſpoſed Perſons; but yet he was ſo much inclin'd to Peace, and regarded the Welfare of the Publick ſo duly, that he laid no Claim to any Power, in either the Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Government.

While the Nation was thus divided, the Queen was delivered of a Son (being with Child at the Death of the late King) in the Caſtle of *Stirling*; who was baptized by the Name of *Alexander*, by the Biſhop of *Caithneſs*, aſſiſted by the Arch-Dean of St. *Andrew*'s, and the Abbot of *Dumfermling*. When the Queen was recover'd to her Strength, ſhe found the Nobility were ſo factious, that ſhe enjoy'd only the Name of Governeſs, while they govern'd the State acccording to their Inclinations; nor did they ſeem to ſhew any Obedience to her Authority, nor even acknowlege her to have the Protection of the King her Son. Amidſt this Perplexity, ſhe reſolv'd to marry ſome noble Perſon of Power, whoſe Intereſt being join'd with Her, might be more able to curb the Inſolence of the other Factions, ſince She found that all the Means She had uſed could not prevail with them to become obedient to the Laws and Government of the Nation. When She had thus reſolved; none could be more acceptable to Her than the Earl of *Angus*, who had ſome Hopes, and was always the more reſpectful in his Behaviour to the Queen: And as his Services, and other recommending Qualifications (no Doubt) had created real Love, beſides the Conſideration of Intereſt, ſhe was impatient of Delay: Therefore, without acquainting her Brother, King *Henry* of *England*, or any of her forreign Relations, ſhe married him privately, without the Conſultation of many of the Nobility. No ſooner was this Marriage reveal'd, than the other Noblemen and Gentry, divided into two ſtrong Factions; the one being for the Queen and the *Dowglaſſes*, and the other againſt them. The *firſt* would have the Government continu'd in the Queen and the Earl of *Angus*; but the other pleaded; *The Laws, and the late King's Will and Teſtament, againſt the Queen, as ſhe was then married.* The Lord *Hume*, who, beſides his being Lord Chamberlain, having great Power and many Followers, was the chief Perſon of the Faction that oppoſed the Queen, more than before ſhe was married, for he was an Oppoſite to the Earl of *Angus*: So now he urg'd the Election of a new Governor; which, when firſt mention'd, many gave their Voices for the Earl of *Arran*, as being near in Blood to the King, and a Man affecting Peace more than others, and every Way ſufficient for ſuch a Charge. But the Chamberlain had determin'd on another; and told it was a Wrong, to bar from ſo high an Honour, a Man of the maſculine Line in Blood to the King, and prefer one of the feminine. *John* Duke of *Albany*, Son to *Alexander*, the Brother of King *James* III, before all others, by all Reaſon ſhould be preferred to the Government. Being demanded if he would be firſt, to give Example to others, by ſetting his Hand to this Election; he without pauſing, perform'd it, with a Proteſtation, *That tho' the reſt of the Nobility oppoſed it, as to his coming into* Scotland *to accept the Government, he alone would go to* France, *charge him with it, be his Convoy hither, and maintain his Title.* Thus he was thought to have done, for that deſpairing to reach and obtain this Dignity himſelf, out of Emulation, he laid a Deſign, that none of the other Nobles of the Kingdom ſhould have it; affecting rather to give a Stranger the Place, than a Competitor, bringing in the *French* to equal the Ballance, as Principal, himſelf only as Acceſſory, nothing doubting of a chief Place in State, as well for his Forwardneſs in this Election, as for the Neceſſity of his Service, which the *French* could not well want: He feared alſo, if the Faction of the *Dowglaſſes* prevail'd, the

The Queen marries the Earl of *Angus*.

A. D. 1514. Greatneſs of the Earl of *Angus* would be an Umbrage to his, and leſſen and impair it; their Lands and Fortunes lying near to other, as that the Queen by her Power in *England*, would croſs his Projects.

The King of *England* had ſent a Letter to the Lords of *Scotland* (as he had done to the *French* King for that ſame Effect) remonſtrating, how dangerous it was for the Sate of *Scotland*, and the young King, if they ſhould make Choice of the Duke of *Albany*.

John Duke of *Albany* elected Governor.

Notwithſtanding all which, through Ambition, Malice, Envy of others, and Diſcords among themſelves, they made Choice of this Gentleman, a Stranger by his Education and Birth, ignorant of the Nature and Manners of the *Scots*; whoſe Father was baniſh'd for Treaſon againſt his Brother, and died unreſtored; one altogether devoted to the *French* King, and an Enemy to the *Engliſh*; not caring to keep the Country of *Scotland* in Wars and Troubles, ſo he might defend the *French* Nation, by making the *Scots* fight their Battles.

After many private Letters from his Friends in *Scotland* (eſpecially from the Chamberlain) inviting him to come Home, and accept his new Dignity, the Duke at laſt was required by the States, and Lyon King of Arms was directed to him, to acquaint him with their Proceedings, and make him forward on his Way. He, to endear his coming, and make himſelf the more deſired of the People, excuſing his Stay for a While (which he laid upon the Treaty of Peace, which was then to be agreed upon between *England* and *France*, by the Marriage of *Lewis* the *French* King, with *Mary* the youngeſt Siſter of *Henry* King of *England*, which requir'd his Preſence) he ſent Home Lyon King at Arms with Letters from the *French* King, with Sir *Anthony Darcey*, called *le Sieur de la Beaute*. This Man propoſed certain Conditions, which the Duke required: *As what ſhould be the Form of his Government, his Guards, what Caſtles ſhould be delivered to him for Garriſons; the reſtoring his Patrimony and Father's Dignities to him.* Which Particularities being condeſcended unto, the Caſtle of *Dunbar* was inſtantly delivered to be kept for a *French* Garriſon at the Duke's coming; and Sir *Patrick Hamilton*, Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, *James Ogilvy* Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, with the King at Arms, were ſent back again. After their Arrival, the Duke of *Albany*, being furniſh'd with all Neceſſaries by the *French* King, with eight well rigg'd Ships took the Seas, and in the Month of *May*, arriv'd on the Weſt-coaſts of *Scotland*, from whence, with a great Retinue of the Nobles and Barons of the Country, by eaſy Journies, the Queen meeting him, he came to the Town of *Edinburgh*. In the Parliament which had been prorogu'd for his coming, the Duke accepted the Government of the Kingdom, and gave his Oath of Fidelity to the King and Country, and the three Eſtates gave their Oath of Obedience to him: And both ſwore, *That in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, neither ſhould be deficient to others.* And he was reſtor'd to all his Father's Inheritance, Titles and Honours: Being declar'd Duke of *Albany*, Earl of *March*, and Governour of the Kingdom till the King's full Maturity. Many Laws were made for the Weal of the Kingdom, and to gratify his Lineage, *James* the natural Son of *James* IV. is created Earl of *Murray*.

He arrives in *Scotland*.

At the Preſence of this new Governour, the Face of the State turn'd more beautiful, and the Court more Royal; Oppreſſion ſeem'd to be reſtrain'd, Juſtice ſincerly executed, the Court frequented with good and virtuous Men, and Malefactors and baſe Perſons baniſh themſelves. He maketh a Progreſs to all the notable Towns of the Kingdom, ſeeing Crimes puniſhed, and Faults ammended. Being a Stranger, and not throughly acquainted with the municipal Laws and particular Practices of the Country, in great and important Matters, he proceedeth by the Inſtructions and Informations of ſome choice Men of the Nation: Eſpecially, ſince he was not infinite to liſten to the Advice of every one, he gave himſelf to hearken and follow the Opinion and Counſel of *John Hepburn* Prior of St. *Andrew*'s; whoſe Judgment in his greateſt Difficulties, he receives as an Oracle. This Man being rich with

Courtly,

Courtly Eloquence; and by Pretence of Knowledge of the Affairs of the Kingdom and State (neither in ſome Things did err) at firſt being very familiar with the Duke, and in a little Time after, by ſome of his choice Servants, became his only Counſellour, and almoſt poſſeſſed alone his Judgment and Ear. He informed him of the Strength and Riches of the Country, of the Nature of the People, and Manner of their Laws; and reveal'd to him many Secrets of the Government. He gave him a Catalogue of the whole deadly Fewds and Diviſions amongſt the Noblemen and Gentry, ſhewing him which were inveterate, and had long continued, and which were recent, and upon what Accidents they had their Beginnings. How in proſecuting Revenge in them, they cared not how innocent any Man was, if he were of the Name and Alliance, but rather thought the more innocent any Man was, the more it teſtify'd their Spite, which they deſir'd to manifeſt by taking him away. He ſhew'd him what Factions were in the Kingdom, who ſway'd them, and were the Heads. He told him the *Scots* were a violent fierce People, mutinouſly proud, and knew not whom to obey without the Sword were drawn. That they were not abſolutely govern'd by their own Kings themſelves, far leſs would they be rul'd by him who was but a Governor, and half a Stranger. King *James* I. they had kill'd; they had made a League againſt King *James* II.; in open Battle they had overthrown King *James* III.; and the laſt King was, by beſt Judgments, thought to have been ſecretly taken away. Here (calling to mind the proclaiming of the Archbiſhop *Andrew Forman*'s Bull) he omitted nothing could derogate from the Chamberlain's Reputation and Honour, and breed an evil Opinion of him in the Governor. He inſtructed him, how the great Houſes of *Scotland* were ſo join'd and link'd together, by Kindred, Alliances, and Bond of Service, that no Gentleman of any Quality, although a Malefactor and a guilty Perſon, could be preſented to Juſtice without ſome Stir, Commotion, or Tumult of the Grandees and their factious Friends. Amidſt ſo many ſtrong Parties and Confederate Malecontents, the Governor by the Power of the *Scots* themſelves, and his own Kindred, Friends and Followers, was not powerful enough ſafely to adminiſter Juſtice. For which Cauſe, the King of *France* ſhould be implor'd to ſend hither competent Forces to quell the Inſolences, and ſhake the Pride of the factious Nobles. The Heads of the Factions, which had a principal Sway in the Kingdom at that Time, would either be cut off, or kept under, but with ſuch Cunning and Dexterity, that it ſhould not be perceiv'd nor found out. That many were aim'd at and intereſs'd when ſome few did ſuffer and fall. That for the preſent, there were three Heads to be look'd unto, as fear'd, and like to bring Innovations in the State, being Men able to change the preſent Government.

A. D. 1513.

The Prior of St. *Andrew*'s becomes a great Favourite of the Governor,

His Information to the Governor.

The Earl of *Angus*, a Man in the Prime of his Youth, of high-flying Thoughts by his Alliance with the King of *England*, and that Eſtimation the People conceiv'd of him by the Merits of his Anceſtors, and the ſingular Love the Subjects bare him, carried a Mind above the Fortune of a private Man, and ſeem'd not born to live a Subject's Life; each Action of his bearing in it Majeſty and Magnificence; he had Power to hurt if he would attempt.

The Lord Chamberlain, a Man unpoliſh'd, ſtubbornly ſtout, hazardous, mighty in Riches and Power, and conſequently proud; of a working Mind and vehement Spirit, whom Time and Experience had hardned by great Exploits and dangerous Actions, who had had the Malice to be a Spectator of the Diſcomfiture of his Prince and Countrymen at *Flowden*, was likely to attend the Opportunity of Traverſes and Changes.

The third was the Archbiſhop *Andrew Forman*, once Secretary to the Pope, who, though he was not of any noble Stem or Deſcent of Blood, nor for his Followers, Friends and Adherents much to be taken Notice of or fear'd, yet conſidering him as his Legateſhip, Plurality of Benefices, many Penſions from Princes, had guilded him over; and ballancing him by his preſent Treaſure, he could make a weak Party ſtrong, and add Weight to

A. D. 1517. what Side ſoever he inclin'd. He was therefore with piercing Eyes to be look'd into, and all his Actions and Ways to be obſerv'd.

The Governor gave no great Attention to what the Prior had inſtructed againſt the Archbiſhop, having before had ſome Knowledge of the Grudge, and Enmity between them. And he was conſcious the Archbiſhop's Riches were above Envy; he having been ever more ſollicitous magnificently to ſpend what he had acquir'd, than to hoord up. Neither did he beſtow ſo much upon any of his Countrymen, as he did upon the *French*, the Friends and Servants of the Governor. He knew he was alſo ſo circumſpect, as not to adhere to any of the Factions of the Time, in a Neutrality indifferently and friendly entertaining all his Compatriots.

Nor was he much mov'd at his Information concerning the Earl of *Angus*, finding him a Man peaceable, courteous to all and affable; and though of aſpiring Thoughts, carried often away with his private Delights and Courtly Pleaſures.

But what the Prior inform'd againſt the Lord Chamberlain he deeply ingrav'd in his Memory, and ever after his Countenance betray'd certain Signs of conceal'd Diſcontent. Neither did he thereafter ſhew him wonted Favours; which the Chamberlain obſerving, and gueſſing at the Change of the Governor's Mind towards him by more than ordinary Evidences and Signs, He having been the only Man who wrought his Advancement and coming to *Scotland*, his Deſerts now being either forgot or ungratefully remembred, full of Grief and Diſdain, he retir'd from the Court to his own Caſtles; where, when he had reſted a while, half aſtoniſh'd to ſee his Hopes ſo fruſtrated, he took new Reſolutions, to govern, or quit. Hereafter he left no Means untried to become entire with the Queen and her Husband, and by Obſervance and frequent Meeting with them, he wrought himſelf not only to be imbrac'd as their Friend, but as their Counſellor, and one in whom they had greateſt Confidence. He many times with them dep'or'd the publick Calamity, when his own Particular only ſtung him, accuſing him elf of his too much Forwardneſs in calling home a Man born an Exile, whoſe Father died baniſh'd for his Ambition, and had eſſay'd to take the Crown from his eldeſt Brother. "Since this Man was the neareſt of Blood to ſucceed, "who could not perceive his laſt Work would be the making away the in- "nocent Child, his Pupil, to aſcend the Royal Throne himſelf; in the "Height of Malice accompliſhing what his Father, out of a Deſire to rule, "did project? By his tender Years the King could not underſtand nor pre- "vent his Danger, his Mother might and ſhould anticipate it, that new "Neceſſities requir'd new Remedies; only one poſtern Gate remain'd yet "open, which was, that the Queen would tranſport her Son to *England*, and "truſt herſelf, and what ſhe held deareſt, to the Faith and Protection of her "Brother.

When this Plot was whiſper'd to the Governor, who wanted not his own Emiſſaries among the Queen's Attendants, it was no ſooner reveal'd than believ'd, and no ſooner believ'd, when (being a forward and vehement Man, and who us'd Celerity in all his Actions) with as many Men as Haſte could ſuffer him to gather, forthwith he march'd at Midnight from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling*; there unawares he ſurpriz'd the Caſtle, and in it the Queen with her two Sons. A Council being aſſembl'd, the King with his Brother *Alexander* were ſequeſter'd from their Mother, and truſted to the Cuſtody of four Lords, who by Turns ſhould attend the two Princes, and have a Care of their Education. That no Violence ſhould be offer'd them, certain Gentlemen of the *French* and *Scots* were appointed ſtill to wait on and guard them. From this Suſpicion, the Seeds of Enmity began to be ſown between the Queen and the Governor, which neither Time nor Wiſdom thereafter could take away.

The Governor tak s the King and his Brother from the Queen.

Amidſt this Storm at Court, the Lord Chamberlain being brought to a new Traverſe of his Thoughts, with his Brother Mr. *William Hume*, fled towards *England*;

England; the Queen with her Husband, and Sir *George Dowglaſs* his Brother, with an unexpected Suddenneſs haſte to *Tantallon*, and from thence to *Berwick*, from which they had a Convoy to the Nunnery of *Coldſtream*: Here they attended Advertiſement from the King of *England* what Courſe to follow, and know his Pleaſure. He recommended them to the Protection and Care of the Lord *Dacres*, and aſſign'd the Caſtle of *Harbottle* in *Northumberland* for his Siſter's Reſidence, during her Abode in theſe Northern Parts, and the Troubles of *Scotland*. *A. D.* 1518. The Lord Chamberlain flies to *England* with the Queen.

The Governor, not a little perplex'd at the Flight and Eſcape of thoſe Conſpirators, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Court of *England* to clear himſelf to the King, of what might be ſurmis'd againſt him concerning theſe new Strangers come to his Country. "He had done nothing which ſhould have offended "the Queen, made her afraid, or to entertain or harbour a ſiniſtrous Thought "of his Proceedings. Neither did he intend any thing againſt thoſe who had "follow'd and accompany'd her, which ſhould have mov'd them to leave "their Country; unto which if they pleas'd to return, they ſhould be wel-"come, enjoy their wonted Freedom, and keep peaceably what they had "poſſeſs'd. If they were conſcious to themſelves of any Miſdemeanor, he "would not be too preciſe in Search of it." He alſo treated by the Friends of thoſe who favour'd the *Dowglaſſes* and *Humes* to perſuade them to return, giving them fair Promiſes of obtaining what they ſhould demand: Till at laſt he mov'd them to bow and yield to his Deſires. The fugitive Gentlemen return'd; but the Queen being with Child, and near the Time of her Delivery, was neceſſitated to ſtay ſtill, till at *Harbottle*-Caſtle ſhe brought forth her Daughter *Margaret*, afterward Grandmother to *James* King of *Great Britain*. So ſoon as ſhe was able to endure Travel, and be tranſported, King *Henry*, with an honourable Retinue, brought her to his Court, where ſhe was by him and her Siſter *Mary* (late Queen of *France*) welcom'd. In *May* ſhe made her Progreſs through *London* to *Baynard*'s Caſtle, and from thence to *Greenwich*: Where, in Honour of his Siſter's coming, King *Henry* with no leſs Valour than Magnificence, kept two ſolemn Days of Tilting and Barriers. The Queen deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Contrivers of the Exploit of tranſporting the King to *England* being within the Country, and, as it were, ſecure, the Governor, whoſe Head was fill'd with Suſpicions, not thinking himſelf bound by Promiſes, will have them give a Reckoning of their Enterprize and Flight into *England*. Againſt ſome he hath clear Proofs, fair and manifeſt Evidences; againſt others bare Surmiſes and naked Suſpicions, for they had not left the Country, nor had been Partakers of the Queen's Fortunes. Here with an unexpected Suddenneſs, Mr. *Gawin Dowglaſs* Uncle to the Earl of *Angus*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and Mr. *Patrick Painther* Secretary to the late King, were committed; Mr. *Gawin* in the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, and Mr. *Patrick* in *Garvet* Caſtle. The Lord *Drummond*, Grandfather to the Earl of *Angus*, having beat a Lion Herald, who too imperiouſly and unmannerly had given him a Charge to anſwer to ſuch Things as ſhould be objected againſt him, was impriſon'd in the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*. *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, being charg'd to anſwer for his Actions and Proceedings, and not appearing, was denounc'd Rebel, and his Moveables ſeiz'd on and brought to the Exchequer: Whereupon he made Roads upon the Neighbouring Bounds, plunder'd *Dunbar*, which was the Governor's chief reſort; and to revenge his Wrongs, ſet to work the Robbers on the Borders. To repreſs and bridle this Ravaging, the Governor in Perſon, with a thouſand hardy Soldiers, march'd to the Borders, and directed ſome Companies to find out the Lord *Hume*: But he, either diſmaid at the Worth and Fortune of the Governor, or broken and bowing under the Burden of his own Miſeries, or overcome with the Requeſts of his Friends, came to the Governor, and ſubmitted his Life and Eſtate to his Faith and Clemency. Being brought to *Edinburgh*, he was truſted to the Cuſtody of *James* Earl of *Arran*, the Husband of his Siſter, with Threatnings under Pain of High Treaſon, that he ſhould not part with him, nor ſuffer him to eſcape. The Diviſions between the Governor and the Nobility.

A. D. 1518. Lord *Hume* had not long ſtaid in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, when with Gloſſes of Probabilities of Changes caſual, and ſuch as might fall out, he mov'd the Earl of *Arran* to be of his Mind, and brought him to conſpire againſt the Governor, and hazard to put himſelf in his Place of State. "He himſelf "was the only Man who had brought in the Governor, and he knew well "how to put him out, if the Earl would be of the Party, and by his Negli- "gence not reject a ſupream Honour thrown in his Arms. He begun already "not to be lov'd, if he was not already hated by the Subjects for his impe- "rious Proceedings. If the King of *England* could find but ſome few No- "blemen to make Head againſt him, he would conſtrain him to leave the "Country. The Earl of *Arran* was neareſt Heir to the King; it was more "Reaſon he ſhould be Second in the Kingdom than *John*, who, tho' deſcen- "ded of a Brother, yet was but deſcended of a baniſh'd Man, and a Stran- "ger to the *Scots* Nation, with whom they had not ſo much as Intercourſe "and Familiarity of Language." After many ſuch like Inducements, the Priſoner took away his Keepers with him to the South Parts of the Country; and both by Letters to their Familiars, Kindred, and Acquaintance, and qrivate Meetings with other Noblemen, ſtrove to make ſtrong and increaſe their Faction.

In the Beginning of the Spring *John Stewart* Earl of *Lennox*, the Siſter's Son of the Earl of *Arran*, liſted himſelf in the Party of the conſpiring Lords, and with a Number of his Friends and Followers inveſted the Caſtle of *Glaſgow*; which if they could have kept, had been a great Advancement to their Intentions: But the Governor gathering an Army of as many as Haſte would ſuffer him to aſſemble, the Defenders not being ſtrong enough to reſiſt him, recover'd the Caſtle with ſmall Loſs of his Men. After which, in Indigna- tion, he march'd to throw down the Caſtle of *Hamilton*: But here victorious Anger was conquer'd with Pity and Compaſſion: For the old Counteſs of *Arran* being at that Time there reſident (who was Daughter to King *James* II. Siſter to King *James* III. Mother to the Earl of *Arran*, Grandmother to the Earl of *Lennox*, and Aunt to the Governor) a Lady venerable for Years and Virtues, with Tears of Affection and Sorrow, falling down at the Governor's Feet, and receiv'd by him with great Commiſeration in a merciful Manner, not only preſerv'd the Caſtle, but by the Means of the Archbiſhop *Andrew Forman*, enter'd into a Treaty for Peace to her Son, and the Earl of *Lennox*. And, in *November* following, the two Earls coming to *Edinburgh*, by the Means of this Archbiſhop, were reconcil'd to the Governor, and all former Offences pardon'd. About this Time (his Mother being far from him to diſcharge the laſt Duties of Affection towards him) *Alexander* Duke of *Roth- ſay*, Brother to the King, a Child to Admiration beautiful and delightful, died at *Stirling*, and was buried in the Abby-Church of *Cambuskenneth*.

The King's Brother dies at *Stirling*.

The Term of Peace between the two Kingdoms being almoſt expir'd, and both having a Deſire to continue it, the *Engliſh* ſent their Commiſſioners to *Coldingham*, to whom the Duke, then reſiding at *Dunbar*, ſent *Monſieur du Plains* Ambaſſador for the *French* King, Sir *William Scot* of *Balvery*, and *Gavin Dunbar* Archdean of St. *Andrew*'s. Theſe, after ſome Altercation concerning the *Scottiſh* Fugitives, concluded a Peace between the Nations from the Midſt of *January* till the Feaſt of *Whitſuntide* thereafter. The *Engliſh* comprehended in the Articles the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Hume*, and the reſt of the Queens ſtray'd Faction, with all their Kinſmen, Clients and Followers. The Lord *Hume* was receiv'd again into the Governor's Favour, with Condition, that if he after broke his Promiſes and Oaths, his old Faults ſhould be remembred and join'd to his new. Mr. *Gavin Douglaſs* and Mr. *Patrick Panther* were ſet at Liberty, the Lord *Drummond*, who had been for- feited, was again reſtor'd, the Earl of *Angus* with thoſe who had follow'd him, with many Ceremonies, and great Shew of Friendſhip, was welcom'd again to the Court.

The Governor and Nobles reconcil'd

The Diſorders of the Kingdom call'd a Parliament, in which many Acts were made to reſtrain and keep under bold and wicked Men, and preſerve the

the Peace of the Kingdom. In this Parliament it was ordain'd (the King's Brother *Alexander* being deceas'd) That the Governor ſhould be reputed Second Perſon in the Realm, and next Heir to the Crown. Notwithſtanding the Claim made by *Alexander Stewart* the elder Brother of the Governor, who was begotten on a Daughter of the Earl of *Orkney*, to whom the Duke of *Albany* their Father had been lawfully join'd in Marriage before his coming to *France*; and this before the marrying of the Earl of *Bulloigne*'s Daughter, the Mother of *John* the Governor: Upon which Ground, *Alexander* had great Reaſon to make his Claim and Proteſtation as Heir to his Father. Notwithſtanding his Challenge and Bravado, *Alexander* being more fit for a Cowl than a Crown, in open Parliament gave over all Title he had to the Crown in his Brother's Favour. Whereupon to deprive him ever hereafter of lawful Succeſſion, they turn'd him Prieſt, being made Biſhop of *Murray*, and Abbot of *Scoon*. *A. D.* 1518.

A Truce being ſincerely kept with *England*, Tumults within the Country appeas'd, particular deadly Fewds and Jarrs of private Perſons either curb'd or ſmother'd up, the Governor gave himſelf ſome Weeks to his Courtly Recreations at *Falkland*, with what Paſtime ſoever he delighted, to beguile the Hours all the Day long. In the Night he was often haunted by his old Familiar the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, whom Ambition, Spite, and Malice never ſuffer'd to take any Reſt.

The Prior of St. *Andrew*'s Advice to the Governor.

This Man put in the Governor's Head, and made him believe, "That his "Endeavours and Pains heretofore would prove but vain in ſettling the Go- "vernment, and that the Peace of the Kingdom would never be laſting and "firm, if ſo dangerous a Subject as the Lord Chamberlain remain'd alive: "Whom neither Rewards could ſoften, nor Honours and Preferment oblige "and make conſtant. How many Times had he been pardon'd? How of- "ten. and without a Cauſe, had he return'd again to his former Conſpira- "cies? Should the Governor of his own Free-will, or of Neceſſity, be mo- "ved to return to *France*, what would not the Boldneſs of this Man attempt "in his Abſence, which his Authority and Preſence could never curb and "keep within Compaſs? The Life of this Man would be the Death and "total Ruin of the Peace, of the Concord and Harmony of the State, bring "forth nothing but dangerous and wicked Effects; the Violence of Ambi- "tion having pull'd him from his own Judgment. Should he be challeng'd, "and put to a Trial of his Peers, he could not ſhun the Blow of Juſtice, the "Cry of his Oppreſſion and Wrongs having reach'd Heaven. A Member "ſo often, in vain, cured and ſtill gangren'd ſhould be cut off.

The Governor being poſſeſs'd with Jealouſies, thought it no great Matter, upon the Informations he had receiv'd, to put the Chamberlain to a Trial; for if he prov'd not guilty, it would be but to leave him in that State and Caſe he was found in; and Calumnies tho' they do not burn, yet blacken. Being come to *Edinburgh*, he appointed a Convention of the Nobility, all which Time he earneſtly treated with the Friends of the Lord Chamberlain that he ſhould not be abſent, the Matters to be determin'd in Council concerning him nearly, and he having Need of his Advice and Counſel.

The Court and City being full of Whiſperings, and Expectation of ſome ſudden Change, many diſſuaded the Chamberlain from appearing; or if he appear'd, that he would leave his Brother Maſter *William* (a Man equal in Judgment and Courage to himſelf) behind. He, train'd into falſe Hopes, by the Blandiſhments of the Governor towards his Friends, and inveigl'd by Preſumption, with his Brother, and Sir *Andrew Hume*, came to Court, where they were with many Ceremonies welcom'd by the Governor, with more than ordinary Favours entertain'd, and ſhortly after all three impriſon'd, produc'd in Judgment to anſwer ſuch Things as ſhould be objected againſt them according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and ſubmitted to the Sentence of a Jury. No new Crime was laid to their Charge; *James* Earl of *Murray*, the Natural Son of the late King, accus'd the Chamberlain of the Death of his Father: Who, by many Witneſſes, was prov'd alive, and ſeen to have

The Lord Chancellor impriſon'd, and brought to Trial.

A. D. 1518. come from the Battle of *Flowden*. This by pregnant Evidences not being prov'd, he was indicted of divers other Points of Treason: And his private Faults were found out and laid against him: They renew'd the Memory of the late Stirs of State, and these Disorders, of which he was either the Author, or accessory to. *He had favour'd and maintain'd the Factions, Thefts and Robberies of wicked Malefactors on the Borders: He had not honourably nor honestly carried himself at the Battle of* Flowden, *performing neither the Duty of a Soldier nor Commander. He had suffer'd the* English *to repair, and of new fortify the Castle of* Norham, *which, without either Trouble to himself, or Danger to his Friends, he might have hinder'd.* Of every of which Points and Particulars he not clearly justifying himself, the Judges, prepar'd and directed by the Governor (whom they record to have given Information of a hainous Crime committed by the Chamberlain and his Brother, for the Odiousness of it not to be reveal'd to the People) pronounce him and his Brother guilty, and condemn'd them to have their Heads cut off. The Day following the Sentence was put in Execution, and their Heads fix'd on the most eminent Part of the Town of *Edinburgh*. Sir *Andrew Hume* of *Farnehast*, either by the Jury, being declar'd not guilty (as some have recorded) or by the corrupting of his Keepers (as others) or by the Permission of the Governor, escap'd this Danger; which brought the People to believe the Chamberlain was by his Means entrapp'd; to sink whom, he put himself in Hazard of drowning.

He with his Brother *William* are beheaded.

This Calamity of the Family of the *Humes* (being so ancient, potent and couragious) bred Terror and Astonishment in many of the other Noblemen of the Kingdom, and estrang'd their Hearts from the Governor; his Ears began to be attentive to every Rumour, and his Eyes pry'd into each Accident: At last, as if he were wearied with Wrestling with the many Disorders, and cumbersome Factions of the Country, he sought how, by some fair Way, he might for a while return to *France*. Ambassadors being sent from King *Francis* to *Scotland* to renew the ancient League between the two Nations, when the Nobles assembl'd to make Choice of the Man, on whom they should transfer the Honour of the Accomplishment of so solemn an Action. and pass to *France*, the Governor carry'd the Matter so, by Means of the *French*, that it was conferr'd on himself, but with this Condition (to entertain them with Hopes of his Return) that he should not stay above six Months out of the Country. Having obtain'd this privileg'd Absence of them, his next Care was to preserve the State from any Alterations till his Return, and to find the Government as he had left it. Hereupon, to preserve the Person of the King, he is convey'd from *Stirling* to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and trusted to the Custody of the Earl *Marishal*, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Borthwick*, two of which should always reside with him, and accompany and assist the Lord *Erskin* his constant and unremoveable Guardian. For the Government of the State he left seven Deputies in his Place, The Earls of *Arran*, *Angus*, *Huntly*, *Argyle*, and the Archbishops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glasgow*; to these was join'd Sir *Anthony Darcey le Sieur de la Beaute*, whom he had made Captain of *Dunbar*, and promoted to be, in the Lord *Hume*'s Place, Warden of the East Marches, keeping the Days of Truce and Justice-Courts. This was the Man to whom the entire Conduct of all the Governor's Affairs was intrusted, and who should give him Advertisement of what did pass in *Scotland*, during his Abode in *France*. That no Discord should arise amongst Men equal in Places and Authority (the ordinary Occasion of Division) several Shires which they should govern to every one of them are allotted. To Sir *Anthony Darcey* was destin'd the Government of the *Merse* and *Lothian*; to the other their Shares were appointed as the Convenience of their Dwelling-places, Friends and Kindred did afford them. Under Pretexts and fair Colours of Honour, and as to pass the Time, and be train'd in *French* Civility, also for the greater Magnificence, the Governor took in his Company the Earl of *Lennox*, the Lord *Gordon*, Masters of *Glencairn* and *Arran*, and other young Lords; who, in Effect, were so many

many Hoſtages, that no Stir, by their Parents, Kindred or Friends, ſhould be rais'd during his Abſence. He likewiſe under dark Shadows and far ſought Pretences, committed to ſuch Caſtles as were garriſon'd with *French* Soldiers, as *Dunbarton*, *Dunbar*, and *Garvet*, certain Barons of the South and Weſt Countries, who wanted nothing but Liberty, nor for any thing they had done, but what they might do, the Governor being out of the Kingdom. Matters being thus brought to ſuch a Paſs as his beſt Politicians could deviſe, accompanied with Mr. *Gawin Dowglaſs* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and Mr. *Patrick Panther*, Secretary to the late King, Men whom he fear'd to leave behind him, and entertain'd (though he knew they lov'd him not) as his Boſom Friends, in *June* at *Dunbarton* he took Shipping. *A. D.* 1520. The Governor goes to *France*.

Queen *Margaret*, after ſhe had remain'd a Year in *England*, underſtanding by Letters that the Governor had taken the Seas, and was on his Way towards *France*, honourably diſmiſs'd by her Brother, came to *Scotland*. At *Berwick* ſhe was receiv'd by her Husband the Earl of *Angus*; but he was not accepted with the Favours he was wont; for that Plague of too much Love (Jealouſy) had infected her, having got ſome Inkling that he delighted in the Pleaſures of a free Bed, and, during the Time of her Abode in *England*, had entertain'd a Miſtreſs in *Dowglaſdale*; an Injury beyond Degree of Reconcilement, after which ſhe began to diſdain him, and ſeek how ſhe might be divorced from him. Though, whilſt the King was kept in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, all Acceſs unto him was refuſs'd her, when he was tranſported to the Caſtle of *Craigmillar*, out of a Suſpicion and Rumour that the Plague had infeſted *Edinburgh*, by the Courteſy of the Lord *Erskin*, ſhe had Liberty to viſit him; but her frequent haunting him out of too much Motherly Kindneſs, breeding a Suſpicion in his Guardians, that (as had once before been practis'd by a Queen in *Scotland*) ſhe had an Intention to have ſtoln him away, and ſent him to his Uncle, they reſtrain'd her longer Acceſs unto him, and procured his Return back again to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The Queen returns to *Scotland*.

Sir *Anthony Darcey* having, by his Vigilance, Pains, and Courage, given many Proofs of his Worth, in Defence of the Borders, and Adminiſtration of Juſtice in thoſe Shires he govern'd; the other Governors, often diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, either out of Love of Reſt, and to be free from Buſineſs, or out of Malice to procure him greater Hatred, declar'd him abſolute Deputy: And they gave their Promiſes to ſecond him in way of Juſtice. And here he found the Difference between Extreams and Mediocrities. Many diſdain'd a Stranger ſhould be in that Place, and ſo many brave Men of their Nation be neglected. A Quarrel at that Time, either true and real, or (as others have recorded) altogether forg'd and contriv'd to draw the Deputy into a Danger, ariſing between the Curators of the Laird of *Langton*, and one of his Uncles, who by the Power and Means of Sir *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, whoſe Siſter was his Wife, had thruſt out and ejected the young Heir and them of their own Caſtle of *Langton*, and kept it by Force: The Deputy, accompany'd with certain Lords of the Borders and ſome *Frenchmen* his own Domeſticks, came to the Town of *Duns*, to hold a Juſtice-Court concerning this Riot. The *Humes*, who thought nothing juſter than Revenge, nor nobler than the Effects of Anger, having ſworn a Requital of their Chief's Wrong, and to pay the Governor home, when Occaſion ſhould ſerve, by the Counſel of Sir *David Hume*, laid an Ambuſh for the Deputy. The Plot not failing, they attack'd him at ſuch a Diſadvantage, that ſome of his Servants being kill'd, he was conſtrain'd to ſeek an Eſcape by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe; who, in the Chaſe either falling in or ſinking a Marſh, left his Maſter to the Cruelty of his Purſuers, who ſtruck off his Head; and, to feed their Eyes with the Spectacle of their Rage, ſet it, to the Diſgrace of the *French*, on the Battlements of the Caſtle of *Hume*. This End had Sir *Anthony Darcey*, who deſerv'd ſo well both of *France* and *Scotland*, having been courteous, valiant and noble in all his Actions, and a great Adminiſtrator of Juſtice, who ſpar'd no Travel, and freely advertur'd upon any Dangers to ſuppreſs Malefactors, and defend the Weak and Innocent. Sir *Andrew Darcey* ſlain by the *Humes*

A. D. 1520.

The Earl of *Arran* made Warden of the *South-Marches.*

Whereupon the Governors made Choice of the Earl of *Arran* to reſiſt this Outrage, and declar'd him Warden of the Marches and Supream; which Election diſpleas'd the Earl of *Angus*. The Earl of *Arran* armed with Power, neglecting *Angus* his Intereſt, immediately committed Sir *George Douglaſs* his Brother to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and *Mark Ker* of *Cesford* to *Garvet* Caſtle, out of a Suſpicion, that they were acceſſary to the Slaughter of Sir *Anthony Darcey*. In a Parliament, ſhortly following, many of the *Humes* and *Cockburns*, Fugitives for this Slaughter, and for that they had invited the *Engliſh* to their Aid, and Spoil of the Country, were declared Rebels. The Parliament being diſſolv'd, the Earl of *Arran*, with a ſufficient Number of Soldiers, and ſome great Ordnance, beſieged the Caſtles of *Hume* and *Langton*, and had them ſurrender'd to his Mercy.

When the Accident of Sir *Anthony Darcey* was noiſed at the Court of *France*, it is reported, That King *Francis* ſaid, "That he never looked for "better at the Hands of the *Scots*, and that the Duke of *Albany* ſhould have "deputed Men of their own Nation to have govern'd them."

The Biſhop of *Dunkell*, who had accompanied the Governor to *France*, uſed ſuch Diligence at that Court, that he was employ'd to be the Firſt Meſſenger of the great Promiſes of the *French*, at the Confirmation of the League, with their Proteſtations for the preſerving and maintaining the Liberties of the Kingdom of *Scotland* againſt all who would endeavour to impair them. Not long after arrived the Earl of *Lennox*, and an Herald, with Letters from King *Francis* and the Governor, amplifying and putting a larger Gloſs on the ſame. But when, by other Letters, the Queen and Nobles had received certain Intelligence, that King *Francis* and the King of *England* had compoſed their Quarrels, and had enter'd in a new Band of Amity, a defenſive League being paſſed between them, *Tournay* render'd to the *French*, Promiſes upon either Side ſolemnly made for a Match to be between the Dauphin of *France*, eldeſt Son to King *Francis*, and *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* King of *England*, when Age ſhould enable them for Marriage; and that in the large Treaty of Peace, not one Word was ſet down for the Quietneſs and Help of thoſe who for the Quarrel of *France* had loſt their King, and endanger'd their whole Kingdom; no Care being taken of their Welfare and Proſperity; they ſtorm'd not a little, and thought their Lives and Troubles ill employ'd. Then, with as great Haſte as ſuch a Matter requir'd, they diſpatch'd Letters back again to the Governor, with Complaints and Expoſtulations. The Year following, to excuſe his Overſight, the *French* King ſent a Reaſon, why he had not made Mention of the *Scottiſh* Nation in his League with *England*, which was that, *He had ſtudied to give Satisfaction and Contentment to ſome of the* Scottiſh *Nobility (obliquely touching the Duke of* Albany) *whoſe Minds he knew to be altogether averſe from any Peace or Truce with the* Engliſh *Nation; whoſe undaunted Spirits, and great Courage were only lent to revenge the Deaths of their King, Kinſmen and Compatriots.* This Evaſion not giving Satisfaction to the beſt adviſed of the Council, the *French* King interpoſed his Endeavours with King *Henry* to have a Ceſſation of Arms, for as ſhort a Time as he could deviſe. Whereupon, *Clarencieux*, and one *la Fiot*, came to *Scotland*, the one from the King of *England*, the other from the *French* King, and a Truce was concluded between the Two Kingdoms for One Year. The Reaſon of this Truce was thought moſtly to be, for that the Kings of *England* and *France*, the next Summer, were to have an Interview, and with all Princely Courteſies receive and entertain each other.

Great Tumults among the Nobility.

The Kingdom, in ſundry Quarters, began to be ſenſible of the Abſence of the Governor; Factions encreaſing, and deadly Fewds daily ariſing, the Commons ſuffering continual Outrages, and the Nobility and Gentry deciding their Rights and Quarrels by their Swords, the Earl of *Rothes* and the Lord *Lindſay* contending which ſhould be Sheriff of *Fyfe*, with tumultuary Arms on the high Street of *Edinburgh* attack'd one another, and hardly were reſtrain'd, 'till the one was committed to the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, and the other to the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*. *Robert Blackader*, Prior of *Coldingham*, with Six

Six of his Domeſtick Servants, was kill'd by the Laird of *Wedderburn*. The King, out of a Suſpicion that the Plague was in *Edinburgh*, being tranſported to the Caſtle of *Dalkeith* by Convoy of the Earl of *Arran*, who was then Provoſt of the Town: It being the Seaſon when the Townſmen made Election of their Magiſtrates for the Year following; when the Earl was return'd, and ſought to enter the Town, he found the Gates ſhut upon him by the Citizens, who alleged he came to invade their Liberties in the free Choice of their Magiſtrates, having an Intention to continue himſelf in his Place, and make Choice of the other according to his own Pleaſure. The Tumult continued the moſt Part of the Night, and the next Morning early, the People dividing into Faction, and skirmiſhing in the Streets, a Deacon of the Crafts is killed by the Faction of the *Hamiltons*, which alienated the Minds of the Townſmen altogether from the Earl of *Arran*, and made them incline to the Earl of *Angus*, ſome of whoſe Friends and Followers had reſcued ſome of the Citizens, and taken Part with others; which made many after conceive this Diſcord was plotted by ſome Noblemen, Enemies to the Earl of *Arran*, amongſt whom the Earl of *Angus* was the Chief. *A. D.* 1520.

After this Tumult, the Earls of *Angus* and *Arran* ſought always to croſs each other in their Proceedings; the one maintaining the Enemies of the other: Whoever had a Quarrel againſt the Earl of *Arran*, the Earl of *Angus* befriended him, as the Earl of *Arran* ſupported and ſided with thoſe who had any Diſcontent againſt the Earl of *Angus*. A Suit falling between the Earl of *Angus* and the Laird of *Farnehaſt* about the Ballywick of *Jedburgh*-Forreſt; the Lands appertain'd to the Earl, the Title and Power to ſit Judge belonged to the Laird of *Farnhaſte*. Sir *James Hamilton*, the natural Son of the Earl of *Arran*, aſſiſted the Laird of *Farnhaſte*; and beſides thoſe who out of good Will, Friendſhip, Kindred, and Vaſſalage, did follow him, he hired Forty Soldiers ſuch as were found upon the Borders, Men living upon Spoil and Rapine, to be of his Party. The Laird of *Ceſford* (then Warden of the Marches) who with his Counſel and Force ſided with the Earl of *Angus*, at the Rumour of the Approach of Sir *James* to *Jedburgh*, encounter'd him, and his Forty Hirelings abandoning him in his greateſt Danger; *Ceſford*, killing ſome of his Followers, brought him to make Uſe of his Spurs towards the Caſtle of *Hume*, where after a long Chaſe he got Sanctuary. The Day following, the Laird of *Farnehaſt* held a Court in the Town of *Jedburgh*, as Bailly to the Earl of *Angus*, and the Earl himſelf kept his Court Three Miles diſtant in *Jedburgh*-Forreſt. In the Month of *May* after, certain Noblemen aſſembled at *Edinburgh* to accommodate all Quarrels, and make an Attonement between the *Dowglaſſes* and *Hamiltons*. Many Lords of the Weſt here met, attending the Earl of *Arran*, the Earls of *Lennox*, *Eglinton*, *Caſſils*, the Lords *Roß*, *Semple*, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, Abbot of *Paſley*, *&c.* The Provoſt of the Town of *Edinburgh*, *Archibald Dowglaß* of *Kilſpyndie*, Uncle or Couſin-German to the Earl of *Angus*, yielded up his Place to *Robert Logan* Laird of *Reſtalrig*. The Lords of the Weſt, by the Advice of *James Beaton*, Chancellor (in whoſe Houſe they often aſſembled) laid a Plot to ſurprize the Earl of *Angus*, then attended but by ſome few of his Friends, and as it were very ſolitary. They thought him too great and inſolent a Subject, to whoſe Power never one of theirs alone was equal in all Points, and they had many Things to challenge him upon, when the Governor ſhould return. The Earl of *Angus*, forewarn'd of their Intention, employ'd the Biſhop of *Dunkell*, his Uncle, to offer them what honourable Satisfaction they could require. All that he propoſed being rejected by implacable Men, and finding the only Way to be freed of Violence, was to be violent, and that Danger could not be avoided but by a greater Danger, with a Hundred hardy, reſolute Men, armed with long Spears and Pikes, which the Citizens, as he traverſed the Streets, out of Windows furniſh'd him, he inveſted a Part of the Town, and barricado'd ſome Lanes with Carts, and other Impediments which the Time did afford. The adverſe Party truſting to their Number, and the Supply of the Citizens (who calling to Mind the Slaughter of their Deacon, ſhew'd

A. D. 1520.

them ſmall Favour) diſdaining the Earl ſhould thus muſter on the Streets, in great Fury invaded him. Whilſt the Bickering continued, and the Town is in a Tumult, *William Dowglaſs*, Brother to the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, *George Hume*, Brother to the late Lord, with many others, by Blood and Friendſhip tyed together, enter'd by Violence the Eaſt Gate of the Town (the Citizens making ſmall Reſiſtance) forced their Paſſage through the Throngs, ſought the Earl's Enemies, found them, and ſcour'd the Streets of them. The Lord of *Montgomery*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Eglinton*, Sir *Patrick Hamilton*, Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, with almoſt Fourſcore more, were left dead upon the Place. The Earl himſelf found an Eſcape and Place of Retreat through a Marſh upon the North Side of the Town; the Chancellor and his Retinue took Sanctuary in the *Dominican* Friars. The Tumult by the Slaughter of ſome, and Flight of others, being appeaſed, the Earl of *Angus*, now freed of Danger, licenſed all who pleated, without further Purſuit, peaceably to leave the Town of *Edinburgh*, and return to their own Houſes. Some Days after, the *Humes* well banded and back'd with many Nobles and Gentlemen of their Lineage, by the Earl of *Angus*'s Conſent, took the Lord *Hume*'s and his Brother's Heads from the Place where they had been fix'd, and with the Funeral Rites of thoſe Times interr'd them in the *Black-Friars*.

The Earl of *Angus* having gain'd the People's Hearts by his Magnificence, Wiſdom, Courage and Liberality, his Faction began to bear greateſt Sway in the Kingdom. For the Continuance of which, the King of *England* dealt moſt earneſtly with the *French* King to keep the Duke of *Albany* ſtill in *France* with him: But the *French* had contrary Deſigns. And when the Duke underſtood the great Diſcords of the Nobility of *Scotland*, as Perſons of Faction being advanc'd to Places, dangerous Immunities being granted to the Commons; *France* and *England* beginning to be tired of their Peace, and preparing for a new War: To curb the *Scottiſh* Factions, and keep the Nation in Quietneſs within itſelf, by giving the Subjects other Work Abroad, whilſt common Danger ſhould break off particular Diſcords; notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* Ships, which lay in wait to take him, after he had been about Five Years in *France*, in *November* he arrived on the Weſt Coaſts of *Scotland*, at a Place call'd *Garloch*. The Governor coming to *Edinburgh*, ſet himſelf to amend the Enormities committed in his Abſence; the Magiſtrates of the Town were depoſed, becauſe in the late Uproar they had been evil Seconds to the Lords of the Weſt, when they went to ſurprize the Earl of *Angus*. A Parliament was call'd, to which many Noblemen and Gentlemen were cited to make Appearance in *February* to be tried, and to anſwer for Offences committed by them in the Governor's Abſence. The appointed Time being come, thoſe who appear'd not were indicted, and fled into *England*. Among whom, the chief, were the *Humes* and *Cockburns*, Men Authors of and acceſſary to the Death of Sir *Anthony Darcey*. The Tide now turning, and Men's Affections changed, the Earl of *Angus*, with his Brother Sir *George Dowglas*, by the Interceſſion of the Queen, were conſtrain'd to ſeek a Pardon: Which was obtain'd for them, but with the Condition that they ſhould leave the Country, and ſtay in *France* one whole Year, which they obey'd. Others have reported, that they were ſurpriz'd in the Night, and in *French* Ships convey'd privately away. Mr. *Gavin Dowglaſs*, Biſhop of *Dunkell*, in the Abſence of his Nephew, finding the Governor violent in the Chace of the Faction of the *Douglaſſes*, fled privately to the Court of *England*, where he gave Informations to King *Henry* againſt him; *That he alone had taken to him the Cuſtody of the young King, the Sequel whereof he much fear'd; and was an irreconcileable Enemy to the whole Family of the* Dowglaſſes: *And that the principal Cauſe of his coming to* Scotland, *was to engage the Nation in a War againſt* England, *that the* Engliſh *ſhould not aſſiſt the Emperor againſt the* French *King, and make his Nation Slaves to* France.

The Governor returns to *Scotland*.

Gavin Dowglaſs, Biſhop of *Dunkell*, his Death.

This Biſhop ſhortly after died at *London*, and was buried in the *Savoy* Church; having been a Man noble, valiant, learned, and an excellent Poet, as his Works yet extant teſtify.

The

The King of *England*, upon such Informations, sent *Clarencieux* (King at Arms) to *Scotland*, to require the Duke to avoid the Country, according to the Articles agreed upon between the *French* King and him in their last Truce. *A. D.* 1520.

King *Henry* sends a Herald to *Scotland* to desire the Governor to leave the Kingdom.

It belong'd (said Clarencieux) *to his Master to tender the Life, Welfare, Honour, and Fortunes of his Nephew, of none of which he could be assur'd, so long as the Duke rul'd and stay'd in* Scotland. *It was against all Reason, and unbeseeming, that the Man should be sole Guardian to a King, who was the next Heir to the Crown: How easily might he be tempted by the Opportunity to commit the like unnatural Cruelty, which some have done in the like Case both in* England *and other Parts of* Europe? *If he lov'd his Nation and Prince (as he gave out) he requir'd him to leave the Country, which if he yielded not unto, but obstinately continu'd in a Resolution to stay, he denounced from his Master present War.* He farther complain'd, *That the Earl of* Angus, *who was King* Henry's *Brother-in-Law, was by him banish'd and detain'd in* France; *and that during the Banishment of the Earl, which had been near a whole Year, the Duke had importun'd his Sister the Queen with dishoneſt Love.*

The Governor's Answer to the Message.

The Governor answer'd *Clarencieux, That what the Kings of* France *and* England *agreed upon in their Treaties of Peace was to him uncertain; but of this he was most certain, That neither the King of* England *nor* France *had Power to banish him (a Person over whom their Authority did not reach) his native Country; like over like having no Jurisdiction.*

As concerning the King of Scotland, *who was yet young in Years, he reverenced him as his Sovereign Lord, and would keep and defend both him and his Kingdom according to his Conscience, Honour and bounden Duty; that there were ever more Men in the World who desir'd to be Kings, than there were Kingdoms to be bestow'd upon them, of which Number he was none, having ever preferr'd a mean Estate justly enjoy'd, before a Kingdom ill acquir'd. For the Earl of* Angus, *he had used all Courtesies towards him, notwithstanding his evil Demerits; not for his own Sake (he did confess) but for the Queen's Sake, whom he honour'd and respected as the Mother of his Prince, and towards whom he should always continue his Observance. That the King of* England *needed not misdoubt, he would attempt any thing should derogate from the Honour of his Sister; that Complements of meer Courtesy in* France, *might be surmis'd sometimes by* Englisſh *Ladies to be Sollicitations and Suits of Love.*

For the War, with which, in Case of his Stay, he threatned his Nation, he would use his best Endeavours to set his Compatriots in a Posture of Defence.

War breaks out between *England, Scotland*, and also With *France*.

When this Answer was reported to King *Henry*, he gather'd a great Army to invade *Scotland*, and to try if the *Scots* People could be mov'd to abandon and disclaim the Duke's Authority. Seven great Ships came to *Inch-Keith*, and spoil'd all the adjacent Coasts: All the *Scots* and *French*, which did then inhabit *London*, and other Places of *England*, were put to their Fines, and commanded to go off the Country.

In Compensation, and for equal Amends, the *French* King seiz'd all *Englishmen*'s Goods in *Bourdeaux*, imprison'd their Persons, and retain'd the Money to be paid for the Restitution of *Tournay*. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* making Incursions on the Borders, burn'd one Half of *Kelso*, and plunder'd the other.

At this Time the Emperor *Charles* V. came to *England*, and stirred up King *Henry* to take Arms against the *French* King; and the *French* had sent Ambassadors to *Scotland*, intreating and conjuring the *Scots* by their Old and New League to arise in Arms and invade *England*. The Governor assembled the Three Estates at *Edinburgh*, which together condescended to the raising of an Army to resist the Incursions of the *English* and defend the Kingdom. To encourage every Man for fighting, the Governor propos'd that the Wards of those which should fall in this Expedition, were freely remitted and discharg'd by Act of Parliament, and Pensions design'd to the Widows and Daughters of those who died in this Service.

A. D. 1521. The Governor raises an Army.

Mean time the Earl of *Shrewsbury* advanc'd towards the weſt Borders, and the *Scots* gather'd an Army and encamp'd on *Roſlin-Moor*, after which, according to the Orders given, march'd to *Annandale* forwards, and came to the *Eſk*, a River running into the *Iriſh* Seas near *Carliſle*; the Governor delighted with the Seat and Standing of the Place, caus'd dig Trenches, and, by the Advice of certain *French* Gunners, plac'd ſome Field-Pieces, and ſmall Ordnance for Defence of them, and ſpread there his Pavilions. The Citizens of *Carliſle*, terrify'd at the ſudden Approach of ſo powerful an Army, offer many Preſents for the Safety of their Town, which he rejected. The *Engliſh* Army not minding to invade the *Scots* ſo long as they kept themſelves on their own Gound, and advanc'd not, the Governor endeavour'd to make the *Scots* ſpoil the Country by Incurſions, but he found them ſlack and unwilling to obey and follow him, moſt part refuſing to go upon *Engliſh* Ground, amongſt whom *Alexander* Lord *Gordon* was the chief and firſt Man. The Governor feeling his Command neglected, and ſome Noblemen diſſenting from what he moſt intended, came back to the Place where they made their Stand, and deſir'd a Reaſon of their Stay. They told him, "They had determin'd to defend their own Country, not to invade *England:* That it neither conſiſted "with the Intereſt of the Common-Wealth, nor as Matters went at that "Time, had they ſufficient Forces to make invaſive War: That the Governor did not inſtigate them to invade *England* for the Love he carry'd to "*Scotland*, but for a Benefit to the *French*, by diverting the War prepar'd by "the *Engliſh* againſt them. That by invading they might make themſelves a "Prey to their Enemies; they were Men and not Angels; it was enough "for them, whilſt their King was under Age, to defend his Kingdom from "the Violence of Foreigners: For in caſe they were in one Battle victorious, "conſidering the Slaughter and Loſs of their Nobles and Gentry in that Purchaſe, they might be overthrown in a ſecond Fight; and then to what "would the King and Country be reduc'd? Their laſt King might ſerve "them for a Pattern, the Revenge of whoſe Death ſhould be delay'd till the "King himſelf were of Years to undertake it.

The Governor brought to an Exigent, ſaid, "They ſhould have propos'd "theſe Difficulties before they took Arms, and not on the Place of Battle. "Temerity misbecame Noblemen in any Action, but eſpecially in Matters of "War, in which a Man cannot err twice. At the Convention of the Three "Eſtates, when War was in Deliberation, they ſhould have inquir'd into "the Cauſes of it; he was not to bring them upon the Danger of a War "without their own Conſent. The *Engliſh* had made many Incurſions upon "their Country, burning and ravaging: They who ſtand only upon Defence, ſtand upon no Defence; a better Defence of their own Country "could not be found than by invading the Country of their Enemies. They "ſhould not be dejected for that Accident at *Flowden*, ſince it was not the "Soldier, but the Treaſon of their Chamberlain, who had ſuffer'd for it. "That the Glory of the Nation ſhould raiſe their Courages, and inflame "their Boſoms with a Deſire of Revenge: The King's Honour, and their "Piety towards the Ghoſts of their Compatriots, crav'd no leſs from them. "That, if they would not invade *England*, at leaſt, for their Reputation "and Fame with the World, they would pitch there a ſhort Time their "Tents, and try if the *Engliſh* would hazard to aſſail them. That it would "for ever brand their Honour, if timorouſly on a Sudden they would "ſhow their Backs to their Enemies, and dared not make ſome Days Stay.

The Queen, though abſent, had thus perſuaded the Noblemen; and having underſtood the Govornor to be turn'd now flexible, ſhe diſpatch'd a Poſt to him, requeſting he would be pleas'd with a Truce for ſome Months, and that he would commune with the Warden of the *Engliſh* Marches, whom ſhe ſhould move to come to his Tent and treat with him. The Governor finding that he ſtood not well aſſur'd of ſome of his Army, and knowing what a difficult Task it was to withſtand the Violence of their Deſires, determin'd to follow their own Current, and ſeem'd well pleas'd to hearken to their Opinion.

on. Hereupon the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the Weſt Marches, came unto the Governor's Camp the eleventh of *September* (and, as ſome have reported, the Queen alſo) where a Ceſſation of Arms was agreed unto for ſome Days, in which Time the Queen and the Governor ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to treat for a Peace with King *Henry*: And ſhortly after Ambaſſadors were directed to the Court of *England*, but return'd without any Good done, King *Henry* demanding extraordinary and harmful Conditions to the Realm of *Scotland*. *A. D.* 1522. A Ceſſation of Arms.

The Year 1522. *Andrew Forman*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, died, and *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* and Chancellor of the Kingdom came in his Place of St. *Andrew*'s, and the Archbiſhoprick of *Glaſgow* was conferr'd upon *Gawin Dunbar*, whom the King after advanc'd to be Chancellor of the Kingdom.

The Governor reſenting highly the ſlighting of the Ambaſſadors by the King of *England*, but more the Contempt and Scorn of the *Scottiſh* Nobility in refuſing to follow him, by the weſt Seas, paſt over to *France* in *October*, promiſing, that if a Peace in the mean time were not concluded with *England*, he would the next Summer bring ſuch War-like Brigades of *French* and *Germans*, that he ſhould not ſtand much in Need of his own Countrymen, who had contiued ſo refractory and backward to his Deſigns. Mean time he demanded from King *Francis* five thouſand *German* Horſemen, and ten thouſand Foot to be tranſported to *Scotland*: Which with the *Scots* who would accompany him, he thought ſufficient to continue a War with *England*. The *French* could not ſpare ſo many Men, having Wars both with the Emperor and the *Engliſh*, but they gave him three thouſand Pikes, and one thouſand Launces. The Governor but intending to return to *Scotland*, receiving Intelligence that the Ports towards the Coaſts of *France* were watch'd by the *Engliſh* to intrap him in his Paſſage, beſtow'd his Ships ſo covertly here and there in ſmall Companies, to avoid all Suſpicion of any Purpoſe he had to ſtir that Year, as that thereupon the *Engliſh* Fleet under the Conduct of Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, which had attended and waited his coming forth, until the middle of *Auguſt*, brake up and beſtow'd themſelves in convenient Ports againſt the next Spring. The Duke then watching the Opportunity, and readily gathering together his diſpers'd Ships, to the Number of ſome fifty Sail, imbark'd his Men at *Breſt* in *Bretaign*, the one and twentieth of *September*, and landed at *Kircudbright*, in the weſt of *Scotland*. In his Company was *Richard de la Pool* who had been baniſh'd *England*, and to his Power faithfully aſſiſted the Governor. He arriv'd the ſame Time that *Jedburgh* was burnt by the *Engliſh*; for *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, High Admiral of *England*, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet* and his Brother, with a competent Power entring *Scotland*, had burnt many Towns, and overthrown Caſtles and Piles. The Governor goes to *France*. He returns in *Sept.* 1523.

At his coming, the Duke aſſembl'd the Lords at *Edinburgh*, where they agreed that an Army ſhould forthwith be gather'd, and the 28th of *October* was appointed for their Meeting at *Dowglaſs-dale*. At the Day perfix'd, the Army march'd towards *Coldſtream* upon the *Tweed*. Out of this Army the Governor having ſelected a Number of the hardieſt Soldiers of *Scots* and *French*, and convoying ſome Artillery over the Water, under the Command of the Laird of *Farnehaſt*, on the laſt of *October* they beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Wark*, which was defended by *Edward Lilly* or *Liſle*. The Aſſailiants upon the outmoſt Ward continuing their Battery, entred by main Force the ſecond Ward; but being there repuls'd and beaten back, a great Tempeſt ariſing, and fearing the ſwelling of the River of *Tweed* might cut them off from their Army on the other Side, they turn'd back and repaſs'd the Water; The Report of the Earl of *Surrey*'s Forces coming to reſcue the Caſtle, and lying at *Anwich*, alſo perplex'd them not a little. The Earl of *Surrey*, at his Approach, finding the Enemy retir'd to the other Side of the River, the Caſtle ſafe, and having no Commiſſion to paſs the *Engliſh* Marches, or to invade *Scotland*, made no further Purſuit. In the mean time the Queen, who had ever ſought to make firm Friendſhip with her Brother, and break the Amity of *France*, ſent to him to yield to a Ceſſation of War, hoping in that Time

A. D. 1523. to work ſome Agreement between the two Nations. Whereunto the King conſenting, the Governor finding the *Scottiſh* Lords averſe to his Intentions, that he was this Time ſerv'd as he had been before (they refuſing ſtill to enter upon *England*) and that ſtriving would but the more chafe them, alſo condeſcended. Thus a Truce was promis'd, and faithful Peace obſerv'd till the laſt of *November*, being the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*: The Winter paſt without any Invaſion of the *Engliſh* on *Scotland*, or the *Scots* on *England*.

During the Time of this Truce, many ſerious Conſultations were amongſt the Lords of *Scotland*, whether it were more fit to continue this War, or give it over. Many of them held it unreaſonable, that for the only Pleaſure of the *French* King, the Realm of *Scotland* ſhould ſuffer any more Dammage by the continuing of ſo needleſs a War: And finding that the Duke of *Albany* was always ſet to perform what the *French* deſir'd, not what was expedient for the *Scots* Nation, nor what was in their Power to accompliſh, they therefore wiſh'd that their young King, now having attain'd ſome Years of Diſcretion, and paſſing the Age of a Child, might bear ſome Sway in the Government of the Realm. Some argu'd, "That a King ſooner than "the Sons of Noblemen went out of the Bondage of Tutelage, and enjoy'd "greater Immunities, his Age often being reckon'd from the Time of his "Conception. That the Adminiſtration and Charge of the Kingdom ſhould "early be given him, that he might with his Years grow in the Art of Go-"verning; Since we find the ſame to be uſual in the Perfection of other Arts "and Sciences." Others entertain'd other Thoughts, "That to a Child, "who could not by the Weakneſs of his Judgment diſcern Right from "Wrong, the Helm of State ſhould not be truſted, and that the Peers of the "Kingdom ſhould be challeng'd of Dotage by their neighbouring Countries, "for giving to a Child the Sword of Juſtice, which he might thruſt in their "own Entrails one Day, or wound therewith the Boſom of the Common-"wealth.

The Governor finding the Lords divided amongſt themſelves, and their Reaſons averſe to his Intentions, and that not only the People, but the Soldiery were weary of him, and had bent their Affections upon their young King, fooliſhly preferring the Ignorance and Simplicity a Child to his Prudence, Experience, and long Practice of State, requeſted them to give him Leave to return to *France*, and to forgive him any Error he had committed, which he proteſted was of Ignorance, not of Malice. Having from Men diſtaſted with him, without any Oppoſition, obtain'd what he requir'd, far from any outward Shew of inward Diſcontentment, or diſquieting himſelf at the Ingratitude of ſome whom he had advanc'd to Honours, he came to *Stirling*, where, after ſome Days ſtay with the King, when he had given him ſuch Inſtructions of State, as he was able to underſtand (for he was but then in the Thirteenth Year of his Age) with many Tokens of Love, and Demonſtrations of ſincere Affection, he took his Leave of him: And his Ships attending his Paſſage on the Weſt, with a great Retinue of *Scots* and *French*, he held his Way towards them, and recommended himſelf to the Sea in the Spring Time, now the third Time for *France*, after which he return'd not at all into *Scotland*.

The Governor returns again to *France*

He was a Prince adorn'd with many Virtues, Active, Couragious, Reſolute, and knew how to uſe Men as they were. If he had not been oppos'd by the Queen and Nobility, he was likely either to have loſt himſelf and the whole Kingdom, or revenge the Death of his Couſin. His courteous Nature went above his Ambition; he could as well lay down his Honours, as he had modeſtly (when they were laid upon him) receiv'd them.

Before the Rumour of the Duke of *Albany*'s taking the Seas was ſpread abroad, the King of *England* by ſecret Letters had requir'd the Earl of *Angus*, who then an Exile ſtaid in *France*, to come to him: After the Receipt of which, with a ſhort Leave taking he left *France*, where he had ſtaid almoſt three Years, and cometh to *England*. King *Henry* had brought him to believe, That the Duke had determin'd to extirpate his whole Linage: To pre-

vent

vent which he made him offer of Men and Ammunition to preſerve his own, and by his Faction at home, and his Aſſiſtance, to ſend the Duke over Seas; which, if he had longer ſtaid, the Earl was eſteem'd powerful enough to have accompliſh'd. *A. D.* 1523.

The Duke of *Albany* being in *France*, the Queen with the Government of the State, aſſumeth the Cuſtody of the Perſon of her Son, whom ſhe mov'd to leave *Stirling* and come to *Edinburgh*. The third Day after he had made his Entry into the Town, ſhe lodg'd with him in the *Maiden-Caſtle*, and it being ſeiz'd on, arm'd with Authority, ſhe doubted not to make the Country yield her all Obedience. That the ſupream Magiſtrate of the Town ſhould not oppoſe her Deſigns, he was put from his Office, and the Lord *Maxwell* (a Man to her obſequious) was ſubſtituted in his Place: And to give a fairer Luſtre to her Actions, a Parliament was call'd at *Edinburgh*, that what ſhe did, might conſiſt with Law. The Queen takes the young King into her Cuſtody, and carries him to *Edinburgh*.

When King *Henry* underſtood that the Duke had left *Scotland*, to exclude and bar him all Regreſs, he ſent one *Magnus*, a great Orator, but greater by the Renown of his Skill in the Laws, with *Roger Ratcliff*, his Ambaſſadors, to try how the *Scots*, amidſt ſuch unneceſſary Turmoils, would reliſh a Truce and Ceſſation of Arms: And theſe laid the Blame, of all the Diſorders and Diſcords between the two Nations, upon the Duke. The Nobles tyr'd with tedious Wars, chearfully accepted of this Embaſſy, and agreed upon a Truce for one whole Year. To confirm which, they condeſcended that Commiſſioners ſhould be diſpatched inſtantly, who ſhould treat not only for a Truce, but for a firm and laſting Peace between the two Nations, and unite the two Crowns in Bands of Amity, as well as they were united in Degrees of Blood.

The Earl of *Angus*, after honourable Entertainment of the King of *England*, and many Promiſes to befriend him, came to *Scotland*; and his Return began to change the Game of State. The Queen's and Earl of *Arran*'s Faction carry'd all Matters of Importance: The Earls of *Lennox*, *Argyle*, and the *Humes* had been ſequeſter'd publick Imployments: The firſt Faction by his Preſence found their Power diminiſh'd; the other by his Counterpoiſe and Aſſiſtance had new Hopes of ariſing; both Factions diſlik'd that *Angus* ſhould ariſe to the firſt Place, and ſuſpected he would not be content with the Second; they lov'd to have him an Equal, but not Supreme.

Private Jarrs being but a little ſmother'd, and Matters concerning *England* requiring a haſty and preſent Diſpatch; *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſils*, *Robert Cockburn* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and *Alexander Mill* Abbot of *Cambuskenneth*, were ſent Commiſſioners to the Court of *England*. They were honourably and kindly receiv'd at *Greenwich*, by King *Henry*; whoſe Countenance promis'd them a Refuſal of no reaſonable Thing they would require. The Biſhop made a Speech, the Sum of which was, "That Diſſention and Hatred taken away "between the two Nations, a faithful Peace might be agreed unto, and con- "firm'd; their Diſcords turn'd into Union; their Rancour into Love; which "to bring to paſs and make durable, the only apparent and probable Means, "were to beſtow the Lady *Mary*, the King's Daughter, upon *James* the "young King of *Scotland*. Commiſſioners ſent to *England* to treat of Peace

The *Engliſh* with great Joy applauded what was ſaid: And King *Henry* appointed certain Commiſſioners to treat about that Purpoſe in private. Theſe when they had met to advance the Union of the Kingdoms, deſir'd theſe Conditions:

Firſt, *That the* Scottiſh *Nation giving over, and fairly forſaking the League with* France, *ſhould enter into a new League with them, upon the ſame Conditions and Terms which were contain'd in their League with* France. The Conditions.

Next, *That the young King of* Scotland, *till by Age he was able for Marriage, ſhould be brought up at the Court of* England.

When the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland* had anſwer'd, *That theſe Conditions were above their Commiſſion, to which they could not well anſwer*, and deſir'd a Time to acquaint the Council of *Scotland* with them; it was condeſcended

A. D. 1523.

unto. Thus two of them remaining at *London*, the Earl of *Caſſils*, return'd to *Scotland* to bring back an Anſwer.

When the Day, in which the Parliament ſhould have been held, was come, the Queen and they who were of her Faction, as the Earls of *Arran*, *Murray*, and *Eglinton*, fearing the Earl of *Angus* might turn the People's Affection, and move them to revolt, which might hinder their Determinations, or terrify the Commiſſioners by the frequent Convention of his Friends and Followers, conſtraining their Voices, and reſtraining their Freedom of Speech: Or, that they had a Plot to ſurprize ſome of the contrary Faction, and by Authority of Parliament commit them in that Place; they therefore caus'd a Proclamation to be made, *That none of the three Eſtates ſhould ſit or aſſemble themſelves in the Town of* Edinburgh, *but that they ſhould keep their Meeting in the Caſtle, and there give their Preſence.* The Earls of *Angus*, *Lennox*, *Argyle*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, Biſhops of *Aberdeen* and *Dumblane*, with their Adherents, and others, who join'd with them rather out of Fear than Good-will, refus'd to enter the Caſtle, and requir'd, *That the Parliament might be kept in the accuſtom'd Place, and that the King might in Triumph be ſhewn to his People, and conv oy'd along the High-ſtreet.* All which being denied them; giving out, *That Juſtice was violated, the King kept againſt his Will as a Priſoner, and the Government and Cuſtody of his Perſon ſeiz'd on without Conſent of the Three Eſtates*; they ſurrounded the Caſtle with two thouſand Men in Arms, and ſtop'd all Proviſions and Victuals, which ſhould have been afforded by the Town. In this Diſtreſs they in the Caſtle turn'd the great Ordinance againſt the Town, and threaten'd the innocent Citizens with the overthrow of their Buildings. Some Powder and Time being ſpent in terrifying the People, at laſt, Churchmen interpos'd themſelves, and interceeded with, and perſuaded the Parties; ſo that an Accommodation and Atonement was wrought, their Fury quench'd, all Rancour ſuppreſt, and Injuries forgotten; the King in Magnificence and Pomp was convoy'd from the Caſtle to his Palace at *Hooly-Rood-Houſe*, and the Eſtates aſſembled in the wonted Place of the Town of *Edinburgh*.

A Proclamation anent the ſitting of the Parliament.

Diviſions among the Nobility.

In this Parliament the Authority of the Governor was abrogated, by which Means they ſav'd him the Trouble of returning into *Scotland* again: And Eight Lords were choſen to have the Cuſtody of the King's Perſon, every one his Month ſucceſſively, and the whole to ſtand for the Government of the State; yet with this Limitation, That the King by their Counſel ſhould not determine, nor ordain any thing in great Affairs, to which the Queen, as Princeſs and Dowager, gave not her free Conſent and Approbation.

The Lords were, the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Aberdeen* and *Dunkeld*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Lenox*, and *Argyle*.

Mean time, the Lords of Parliament directed the Earl of *Caſſils* again to the Court of *England*, to declare their Reſolution concerning the Marriage of the King, and eſtabliſhing a Peace between the Kingdoms.

The News of the Overthrow of the *French* Army, and the taking of their King, at *Pavia* by the *Imperialiſts*, being come to the Court of *England*, before the Arrival of the Earl of *Caſſils*, King *Henry* told the *Scots* Ambaſſadors in plain Terms, *He could not determine any thing concerning the Marriage of his Daughter, without acquainting the Emperor her neareſt Kinſman, and his Confederate, with his Proceedings, which could not be done in haſt, and ſo ſoon as they requir'd, conſidering the Troubles of* Italy.

Altho' the Ambaſſadors found their Hopes of this Alliance delay'd, yet they obtain'd a Truce between the two Nations for the Space of three Years and three Months, faithfully promis'd to be kept: So they return'd to their own Country.

But the State began of new to be toſs'd by the troubleſome Factions of the Queen and Earl of *Angus*, the Original of which ſprang from Matters of the Church; the Abbacy of *Holy-Rood-Houſe* falling vacant by the Promotion of *George Creighton* the Abbot, to the Biſhoprick of *Dunkel*; the Earl of *Angus*, to

to whom the Custody of the King was trusted, either by Lot or Consent, mov'd him to confer this Abbacy upon his Brother Mr. *William*, Prior of *Coldingham*, without acquainting the Queen with the Gift, or seeking the Consent of the other Rulers: At this the Queen was so displeas'd, that she abandon'd the King to the Pleasure of the Earl of *Angus*, and with her Followers retir'd to *Stirling*. By this inconsiderate Retreat the Earl administred all alone, leaning to the Greatness of his own Power, that some might have thought the Queen set her Game to make up his. All Favours and Punishments pass'd by him, all Offices and Places of Importance were distributed to his Favourites: He made *Archibald Dowglass*, his Uncle, Treasurer; his Brother, Great Chamberlain; the Abbacies of *Coldingham* and *Holy-Rood-House* were in his Brothers Hands; neither Temporal nor Ecclesiastical Dignity escap'd him: But this his Greatness instantly procur'd him Envy; for the Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle*, and *Murray*, who were of the Queen's Faction, laid a Plot to accuse *Angus* of High Treason; and they challeng'd him, *That he kept the King against his Will, and had insolently restrain'd his Liberty, and that, contrary to the Order establish'd by the Estates, which was, that the Custody of his Person should every four Months, by Turns, be allotted to the Governors of the Country; that he could not dispose of any thing of Moment alone, the contrary of all which he had usurp'd: Whereupon they charg'd him to dismiss the King, and restore him to them, and the other Counsellors equal in Government with him, under the Pain of being reputed a Traitor.*

A. D. 1523.

The Earl of *Angus* chief Ruler of State

He is charg'd with Treason by the opposite Faction.

The Earl of *Angus* answer'd not the Charge, but Sir *George* his Brother mov'd the King to give the Answer himself: *That his Mother and those other Rulers should not be thus solicitous for him; for with none more chearfully, willingly and contentedly could he live and spend his Time, than with the Earl of* Angus, *neither could he leave the Company of one so highly favoured of his Uncle, and so well meriting of himself.*

For all this Answer, he had secretly sent Letters to his Mother, and those of the adverse Party, intreating, *They would remove him from the Earl, and not suffer him any longer to remain under his imperious Government, and if it could not be otherwise done, to accomplish it by main Force of Arms, if they had any Pity, or if any Sparks of Duty remain'd unquench'd in them towards him, if they durst enterprize ought for a Prince, though now thrall'd, Suppliant, or obey the Command of a King in Prison; that the Answer, which he sent before unto them and his Mother, was by Constraint and Compulsion drawn from him.*

Upon this Advertisement, the Queen and they of her Faction, assembl'd what Power they could raise in such a Suddenness at *Stirling*, and with great Expedition march'd towards *Edinburgh* to seperate the King from the Earl his Guardian: Who, resolving to repel Force by Force, with the Townsmen of *Edinburgh*, many Friends and Adherents, and the King, though against his Will, march'd out of *Edinburgh*, to encounter and fight these Rebels. When the Leaders of the Queen's Forces understood the King in Person was in the adverse Army, either dazl'd with the Splendor of the Presence of a King, or fearing, if they join'd in Battle, the Person of their Prince might be endanger'd, or that they found themselves not strong enough in Number and Arms for a Conflict, they retir'd back again to *Stirling*, where they disbanded, and return'd every Man to his own Dwelling-place: The Queen with the Earl of *Murray* went to *Murray*-land, the Earls of *Arran* and *Argyle* to the West, and the Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s to *Dunfermling*.

This Faction being dissipated, the Earl of *Angus* remain'd more stable, and assur'd of his Guardianship, so that he found no Competitor.

The Want of the Great Seal being a Hinderance to many of his Projects, and he disdaining to be a Suitor to his Enemy; for Dispatch of publick Affairs, caus'd the King send a Letter for it, and the Archbishop with all Respect sent it immediately to the Earl: With whom to be equal, he took himself to new Meditations.

A. D. 1523. The Queen many Ways provok'd by her Husband the Earl of *Angus*, and laſtly by detaining her Son againſt his Will, and contrary to the publick Courſe agreed upon, the Archbiſhop perſuaded her, "To intend a Proceſs of "Divorcement againſt him, and diſſolve her Marriage; this might produce "ſome great Effect, at leaſt it could not but diminiſh the Earl's Reputation "among the People." The Queen and the Earl had many times in private between themſelves agreed upon a Separation, diſliking each other's Conditions; for it was fatal to her, as to her Brother King *Henry*, to delight in Change of Wedlock, and be jealous of her Matches. The Earl was therefore cited before the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s to hear the Sentence pronounc'd according to the Laws of the Church; and at the Day appointed he appear'd. The Queen alledg'd, "He had been betroth'd, given his Faith and "Promiſe of Marriage to a Noblewoman of the Kingdom (a Daughter of "*Traquair*) before the marrying of her, and ſo, by Reaſon of that Pre-con-"tract, he could not be her lawful Husband." Which the Earl confeſſing, the Archbiſhop pronounc'd the Sentence of Divorcement; but with this Reſervation and Reſtraint, "That the Child come of the Queen and the Earl ſince "the Time of their Marriage, by the Ignorance of the Mother (the Queen) "ſhould not ſuffer any Loſs, Dammage or Diſadvantage.

The Earl of *Angus* divorced from the Queen.

The King of *England* reſented highly this Divorcement, and endeavour'd by his Letters to hinder it: For he thought ſome Things tolerable in Men, which were incompetent and ſhameful in Women, and after never carried ſuch Reſpect to his Siſter as he had done before. Of theſe ſhe made little reckoning, for, after the Sentence given, ſhe married *Henry Stewart*, Son to the Lord *Evandale*, whom King *James* after, to do Honour to his Mother, promoted to be Lord *Methwen*, and General of his Artillery.

Who was after married to *Henry Stewart*.

Whilſt the King remain'd a Shadow to the Earl's Government, amidſt ſo many Diſtractions, diſorders and Jarrs of the Grandees, the Court turn'd ſolitary and unfrequented by any Noblemen, ſave thoſe of the *Douglaſſes* own Faction, among whom the Earl of *Lennox*, ſhew'd himſelf moſt indifferent. For he, for his own Ends attending the Court, in a ſhort Time ſo fram'd himſelf to the King's Humour, that he delighted alone in his Converſation, and often hid none of his inward Thoughts and ſecret Intentions from him. Among others he many Times importun'd him, "To give him a ſound Ad-"vice, how he might be deliver'd from the Earl of *Angus*, of whoſe Bon-"dage he had been long weary, whoſe Rule over him was turned now into "Tyranny, his Ambition having mounted to that Height, that he was not "content to command the Kingdom, but to confine and keep under his So-"vereign Lord the King himſelf, that the Effects of his Governing were the "diſperſing of his Nobles, and baniſhing of his Mother from him.

The Earl of *Lennox*, who by his Familiarity with the King was become ſuſpected by *Angus*, and had an Intention to turn him out, to eſtabliſh himſelf in his Place, and rule the young King alone; aggravating his and the Country's Miſeries, told him, after much Intreaty, "The Laird of *Balcleuch* "was the only Perſon to be imploy'd in ſuch a Service; a Man of unlimited "Deſires, diſpleas'd, ſtrong in Power, mightily hated, and who had inve-"terate Hatred againſt the Earl of *Angus*, and wanted nothing but Oppor-"tunity to execute his Rancour: If this conceiv'd Exploit had not a deſir'd "Succeſs, then he himſelf would by main Force either win his Prince, or "loſe his Life in the Enterprize." The Laird of *Balcleugh* ſecretly advertis'd of the King's Intention, gave Way to much Oppreſſion and many Inſolences on the Borders, the Redreſs of which requir'd the Preſence of the Prince. Complaints were given againſt them, and the King, to do Juſtice, accompanied with the Earls of *Angus* and *Lenox*, the Lords *Hume*, *Fleming*, and *Erskin*, with *Cesford*, *Farnehaſt*, and others, came to *Jedburgh*. But when they had ſtaid there ſome Days, ſmall Redreſs was made of Wrongs, no Juſtice executed, the chief Men of the Borders not producing the Delinquents of their Names, to anſwer according to Law, as was the ancient Cuſtom. Thus as they came they were returning, when at *Melroſs*,

roſs, as they hover'd at the Paſſage of a Bridge over the *Tweed*, certain Companies of Men in Arms appear'd on the Deſcents of *Halidon*-Hill: Which being come within Diſtance of diſcerning, were known to be commanded by the Laird of *Balcleugh*, being in Number a thouſand, all Borderers, and deſperate Men. The Earl of *Angus*, being not a little ſurpriz'd at ſo ſudden an Apparition, ſent an Herald to underſtand their Intentions, and how in ſuch a hoſtile Manner they dared come ſo near the King's Perſon, withal charging them under Pain of High Treaſon to retire. The Laird of *Balcleuch*'s Anſwer was, he came to do the King Service, invite him to his Houſe, and ſhow him what Forces he was able to raiſe upon the Borders, when Neceſſity ſhould require his Service and Aſſiſtance: That he would not obey a Charge contrary to the King's Inclinations, of which he was conſcious, and herewith he march'd forwards. Preſently the Earl alighting on Foot, leaving the Earl of *Lennox*, Lords *Erskine*, and *Maxwell*, Sir *George Dowglaſs*, and *Ninian Crichtoun* with the King, as Spectators of the Game; he, with the Lord *Fleming*, and others his Friends, marſhall'd his Men for the Charge, which was given with a great Shout and Clamour of theſe Borderers. The Lord *Hume*, Lairds of *Farnehaſt* and *Ceſford*, had taken their Leave of the King, who gladly diſmiſs'd them, but upon Advertiſement of the ſudden Fray, being not far off, they return in Haſte with an Hundred Launces, in good Time for the Earl of *Angus*, and falling upon One of the Wings of *Balcleugh*'s Troops, forced them to yield Ground, and ſome to turn their Backs, upon which ſuddenly follow'd the Chace, *Ceſford* and *Farnehaſt* eagerly purſuing. Here, at the Deſcent of a little Hill, by the Blow of a Launce, which a Domeſtick of *Balcleugh*'s threw from his Arm, the Laird of *Ceſford* was ſlain, and by his Death the Chace left off to be follow'd, and a long deadly Feud between the *Scots* and *Carrs* was begun, Fourſcore Borderers were kill'd, in this Bickering aſſiſting *Balcleugh*, himſelf was wounded with many of his Friends, the Earl of *Angus* loſt not a few, beſides the Laird of *Ceſford*.

A. D. 1523.

Sir *Walter Scot*, of *Balcleugh*, raiſes a Party againſt *Angus*.

They are defeated.

The Earl of *Angus*, after this Road of *Melroſs*, perceiving his Enemies to encreaſe, and the Affections of ſome of the Nobility turn'd from him, compoſing the old Difference between him and the Earl of *Arran*, enter'd into Conditions of a ſtrict Friendſhip with him, and was content he ſhould be his Partner and Fellow-governor in Diſtribution of Caſualities and ruling the Country. When the King had conſider'd how twice his Intentions had been broken, and unhappily without Succeſs, he began to eſſay the Third by the Earl of *Lennox*, whom challenging of his Promiſe, he deſir'd to gather an Army, and joining his Forces with the Queen's, to reſtore him to his Liberty. The Earl of *Lennox*, before ſuſpected, after the League and Friendſhip of the Earl of *Angus* with the Earl of *Arran*, became a declar'd Enemy to *Angus*, withdrew himſelf from Court; and ſome few Months being paſt, at *Stirling* he made a Declaration to all the Lieges of his Intentions, inviting them to aſſiſt and ſide with his Cauſe. One Thouſand Men came from the Highlands to him, the Earl of *Caſſils* and Lord of *Kilmaurs* came from the Weſt with Two Thouſand; the Queen and Archbiſhop *James Beaton*, directed many of their Vaſſals from *Fyfe* to him: Thus with Three ſtrong Brigades he march'd towards *Linlithgow*.

The Earls of *Angus* and *Arran* come to an Agreement.

The Earl of *Angus*, underſtanding theſe Preparations to be againſt him, implor'd the Aſſiſtance of his beſt Friends to withſtand them, eſpecially the *Carrs* and *Humes*, to whoſe Valour he had lately been ſo far oblig'd. He ſent Letters to the Earl of *Arran*, and the Gentlemen of the Name of *Hamilton*, "regretting the Eſtate of the Common-Wealth, and requiring their ſpeedy "Aid. That, in ſo perilous a Time, ſetting aſide all particular Reſpects and "Quarrels, they would have a Care of the common Good of the Country. "If the Earl of *Lennox* ſhould carry the King from him, and remain Victor "of the Field, he would not ſtay there, his next Mark would be the *Hamil-*"*tons*, whom he was in the Way to put from all Title to the Crown; the "Report going already that the King would entail it to him out of his own "Favour, and had deſign'd him Heir to the Earl of *Arran*, he having no

A. D. 1524.

" Children of his own. That the King had a Magnetical Affection towards " him, which, if Fortune favour'd him with a Victory, would encreaſe, as " thereby meriting, which before was but meer Favour: The Cuſtody of a " young King was not for a Man of ſo ſhort Experience." The *Hamiltons* finding that Man their Suppliant, who lately was their Competitor, laying aſide all former Diſcontent and Grudges, accepted the Quarrel, and aſſembled their Forces at *Linlithgow*. To this Town the Earl of *Lennox* was advancing; and, he being the Siſter's Son of the Earl of *Arran*, by Gentlemen well affected towards him, and of his Kindred, they entreat him, " to turn " back, and not to try the Hazard of a Battle for a Conqueſt: He could not " long enjoy the Government of a young Prince, whom a little more Time " would make Governor of himſelf, and who (perhaps) would reward his " Service with Diſgrace; it being ordinarily ſeen that great Obligations to " Princes procure rather their Hatred than Love, whilſt it is more eaſy to pay " Men by Contempt than Benefits: That if he came forwards, no Intereſt " of Blood would ſave him from their juſt and lawful ſtopping his Paſſage " and Enterprize. The Earl of *Lennox* anſwer'd, " It was no Time then in " the Eye of the World to abandon ſo juſt a Quarrel; that Shame wounded " deeper than Death, which he would rather embrace than not ſee his Prince " at *Edinburgh*." And finding the Bridge over the River *Avon* poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, paſs'd his Companies over the River near the ancient Monaſtry *Manuel*; the Lord of *Kilmaurs* guided the Vanguard, conſiſting of Weſt-land Men; the Earl of *Caſſils* and himſelf the main Battle, many of which were Highland Men, being of all (as ſome write) Ten Thouſand. The Earl of *Angus* having eſſayed in vain to bring the King to the Field with the Power of *Edinburgh*, leaving that Charge to his Brother Sir *George* and *Archibald Dowglaſs* Provoſt of the Town, accompanied with the *Humes* and *Cars*, being of all Two Thouſand, made a ſpeedy March towards *Linlithgow*. But the Earl of *Arran*, ſpurr'd by the Ambition and youthful Heat of his Son Sir *James Hamilton*, had begun the Fight before he could appear: For a long Time it was valiantly fought, Victory inclining to neither Side, 'till a great Clamour aroſe ſeconded by the Appearance of freſh Troops of Enemies, the *Dowglaſſes* and their Friends: At which Alarm many of the High-land and Weſt-Land Men turn'd their Backs; the reſt, by the Advantage of the Place, ſuſtain'd the Fight.

A Skirmiſh between the Parties of the Earls of *Lenox* and *Angus*.

The King, after many Delays (having heard the Armies were near joining) and much Solicitation by Sir *George Dowglaſs*, iſſued out of *Edinburgh* at a ſlow March: But when at *Corſtorphine* Hills he was awaken'd with the Noiſe of the great Ordnance, he urged his Followers to make all Haſte to come to the Fight. It was reported, Sir *George Dowglaſs* drove his Horſe in a great Rage, and gave him injurious Words, which he never after forgot. Being half Way, he was advertis'd, that the Earl of *Lennox*'s Highland-men were fled, and by all Appearance the Earl of *Arran* was Maſter of the Field. This News perplex'd him not a little, but making the beſt of the worſt, he diſpatch'd all his Domeſtick Servants with *Andrew Wood* of *Largo*, to ſave ſo many as they could in the Chace, eſpecially the Earl of *Lennox*, whoſe Life he now eſteem'd as his Crown. But the Earl, after he had been taken by the Laird of *Pardowy*, in cold Blood was unnaturally ſlain by Sir *James Hamilton*, who either kill'd or wounded all that came under the Dint of his Sword in the Rout.

The Earl of *Lenox* ſlain.

They found the Earl of *Arran* mourning over his Corps, over which he had ſpread his Cloak; the Laird of *Howſtoun* lay dead by him; the Lord of *Kilmaurs*, ſore wounded at their coming, maintain'd the Fight, and was by them with Difficulty ſav'd, with ſo many others as either the King's Authority or their Power could reſcue. This Conflict happen'd in *September*, 1524.

After the victorious Earls had caus'd dreſs their wounded Soldiers, and refreſh'd themſelves in *Linlithgow*, they accompany'd the King to *Stirling*, and immediately march'd thro' *Fife* in Queſt of thoſe who had been the Cauſe of taking Arms againſt them, of which Number the Queen was; but the Archbiſhop

biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s was the moſt eminent; who, as before he had ſecond- A. D
ed *Arran* to ſurprize *Angus*, ſo now he had ſtirr'd up *Lennox* to the Overthrow 1524.
of them both. Becauſe the Archbiſhop was not to be found, (for it is ſaid, that he, in Shepherd's Weed, kept Sheep on ſome Hill) they ſpoil'd the Abbacy of *Dunfermling*, and Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, defacing all the Ornaments, and carrying away the Moveables and Stuff in them: The Queen with her Husband *Henry Stewart*, and *James* his Brother, betook them to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which the Lords at their Return beſieg'd. The Mother hearing her Son was amongſt the Beſiegers in Perſon, obtaining Favour for her Husband and his Brother, caus'd the Gates to be caſt open. But for their greater Safety, ſuch who lov'd them, advis'd the King to commit them to that Place during his Pleaſure.

Now the Earls of *Angus* and *Arran* ſummon'd all who had born Arms againſt the King to appear in Judgment, and anſwer according to the Law as Traitors. Some compounded for Sums of Money, others became Dependers of the Houſes of *Angus* and *Arran*: *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſils* being ſummoned and compearing, *Hugh Kennedy* his Kinſman anſwer'd the Indictment, that he came not againſt the King, but to aſſiſt the King, for Proof of which he offer'd to produce the King's own Letter. Tho' the Earl of *Caſſils* eſcap'd the Danger of the Law, he did not the Fury of the Revenge, which was taken about ſome diſparaging Words; for as he was returning home, he was ſurpriz'd in the Way and kill'd: Some write, by the Sheriff of *Air*, but by the Direction of Sir *James Hamilton*.

The Earl of *Caſſils* kill'd.

Not long after, Men's Wrath by Time diminiſhing and their Blood growing colder, the Archbiſhop having beſtow'd on the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *George* his Brother, and other their Friends, ſome Church Benefices and many Leaſes of Tithes, was reconcil'd unto them, and with Appearance of great Friendſhip they mutually entertain'd and feaſted each other at *Chriſtmaſs*, in the City of St. *Andrew*'s. But ſmall Confidence could be long among reconcil'd Enemies.

Now every Thing went as the Earl of *Angus* could have wiſh'd, he was not only entire and familiar with the King's Perſon, but with his Office; ſome of his Enemies were dead, others overthrown in open Field, with the reſt he was reconcil'd. No Faction for Power or Riches was equal to his; Nor remain'd there any Caſtle or Fortreſs not ſeiz'd on by him, and garriſon'd with his Friends and Followers, except the Caſtle of *Stirling*, a Part of the Queen's Dowry, which being deſolate by her Miſeries, and only haunted by ſome of her pooreſt and meaneſt Servants, was neglected by the Earl, which in him was a great Error, the Fitneſs of the Place for a Revolution and Change of Court conſider'd. Many Days the Earl had not ſeen his own Dwelling-places, nor thought upon his private Affairs, being carried away by the Storms of Court: Now he conſider'd he might ſecurely paſs to *Lothian*, whilſt at *Faulkland* the King ſhould be ſafely entertain'd by his Brother Sir *George*, *Archibald* his Uncle, and *James* of *Parkhead*, Captain of the Guards. Having earneſtly intreated their Attendance on the King, he croſs'd the *Forth*, with a Reſolution ſoon to return. His departing was not ſo conceal'd, but the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s had Knowledge of it, and he invited Sir *George*, *to ſee him in the City of St.* Andrew's, *to receive the Leaſes of the Tithes promis'd, all now perfected, valid, and according to Law ſufficient*. Whilſt Sir *George* was here detain'd, *Archibald* the Treaſurer by other Letters, for Matters of Love, was intic'd to *Dundee*; But nothing could make the Captain of the Guards leave his Charge. The King, amidſt his ſolitary Walks in his Park of *Falkland*, conſidering of what a tedious Train he was relieved, and how ſuddenly that Occaſion might ſlip, if preſently he took not hold of it; therefore he reſolv'd to accompliſh by Stratagem, what the Factions of his Nobles could not perform by Force. Upon this Reſolution he directed the Forreſter of the Park *to give Advertiſement to ſuch Gentlemen about, who kept Hounds, the next Morning to attend him, for he would early have his Game.* He ſupp'd ſooner than his Cuſtom was, entertaining the Captain of the

A. D. 1525. Guards with more than uſual Ceremonies and Repreſentations of the next Morning's Sport, withal inviting him to go to his Reſt, the Night being ſhort about the Summer Solſtice. The Waiters all ſhifted, and the Court huſht, ſhutting his Chamber Door, in the Apparel of one of his Grooms, unperceiv'd he paſs'd the Guard to the Stable; where, with two who attended him with ſpare Horſes, he poſted to *Stirling*, where, by the Queen's Intelligence, he was expected in the Caſtle.

The King makes his Eſcape from *Faulkland* to *Stirling*.

When the Certainty of this Eſcape was noiſed abroad, many Noblemen repair'd to *Stirling*, ſome by Letters ſent unto them, others at the Rumour of his Evaſion; Among whom were the Earls of *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Glencairn*, *Monteith*, and *Huntley*; The Lords *Graham*, *Drummond*, *Livingſton*, *Sinclair*, *Lindſay*, *Evandale*, *Ruthven*, *Maxwell*, *Semple*, the Earls of *Eglinton*, and *Rothes*, and *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Deviſer of his Eſcape. The Earl of *Angus* full of miſ-giving Thoughts, with many of his Friends, was alſo on his Way to *Stirling*, but Proclamation being made againſt him, *Diſcharging him from all his Offices and publick Truſt, and being by an Herald forbidden with his Friends and Followers to come near the Court by ſome Miles, under Pain of Treaſon*: Either mov'd by inward Terrors, or Love of the Peace of his Country, he turn'd back to *Linlithgow*, where two Days he attended News of the King's Pleaſure, which at laſt was declar'd, *That neither he, nor none of his, ſhould preſume by ſome Miles to approach his Reſidence.* The more particular Favours were, *That the Earl ſhould confine himſelf beyond the River of* Spey *in the North, whilſt his Brother, Sir* George Dowglaſs, *ſhould render himſelf Priſoner in the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *and there remain during the King's Pleaſure.* When the *Dowglaſſes* had refus'd theſe Offers, they were cited to anſwer according to Law, in a Parliament to be holden in *September*, 1525. at *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Angus* depriv'd of his Offices and forbid the Court.

Before the Day of appearing, the Earl of *Angus*, accompanied with an able Train of his Friends and Followers, eſſay'd to enter the Town of *Edinburgh*, and there attend the coming of the King; but by the Lord *Maxwel*, and the Laird of *Lochinvar*, who in the King's Name had inveſted the Town, he was kept out; and the King, with an unexpected Suddenneſs, with two thouſand Men coming from *Stirling*, he remov'd. The Earl not appearing at the appointed Day, was, by Decree of Parliament, attainted and forfeited, with his Brother Sir *George Dowglaſs*, *Archibald Dowglaß* his Uncle, *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock*, and others.

He is attainted, with his Brother and Kinſmen.

The Points of which they were accuſed were, "The aſſembling of "the King's Lieges with Intention to have aſſail'd his Perſon: The detain- "ing of the King againſt his Will and Pleaſure, and contrary to the Articles "agreed upon, the Space of two Years and more; all which time the King "was in Fear and Danger of his Life." At this Parliament (ſome write) the King made a ſolemn Oath never to give a Remiſſion to any of the *Dowglaſſes* there forfeited; as the Lords did, never to interceed nor requeſt for any of them: And in Diſgrace of the Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Stewart* who had married the Queen his Wife, was created Lord *Methwen*.

The *Dowglaſſes* having all Favours denied them, being openly declar'd Enemies to the King and Country, they committed all Hoſtillity (the laſt Refuge of deſperate Men) on their Enemies Bounds: *Cauſtland* and *Cranſtoun* were burnt; they ravag'd even to the Gates of *Edinburgh*, the harmleſs People ſuffering for the Faults of the Great; under the Shadow of their Followers, all Robberies and Oppreſſions broke forth, and by whomſoever committed, were laid to their Charge. The King would not hear of them in any other Terms than as Oppreſſors and common Robbers. In their Defence they fortify'd their Caſtle of *Tantallon* with the readieſt Proviſion taken from the neareſt adjacent Bounds. In *October* the King rais'd a great Company of Soldiers; with great Ordnance, and other Engines of War brought from the Caſtle of *Dunbar*; *Tantallon* was beſieg'd, but prov'd impregnable; and *David Falconer* the General of the Ordnance at their removing was ſlain. A Commiſſion was ſent to the Earl of *Bothwell*, as the King's Lieutenant, to invade

invade with Fire and Sword in all Places the *Dowglaſſes*, which he, either out of Human Compaſſion, or that he knew wiſe Sateſmen ſhould extenuate the Faults of others rather than aggravate them, refus'd to accept. But the Earl of *Argyle* and Lord *Hume*, accepting that Charge, proſecuted them where they might be apprehended, till after much Miſery and Night-wandring at home, they were conſtrain'd, with *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock*, who had been Partaker of their Misfortunes, by his Conſanguinity with the Earl's Mother, who was Daughter to the Lord *Drummond*, to fly into *England*, where they were charitably receiv'd, and honourably entertain'd by King *Henry* VIII. *A. D.* 1530.

Now were the Offices and Lands of the *Dowglaſſes* diſpos'd of; the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, *Gawin Dunbar*, was made Chancellor; *Robert Barton*, who was in ſpecial Favour with the King, Treaſurer, Great Cuſtomer-General of the Artillery and Mines, and other Charges were given unto others.

At this Time the King of *England* intending a War againſt the Emperor *Charles* V. ſendeth Ambaſſadors to *Scotland* to treat a Peace for a certain Time, and if it were poſſible, to reconcile the *Dowglaſſes* with the King. Five Years Truce was reſolv'd upon; but for the *Dowglaſſes*, the King would hearken to no Offers; only *Alexander Drummond*, by the Interceſſion of *Robert Barton*, and the Ambaſſadors, had Liberty to return home. When the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Earl of *Murray*, who had full Power to conclude a Truce, had met the other Commiſſioners upon the Borders, the factious great Men and Borderers put all in ſuch a Confuſion by urging Difficulties, that they parted without agreeing unto any Articles or certain Concluſions: Which the King took in ſo ill a Part, that divining from what Head this Interruption ſprung, he committed ſundry Noblemen to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, till they gave Hoſtages, and ſecured the Borders from Invaſion or being invaded. In the Month of *June* following, with great Power, he viſited theſe Bounds, executing Juſtice upon all Oppreſſors, Thieves and Out-Laws. In *Eweſdale* Eight and forty notorious Riders were hung on growing Trees, the moſt famous of whom was *John Armſtrong*; others he brought with him to *Edinburgh* for more publick Execution and Example, as *William Cockburn* of *Henderland*, and *Adam Scot* of *Tuſhelaw*, nam'd King of the Borders. After which the Nation was quiet for ſeveral Years.

The Year 1530. the King inſtituted the famous College of Juſtice. Before, it was ambulatory, removing from Place to Place by Circuits; Suits of Law were peremptorily decided by Baillies, Sheriffs, and other Judges; when any great and notable Cauſe offer'd it ſelf, it was judg'd Sovereignly by the King's Council, which gave free Audience to all the Subjects. The Power and Privileges of this College were immediately confirm'd by Pope *Clement* VII. The Form of this Court then was, Fifteen Judges Ordinary, Eight of them being Spiritual Perſons, of the which the moſt ancient was Preſident. There were alſo Four Counſellors extraordinary, removeable at the Prince's Pleaſure, now call'd Extraordinary Lords of Seſſion; with Four principal Clerks. 1530. The College of Juſtice erected at *Edinburgh*.

This Inſtitution was after that Order of Juſtice which was adminiſter'd in *Paris*, firſt inſtituted by *Philip* IV. the *French* King, in the Year 1286.

The King about this Time ſtor'd his Magazines with all Sorts of Arms; the Caſtles of *Edinburgh*, *Stirling*, *Dunbarton*, and *Blackneſs*, were repair'd and furniſh'd with Ordnance and Ammunition.

Whilſt no certain Truce was concluded between the Realms of *Scotland* and *England*, the Earl of *Angus* prevail'd ſo with the King of *England*, that Sir *Edward Darcey* was ſent to the Borders; who, when his Solicitation for reſtoring the Earl had taken no Effect, after he had ſtaid at *Berwick* with the garriſon'd Soldiers, and ſome ſelected Companies out of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, he made a Road into *Scotland*; and burnt *Coldingham*, *Dowglaſs*, and the adjacent Villages; and ravag'd the Country towards *Duns*. Some *Scots* Ships and Veſſels were alſo at this Time taken by Sea. When a

A. D. 1533. Reaſon was ſought of this Invaſion in a Ceſſation of Arms and Calm of Truce; they requir'd the *Dowglaſſes* might be reſtor'd to their ancient Inheritances, and whatſoever had been withheld from them, and that *Cannalie* (a poor Abbacy) ſhould be render'd to the *Engliſh*, as appertaining of old to the Crown of *England*. The Earl of *Murray* being declar'd Lieutenant, made Head againſt them: But the *Engliſh* daily increaſing in Number, and his Companies not being ſufficient to made good againſt ſo many and large Incurſions, the Power of *Scotland* was divided into four Quarters, every one of which, for the Space of Forty Days, by Turns, took the Defence of the Country. The *Engliſh* finding by this Intercourſe of new Soldiers the War to be prolong'd, would have gladly accepted of Peace; but they diſdain'd to ſue for it to the *Scots*: So it was thought expedient, that the *French*, a Friend then to both, ſhould be a Mediator to reconcile them: Whereupon, after an Ambaſſador had come from *France*, Commiſſioners firſt met at *Newcaſtle*, and after at *London*; *James Colvil* of Eaſter *Weems*, *Adam Otterburn* of *Redhall*, *William Stewart* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, and the Abbot of *Kinloſs*. Theſe conclude a Peace, "To continue between the two Realms, during the two Princes "Lives, and one Year after the Deceaſe of him who ſhould firſt depart this "Life.

About this Time, the Lady *Katharine*, Daughter to *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, and Siſter to the Mother of *Charles* V. Emperor, had been married to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, eldeſt Son to *Henry* VII. King of *England*; he dying, (by the Diſpenſation of Pope *Julius* II.) her Father-in-Law gave her again in Marriage to *Henry* his other Son, the Brother of *Arthur*. This Queen though fruitful of Children, and often a Mother, brought none forth that long enjoy'd Life, and came to any Perfection of Growth, except one only Daughter *Mary*. Her Husband either out of Spleen againſt the Emperor *Charles*, or Deſire of Male Children, or other Cauſes known to himſelf, *pretending great Scruples in his Conſcience, would make himſelf and the World believe, that his Marriage was not lawful.* After Deliberation with ſome Churchmen, whom he prevail'd with to be of his Mind, he kept no longer Company with his Queen. Theſe Churchmen us'd all their Eloquence to make the Queen accept of a Divorce, which ſhe altogether refus'd, and had her Recourſe to the Pope, who recals the Cauſe to himſelf. At *Rome*, whilſt in the Conſiſtory the Caſe is made difficult, and the Matter prolong'd, King *Henry* impatient of Delays, and amorous, divorceth from his own Queen, and marrieth *Anne Bullen*, *Anno* 1533.

K. *Henry* VIII divorceth Queen *Katharine*, and marries *Anne Bullen*.

Then the Pope, with his whole Cardinals, gave out their Sentence, That it was not lawful for him, by his own Authority, to ſeparate himſelf from his Wife; that his Marriage with *Katharine* was moſt lawful, not to be queſtion'd; and that under Pain of Excommunication he ſhould adhere unto her.

First Diviſions in Religion in *England*.

King *Henry* being reſolv'd to gratify his Pleaſure, proteſted againſt the Pope's Authority; and encourag'd all ſuch as had, or were inclin'd to divide from the Church of *Rome*.

This bold Step of the King of *England* mov'd the Emperor and the Pope to try if they could win the King of *Scotland* to ariſe in Arms againſt his Uncle King *Henry*. The Emperor eſſay'd it under Pretence of other Buſineſs of great Importance: For having given Way to new Opinions in Religion amongſt his Countrymen of *Germany*, and finding them mounted to that Height as to have produc'd the Effects he deſir'd; by this Diviſion laying a Foundation to turn the Imperial Crown Hereditary to his own Houſe.

King *James* enters upon the Government.

In the mean time King *James* being come to the 21ſt Year of his Age, he enter'd upon the Government of the Nation: At which Time his Subjects entreated him to conſider of a proper Match, whereby he might contribute to the Safety of his own Perſon, as well as the Peace of the Nation; by having Children to remove the Plots of Conſpirators, and Alliance by Marriage to ſtrengthen the Power of the Nation in caſe of Danger. When this Advice was notify'd to forreign Courts, four of the greateſt Princes of *Europe* moſt earneſtly

earneſtly deſir'd his Alliance. *Henry* VIII. King of *England*, who had the ſame Inclinations with his Predeceſſors to annex *Scotland* to *England*, offer'd him the Princeſs *Mary* his Daughter by Queen *Katharine*; and for that End he ſent *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to the Court of *Scotland*, to negotiate an Interview betwixt the two Kings, that they might confer together about Affairs that concern'd their own Peace, and that of their Subjects; he aſſur'd the King, that upon the conſummating of that Marriage, his Maſter would declare him his Succeſſor to the Crown of *England*; and as a Teſtimony of the Sincerity of his Intention, King *James* ſhould immediately be created Duke of *York*, and Lieutenant-General of *England*. But at that time two kinds of Perſons diſſuaded the King both from the Match, and the Interview. In the firſt Place, the Church-men were afraid, if that Marriage had been concluded, the King would eaſily be perſuaded to a Change of Religion, ſeeing already he was diſpleas'd with the Pope's Legates in *Scotland*, and according to the Example of his Uncle *Henry* VIII. he might be brought to introduce the Proteſtant Religion, and aboliſh the Church of *Rome*: So to prevent thoſe Conſequences, they repreſented to the King, "That his mortal Enemy *Henry* VIII. had no other View, in deſiring ſo ear- "neſtly that Conference, but to enſnare him, and had a Deſign upon his "Liberty; that it would be an Inſtance of extreme Eaſineſs and Raſhneſs, "to endanger his Crown, Life, and Liberty, for the ſake of thoſe amuſing "Promiſes. They reminded him how barbarouſly his Predeceſſor King "*James* I. had been treated by *Henry* II. who, tho' he landed in *England* "even in the Time of a Truce, was there detain'd Priſoner 18 Years, and "at laſt his Subjects were forc'd to pay 18000 Crowns for his Ranſom; and "ſeeing we are to meaſure Mankind more by what has been, than what "ought to be, it was needful to remember that Kings never fail to improve "all Opportunities againſt their Enemies; and that they have always a grea- "ter Regard to ſatisfy their Ambition, than to avoid the Reproaches due to "infamous and unjuſt Actions.

"And from the Time he fell into his Uncle's Power, he may expect to be "intirely determin'd by his Pleaſure and Humours. Further, that *Henry* "not only intended to ſeize his Perſon, and invade his Kingdom; but above "all, he deſign'd to ruine his Soul, and poiſon it with his own Hereſy, to "which he was proſelyted by the ſinful Liberty it allow'd him to live accor- "ding to his Luſts; ſo it is no wonder that ſenſual Princes are eaſily perver- "ted to that Error: And in fine, ſeeing his Perſon, Conſcience, and King- "dom, would be in viſible Danger, it was no ways ſafe for him to enter in- "to any Conference with ſuch a politick and deſigning Prince, who would "uſe all poſſible Means to ſeduce him from that Faith, which was profeſs'd "and taught in *Scotland* earlier than in any other Kingdom in *Chriſtendom*."

On the other Hand, *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, next Heir to the Crown, us'd all his Intereſt and Endeavours to diſappoint that Interview, and defeat the deſign'd Alliance; he alledg'd, "That the Match with the Princeſs "*Mary* would not anſwer the End of it, which was, to have an Heir to the "Crown as ſoon as poſſible; for becauſe of her Childhood ſhe would not be "marriageable for a long Time, and that the Marriage of an Infant was not "at all adviſeable, in the Caſe of a Prince, who was already weary of a "ſingle Life. It would be ſeen that his Uncle's Promiſes and Performances "were as contrary, as Falſhood and Truth: In a Word, That it was evi- "dent to all thinking People, that the King of *England* was chiefly mov'd "to that Match, that by it he might the more eaſily enter *Scotland*, to em- "broil the Kingdom, and to execute his pernicious Deſigns." King *James* was ſo ſenſibly mov'd by thoſe Reaſons, that he was over-perſuaded to diſ- miſs the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, with Acknowledgments of the great Thanks he ow'd to his Uncle *Henry* VIII. tho' in the mean time he did not give a poſitive Refuſal.

Immediately after, the Emperor *Charles* V. diſpatch'd his Ambaſſador, *Henry Godſcallo*, ſecretly from *Toledo* to *Edinburgh*: The Emperor had no-

A. D. 1534.

King *Henry* VIII. offers his Daughter to K. *James*.

The Clergy diſſuade the King from the Match and Interview.

King *James* diſmiſſeth the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador.

The Emperor's Ambaſſador arrives in *Scotland*.

A. D. 8534. thing more at Heart at that Time than to weaken *France*, which was the greateſt Obſtacle to the Progreſs of his Victories, towards the compaſſing of which, it was moſt adviſeable to endeavour to break the old Alliance betwixt *France* and *Scotland*.

Godſcallo's Speech to the King.

When *Godſcallo* was admitted to the King's Preſence, he began his Harangue thus; "This is the peculiar Advantage of illuſtrious Virtue, that it "engages even thoſe who have not the Happineſs to be Witneſſes of it, to "admire and love it; the Reputation of your Abilities has reach'd the Ears "of my Maſter the Emperor, tho' unacquainted with your Perſon, which "has induc'd him to ſend me to You, as a Proof of the great Eſteem he has "of your Merit: Upon that Conſideration he deſigns to honour you with "his Alliance, which he refus'd to other Kings, not inferior to You in Power "and Valour, and for you he has reſerv'd that Favour. He offers you the "Choice of two Perſons, very dear to him, *viz.* Madam *Mary* of *Auſtria* "his Siſter, Widow of *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, or of Madam *Mary* of *Portugal* his Niece, the Daughter of his own Siſter the Lady *Eleanor* of *Auſtria*, "both deſcended from the *Imperial* EAGLE, who diſdain'd Alliance with "any but with invincible Hearts, ſuch as Yours is. Conſider, Sir, that "none of your Predeceſſors had ever ſuch an Honour done them, that a "Triumphant Emperor, who by his numerous and victorious Armies, is a "Match for all the Potentates of the Earth, ſhould court your Alliance: "Not that he expects any Aid from You by this Marriage, but his only In"ducement is, to ſatisfy the great Inclination he has to love and oblige "You.

This haughty and inſolent Speech had certainly provok'd the King to anſwer him in his own way, if Reaſons of State and Prudence had not hinder'd him; ſo he practis'd that Modeſty, which a great Prince ought to obſerve in all his Actions, and excus'd *Godſcallo*'s Behaviour, and imputed it either to the Genius of the Nation, or to his Education.

The King's Anſwer to *Godſcallo*.

The King anſwer'd him very courteouſly, and told him, "That his Inte"reſt and that of his People were inſeparably united, ſo that it was no Won"der if he could determine nothing in a Matter, on which the Happineſs or "Miſery of his Subjects very much depended, without the Advice of his "Nobility and chief Miniſters of State; but would ſo ſoon as poſſible con"vene them, to know their Minds in that Matter.

The King goes to *Stirling*.

After this the King ſet out for *Stirling*, where he ſummon'd the Eſtates of Parliament to meet him: When they were aſſembl'd, he communicated to them the Emperor's Propoſals, which were debated publickly in Parliament. The King then obſerv'd many, but chiefly the Churchmen, to be very inclinable to that Match, as the beſt Expedient to preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom. Amongſt whom the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, a Man of Experience and Piety, being warm'd with Zeal for the publick Good, made the following Speech:

The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*'s Speech to the King.

"Sir, It is Criminal for Us, next to the Worſhip of GOD, to account "any thing dearer than the Perſon of our King, and the Good of our Coun"try; upon which two, turns the ſmall Happineſs this mortal Life of ours "is capable of; the Relation betwixt which is ſuch, that we cannot watch "for the Safety of the one, unleſs we provide for the Preſervation of the "other, whence it comes that we are Sharers in the Good or Evil that be"falls our Kings; and on the other hand, our Calamities impare the "Strength of our Sovereigns, and diſarms their Courage. Upon this Con"ſideration, when in the time of your Minority, we your Subjects felt ſo "ſenſibly the Wrath of Heaven, and ſuffer'd both by foreign and domeſtick "Wars, which ſo diſpirited us, that we were upon the Point of leaving our "Native Country, and the Sepulchres of our Fore-fathers, and to travel to "other Nations, where we might die in Peace, if we had not been reſtrain'd "by the Hopes we conceiv'd, that Your being of Age would put an End to "our Troubles, and that then You would ſtrengthen your ſelf with ſome ho"nourable Alliance, whereby we might be reſcued from Ruin. Now when

"we

" we are poſſeſs'd of that Bleſſing which we ſo long wiſh'd for, And when A. D.
" ſuch a victorious and powerful Prince as the Emperor *Charles* V. is deſirous 1535.
" of your Friendſhip, and offers you the Choice of two fair and virtuous
" Princeſſes of his Family; What can now hinder that Happineſs, on which
" depends your Glory, and our Safety? Your Neighbour, *Henry* VIII. is
" the declar'd Enemy of your Kingdom, and our Conſciences, and waits
" for an Occaſion to embroil the Affairs of *Scotland*; and ſeeing he has miſ-
" carried in his Deſigns to ſubdue our Country, the Proſpect he has to ſow
" his Hereſy amongſt us, is ſome Comfort to his malicious Spirit. But ſo
" ſoon as he ſhall ſee you ally'd with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he will abandon
" all his Enterprizes againſt you, and turn his Deſigns another Way. We ob-
" ſerve many Families in this Nation already infected with this Hereſy, who
" upon this Marriage, will either think of returning to the Church, or of
" retiring to *England*. In a Word, ſeeing this Match is ſo viſibly neceſſary
" for the Sepport of your Kingdom, and the Cauſe of Religion, therefore
" why ſhould the Diſcourſes of thoſe prevail upon you, who diſſuade you
" from that Alliance, either out of Hatred to the *Auſtrian* Family, or to pro-
" mote their particular Intereſts? How vain is it to be jealous, that the
" Emperor deſigns to invade *Scotland*, and thinks by that Match he ſhall
" have a Pretence for ſuch a Deſign, ſeeing he has Work enough nearer home
" for his victorious Arms? If you delay the embracing theſe Offers, *Henry*
" VIII. waits for an Occaſion to defeat that Treaty, being enrag'd that you
" refus'd to marry his Daughter; whoſe Reſentment may be dangerous at
" this Time, when the Kingdom is much weaken'd by a long Minority, and
" former Wars, and by the preſent Parties and Factions: Don't therefore,
" Sir, delay that Work, which is ſo much for the Glory of GOD, the Ad-
" vancement of Religion, the Support of your Crown, and the Peace of
" your Subjects."

This Diſcourſe made ſome Impreſſion upon the King; the reſt of the Counſellors obſerving the King's Inclination, were upon the Reſerve, and declin'd giving their Opinion, either becauſe they would not diſcover that their Sentiments differ'd from his, or that it is dangerous to give Advice to young Kings in the Affairs of their Marriage: for if every thing do not anſwer their Expectation, thoſe who recommended that Match, are ſure to bear the Blame; tho' frequently their pretended Diſappointment is rather to be attributed to their own Inconſtancy and fickle Humour, than the Unfaithfulneſs of their Miniſters. This Reſervedneſs diſpleas'd the King, who expected that their Zeal for the Good of their Country, would have made them ſpeak their Minds freely; and having ſhewn his Diſpleaſure at their Conduct, he peremptorily commanded Mr. *Thomas Areskin* the Maſter of Requeſts, to declare his Opinion about the Matches propos'd by the Emperor. In Obedience to the King's Command, Mr. *Areskin* made the following Speech:

Mr. *Thomas Erskine's* Speech to the King.

" If the Regard due to your Majeſty had not hindred me to ſpeak upon
" this Affair without your expreſs Commands, You ſhould have known my
" Sentiment before this time. The propos'd Alliance with the Emperor, is
" extreme dangerous, and that the rather, becauſe the bad Conſequences of
" it are not forſeen. None can deny that thoſe Offers by ſo great a Prince
" are very much for your Honour, notwithſtanding which, you ought to
" conſider the Iſſue; for frequently pernicious Deſigns lie hid under the Co-
" lour of Marriage. It is a long time, Sir, ſince Ambition has baniſh'd
" true Love and Sincerity from the Marriages of Kings; for we ſee daily,
" that moſt Princes have chiefly in their View, by ſuch Treaties, either their
" own Intereſt, or the Ruine of their new Allies. You may be aſſur'd the
" Emperor is not ſo diſintereſted in this Matter as he pretends. His Deſign
" is to draw you off from the *French*, your old Allies, that he may the more
" eaſily attack you, when you are engag'd by Articles to give 'em no Aſſi-
" ſtance. It is viſible to every body, that theſe many Years he has had no-
" thing more at Heart than the Deſtruction of *France*, the greateſt Hinde-
" rance of the Univerſal Monarchy he has projected: His exorbitant Ambi-

A. D. 1535.

" tion has no Bounds; for the End of one Conqueſt, is but a plauſible Pre-
" text to begin another. And if deſart and barren Places, and the very di-
" ſtant Rocks of the Sea are not ſafe from his Arms, You have no Reaſon to
" think, but that he will alſo pretend ſome Quarrel, that he may begin a
" War with you: For Ambition is a Savage Beaſt which ſpares none; and
" frequently the neareſt Relations are moſt expos'd to its Fury. This obliges
" the Father to have a watchful Eye over the Son, and frequently the Tye
" of Nature is not ſtrong enough to reſtrain the Son from robbing his Father
" of his Crown; and what may then be expected in the Caſe of a more re-
" mote Relation? Therefore you have no Reaſon to truſt in that Alliance
" with the Emperor; for Reaſons of State, and his own Convenience, will
" certainly determine him more than Alliances, or any other Conſiderations.
" His pretended Love to You, is not ſo much the Reaſon of that Propoſal
" (which he would be glad to have you believe) as his Deſign to make a Party
" in your Kingdom, to entice your Officers to deſert your Service, to diſ-
" unite you from your ancient Friends, and to ſow the Seeds of Faction and
" Diviſion amongſt your Subjects, that when a fit Opportunity ſhall offer,
" he may wreſt the Scepter out of your Hands; which he would never have
" attempted, if you had not enter'd into Treaties and Alliances with him.
" And ſuppoſe his Deſigns are not ſo bad, his Conduct in this Matter ſhows,
" that he is afraid leſt you ſhould reject his Alliance, ſeeing he gives you the
" Choice of two Princeſſes, both of his Blood, that you may be the leſs ex-
" cuſable if you refuſe his Offers. What Treatment may you expect from
" him after the Marriage, when already, tho' there is no Tie or Treaty be-
" twixt you, his Ambaſſadors propoſe that Affair with ſuch haughty Inſo-
" lence, as if that you alone, and not the Emperor, were to have Honour
" by that Alliance? We all know that EAGLE which *Godſcallo* boaſts of, is
" the Arms of the Empire, which being elective, if Merit and Valour gave
" as good a Title to it, as Intrigue, Sollicitation, and Cabals, you might
" bid as fair for it as himſelf. It is ſufficiently apparent, That that Mar-
" riage, inſtead of being advantagious to you, will make all your Neigh-
" bours jealous of you, and your Allies ſuſpicious, without any real Aſſu-
" rance of Aſſiſtance from him in your greateſt Neceſſity; and when you are
" attack'd by your Enemies, any Aid you can expect from him will always
" come too late, whatever timely Notice you give; His Troops would no
" ſooner land in your Kingdom, but you muſt expect the ſame Plundrings
" and Ravages from them, as from an Enemy. And how ridiculous is it to
" fancy, that the Catholick Faith profeſs'd in *Scotland*, ſhall receive any Sup-
" port from that Alliance? as if the *Scots* wanted to learn Religion from
" them, who receiv'd the Chriſtian Religion long before the *Spaniards*.
" Their Lives are neither ſo exemplary, nor their Eloquence ſo perſuading,
" that we are in any want of their Inſtructions: There are many Princes in
" *Europe* whoſe Alliance is more for your Intereſt; for which, I hope, Sir,
" you will reſerve your ſelf: The Emperor's Propoſals flowing from ſuch a
" ſelfiſh Principle, can never advance the Honour of GOD: And how can
" you expect any Advantage by it, ſeeing it will infallibly engage your Per-
" ſon in conſtant Dangers? And little Satisfaction can your Subjects reap from
" ſeeing it; becauſe your Marriage will be ſo far from putting an End to
" their Miſeries, as they hop'd it would, that it will only ſerve to encreaſe
" 'em.

This Diſcourſe pleas'd the King ſo well, that he was reſolv'd immediately to give an Audience of Leave to the Imperial Ambaſſador, wherein he told him in a few Words, " You may acquaint your Maſter the Emperor, that I
" am very ſenſible of his Affection by the Offers he has made me; and that he
" conquers as much by his Civilities as by his Arms: The kind Offers of his
" Alliance has ſo gain'd upon me, that none of the Princes of his own Houſe
" can be more ready to oblige him than I am; but I hope he will excuſe me,
" if I do not preſently embrace theſe obliging Offers; becauſe I am not yet
" diſengag'd from the *Match propos'd* by the King of *England* before your
" coming

King *James*'s Anſwer to the Emperor's Ambaſſador.

" coming to this Country. I desire you to assure the Emperor, that upon all " Occasions I shall testify the Sense I have of this great Favour. A. D. 1536.

Scarcely had *Godscallo* left the Kingdom, when *Christian* II. King of *Denmark*, sent an Ambassador to offer in Marriage either the Lady *Dorothey* his eldest Daughter, or the Lady *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, the Emperor *Charles* Vth's Sister; notwithstanding she had been pre-contracted to *Frederick*, Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*; yet this King had more Regard to his Interest than to his Promise: The Beauty, and other Accomplishments of this Lady were such, that King *James* had certainly consented to marry her, if he had not been unwilling to displease the Emperor, who was Guarrantee of the Treaty of Marriage betwixt her and the Elector.

An Embassy from *Denmark* propose Marriage to King *James*.

Whilst those Designs were in Agitation, contrary to the Interest of *France*, *Francis* I. on his part neglected nothing that was necessary to preserve the ancient Alliance with *Scotland*; and King *James* on his Part, to show the Affection he had to *France*, resolv'd at last to match with some of the Royal Family of that Kingdom; from whence he could expect the surest Assistance when his Affairs wanted it. For this End he sent his Ambassadors to *France*, *viz.* *James* Earl of *Murray*, his Bastard Brother, *William Stewart*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, *John Ereskine*, and *Robert Reid* to negotiate a Marriage betwixt him and the Lady *Magdalen* of *France*. The *French* King receiv'd them courteously, but was greatly at a Loss what to do in the Matter, since the Design of the Marriage was to tie the two Kingdoms together by a more close Alliance: He was afraid that both their Enemies would make use of that Match as a Handle to disunite them, because King *James* could not promise himself any Children by his Daughter, by reason of her being so long afflicted with Sickness: And as he consider'd that the Match might rather prove the Cause of Indifference betwixt them, than be a Means to renew and strengthen their Alliance, he therefore propos'd to the Ambassadors a Match between the King their Master and the Lady *Mary* of *Bourbon*, Daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Vendosme*: But the Ambassadors refus'd to treat about it, without particular Instructions from King *James*, and desir'd Time to inform him of the Proposal, and to know his Pleasure.

The King designs to match with *France*.

Another Match propos'd by the K. of *France*.

Whilst the King waited for Accounts of this Embassy, he seeing the Nation in Peace, determin'd to sail round the Kingdom to view all the Sea-ports, as also to visit the Western Isles, and to bring the Inhabitants of them to due conformity to the Government; for some of the Chiftans had taken Advantage of their being at so great a Distance from the Court, and the natural Fortitude of the Isles which they inhabited, and liv'd almost Regardless of the Obedience due to their Soveraign. The King mention'd nothing of his intended Voyage, until he had order'd five well man'd Ships to be ready in the Harbour of *Leith*, and so set to Sea, having with him a skilful Pilot nam'd *Alexander Lindsay*: They arriv'd first at the Isles of *Orkney*, and from thence to the Isles of *Sky* and *Lewis*, where the chief Persons of the several Isles came and acknowledg'd their Alledgiance and Obedience to the King; and such as had been guilty of any Crimes or Outrages, gave Hostages for their good Behaviour for the Future. Mean time Orders were given to build two Forts, the one at the King's, and the other at the Bishop of the Isles Expence, to be Places for securing the Peace in case of any Disturbance amongst the Inhabitants. In this Voyage the King took particular Pleasure in seeing all the remote Isles and Sea-ports; and when, by the Skill of his Pilot *Alexander Lindsay*, he had sounded the Depth of the Seas about the Coasts, and observ'd all the dangerous Rocks, they were by a Storm driven into St. *Ninian*'s near *Whitehorn* in *Galloway*. The King having been inform'd of some Disturbance in the Borders, came streight to *Edinburgh*; and having sent the Hostages of the *Islanders* to the Castle, he summon'd several of the chief Persons living near the Border to repair to *Edinburgh*, by a Day limited, to give an Account of the Cause of these Outrages: And when they came into *Edinburgh*, several of them were committed Prisoners, to different Places, *viz.* *Walter Scott* of *Balclevgh* to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the Lord

King *James*'s Voyage about *Scotland* and the Isles.

The King lands at St. *Ninian*'s in *Galloway*, and returns to *Edinburgh*.

Several Chiftans of the Borders are committed to Prison.

A. D. 1536. *Hume* to *Dowal*-Caſtle, the Laird of *Farneharſt* to *Falkland*, and the Laird of *Johnſton* and *Mark Car* to *Dundee*, and the inferior Perſons to other Places; for the King very well knew that the Common-people never made any Incurſions without the ſpecial Advice and Aſſiſtance of their Supperiors; therefore confin'd them ſeperately for ſome Time, until he had examin'd the Cauſe of the Strife, and they having given Security for their good Behaviour, were releaſed and diſmiſs'd. Mean time the King receiv'd Letters from his Ambaſſadors in *France*, wherein they acquainted him with the kind Reception they had at the Court of *France*; and that the King of *France* told them, That he ſhould be glad of the Honour of the Alliance, but was ſorry that his eldeſt Daughter was in ſo bad a State of Health, and that his other Daughters were ſo very young, and that then, there was none of his Relations worthy of that Honour, except the Lady *Mary* of *Bourbon*, Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Vendoſme*, who was a Princeſs of moſt excellent Qualifications of Body and Mind, and neareſt of the Royal Blood: But that as they had no Power of themſelves, without his Majeſty's ſpecial Approbation, they had given no Anſwer, until they had his Orders to that Purpoſe. The King receiv'd this News with ſome Perplexity of Mind, as fearing the different Views and Intereſts of the Perſons employ'd in the Embaſſy: Therefore determin'd to go in Perſon to the Court of *France*, to make a Match for himſelf.

They are releaſed.

But the great Heats which were cauſed by the Difference in Religion, oblig'd the King to defer his Voyage till they were a little abated: And as the Proteſtant Religion encreas'd ſo much in the Kingdom, thought neceſſary to ſuppreſs it; as he conſider'd it would not only be the Cauſe of immediate Diſturbance, but would, in ſhort time, aboliſh the *Roman* Catholick Religion, which he ſo zealouſly adher'd to; and after long Conſultation with his Privy Council, and Church-men, he erected a Court of Inquiſition, and enacted Laws againſt all ſuch as ſhould be found to profeſs the Proteſtant Religion; expecting that thoſe Meaſures would extinguiſh that Religion. Mean time, King *Henry* VIII. of *England*, who had now renounc'd all Obedience to the Pope, and encourag'd the Doctrine of *Martin Luther*, ſent the Biſhop of St. *David's* to *Scotland*, to his Nephew King *James*, with a Book printed and publiſh'd in *England* upon that Occaſion, which contain'd the Principles of the Proteſtant Religion, profeſs'd and eſtabliſh'd in that Nation; which Book King *Henry* recommended to King *James* to read. The King receiv'd the Biſhop with all due Reſpect, but would not peruſe the Book until it was conſider'd by the Church-men; who found it ſo diſagreeable and contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, that they diſſuaded the King from taking any Notice of it, they having declar'd it to be full of Lies and impious Reflections on the Chriſtian Faith: So the Biſhop was diſmiſs'd with all ſeeming Reſpect and Compliments, from the King to his Uncle.

King *Henry* ſends a Book called *The Principles of the Chriſtian Religion* to King *James*.

Which is rejected.

The King being ſtill impatient at the Delays of his Match, renew'd his former Reſolution to go over to *France*, to ſatisfy himſelf in what was propos'd to his Ambaſſadors; and on the 6th of *July* he embark'd at *Leith*, without giving the leaſt Account of his Voyage to his Attendants; whereby ſome of them imagin'd that he intended to ſail towards *England*, to have an Interview with his Uncle King *Henry*. And when they came to the open Seas, the Pilot ask'd the King, to what Coaſt he intended? Whereupon he anſwer'd, *To any Coaſt that thou likeſt beſt, except towards* England. Mean time there aroſe a violent Storm of contrary Wind, ſo that they could not keep the Seas; and the King falling aſleep, the Pilot and Mariners concluded it not ſafe to ſtruggle with ſo mercileſs Enemies as the raging Elements, and as they were ſo near ſafe Harbours, therefore thought it more ſafe to return for Shelter: But when the King awaken'd and ſaw himſelf ſo near the Harbours of the River Forth, he was ſo highly offended at ſome of thoſe who advis'd their Return, that he would not be reconcil'd to them at any time after. The Blame was laid upon Sir *James Hamilton*, who had Enemies about the King, and took that Opportunity to incenſe the King againſt him. However the King was ſtill reſolv'd to proſecute his Voyage, and accordingly,

King *James* embarks for *France*.

He is put back by contrary Winds.

cordingly, on the first of *September* after, he sail'd from *Kirkaldy*, a Sea-port of *Fife*, and having easy Weather, he landed ten Days after at *Diep* in *Normandy*. The Persons who attended the King in this Voyage were, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle*, *Rotheß*, and *Errol*, the Lords *Fleming* and *Boyd*, besides many Barrons, Knights, and Gentlemen of Distinction. The Earls of *Murray*, *Lenox*, and *Cassils*, the Lord *Erskine*, *William Stewart* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and the Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, waited his coming to *Paris*: But the King was so expeditious in his Journey, that he prevented the Accounts of his landing, and with a small Train he went *incognito* to *Vendosme*, to see the Lady *Mary* of *Bourbon*, where one *John Tennant* personated a Lord, and the King past undiscover'd in his Retinue: But that Lady having some private Notice of his being in Disguise, and by comparing a Picture of the King which had been sent her, she soon discover'd him, and charg'd him with the Crime, which he soon confess'd, and she as soon pardon'd. The King found that Lady every way agreeable to the great Character he had heard of her Beauty and other Princely Qualities: But as he had then the Offer of three Princesses, the Daughters of Kings, he could not at this first Interview determine in his Choice of her for his Queen, and after making his Complement there, he return'd to his Retinue at *Rouen*, and so went suddenly to *Paris*, where he arriv'd within two Hours after King *Francis* had first Notice of his landing in *France*, so went immediately out to meet King *James*, accompanied with all the Nobility of that Court, and receiv'd him with all possible Grandeur, Honour and Respect. He had not been long in *Paris* before the Lady *Magdalen* own'd that she lov'd him; and he having no less Affection for her, desir'd the King, her Father, would agree to the Match; and said, that he hop'd that the Change of Air and encrease of Years would confirm her in perfect Health, and doubted not but he should have Children by her: Whereupon the *French* King (who never made any Objection, but for the Advantage of King *James* and his Nation) readily consented to his Desire, and told him, there was nothing in his Power that should be deny'd the King of *Scotland*; so the Marriage was contracted between them: And the *French* King gave a Dowry of a hundred thousand Crowns, besides the yearly Payment of thirty thousand Franks, during the Lifetime of King *James*. The Jointure given by the King of *Scotland* was, the Lands possess'd by any of the former Queens, *viz.* the Earldoms of *Strathern* and *Fife*, with the Palace of *Falkland*, and other Lands of the best Revenue.

A. D. 1537.

He takes Ship the 2d time, and sails to *France*.

King *James* arrives at *Paris*.

On the first Day of *January* 1537, King *James* was married to the Lady *Magdalen*, eldest Daughter to the King of *France*, in the Church of *Nostre-Dam*, in *Paris*, in the Presence of the King her Father, seven Cardinals, many Dukes and other Degrees of Nobility of *France*, and other Nations, who came to witness the Solemnity of this Marriage, which was celebrated with the greatest Magnificence and Splendor that could be devis'd. After the Solemnity of the Marriage, King *James* resided some Time at the Court of *France*, where he was no less belov'd than honour'd and respected, according to his Dignity: But finding the *Imperialists* enter into Action against *France*, he had reason to consider that his Uncle King *Henry*, would not neglect any Opportunity to make the best Advantage he could of his Absence, since he had married contrary to his Expectation, and slighted his Offers of having an Interview with him. He therefore acquainted the King and Court of *France*, that he intended to return to *Scotland* with his Queen; whereupon his Ships and Retinue were made ready, and being attended by several noble Peers and Ladies of *France*, both Kings parted with all possible Assurances of mutual Amity and Regard for each others Interests. King *James* with the Queen and Attendants, set sail from *Newhaven* and landed in the Harbour of *Leith*, the 29th Day of *May*. It is reported, that so soon as the Queen put Foot on the Shore, that she kneeling, kiss'd the Ground, and pray'd for all Happiness to the Kingdom and People of *Scotland*; and by all her Actions became so much belov'd by all People, that it is said, That never was a Queen in so short a time so much belov'd by her Husband, nor so soon Mistress of

He is married to the Lady *Magdalen* of *France*.

King *James* with his Queen arrives at *Leith*, the 29th of *May*.

A. D. 1537.

the Hearts and Affections of all her Subjects; nor was there ever greater Hopes of any Alliance than of this, nor greater Joy among all Ranks of People, than was occasion'd by this Match: But as the greatest Hopes that can be conceiv'd or propos'd from human Felicity are vain and uncertain, so was this great and universal Joy, and Hopes of future Advantages, suddenly turn'd to Sorrow and Lamentation, for the Death of this most excellent Princess; for she having contracted a Hectick Fever in the beginning of *July*, she died the 7th Day of that Month, and was buried with great Funeral Pomp and Solemnity, in the Abby of *Holy-rood-House*, by the Body of King *James* II. and others of the Royal Family. 'Tis said, that there never was seen such Appearance of real great Grief in *Scotland* at any Funeral, and that the King and Court were all array'd in Mourning Apparel; which was the first Time that Custom was observ'd among the Subjects of *Scotland*.

Queen *Magdalen* dies, *July* 7.

The Nobility and all Persons of Distinction in *Scotland* go into Mourning for her.

When some Months were expir'd after the late Queen's Death, the King continued his earnest Desire of Succession, and still retain'd a Remembrance of the Court of *France*; although the Lady *Mary* of *Bourbon*, Daughter to the Duke of *Vendosme*, who had retir'd into a Convent to live a Religious (as some alledge she did upon the Disappointment of her Hopes of being Queen of *Scotland*) was then dead: The King having made his Acquaintance with the Lady *Mary* of *Lorain*, Daughter to *Claude* Duke of *Guise*, and Grand-daughter to *Renatus* Duke of *Lorain*; she had been married to the Duke of *Longueville*, and although a Widow, was the only Lady whom King *James* had observ'd at the Court of *France* worthy of his Affection, next to the Princess *Magdalen*, whom since it had pleas'd the Almighty to deprive him of; he thought this Lady worthy of his Addresses: Therefore sent over *David Beaton* and *Robert Maxwell* as Ambassadors to *France*, to make his Intentions known. About the Time that this Embassy was dispatch'd, the King was alarm'd with many false Reports of Plots against his Life; and some villainous Persons took Opportunity to work up the King's Suspicion to a Belief of their horrid Contrivance. The first Person that was sacrifis'd to villainous Revenge, was *John Forbes*, eldest Son to the Lord *Forbes*, the Chief of that Name; a young Man of great Courage and good Education; but had liv'd a vicious Life, and had entertain'd one *Straghan* as a Companion in his Debauchery. This *Straghan* took Opportunity to desire the Gift of something from *John Forbes*, which not being convenient for him to give, he excus'd himself: Upon which *Straghan* was so offended, that he strove to be reveng'd on him; and knowing the Earl of *Huntly* to be at Variance with *John Forbes*, he went to the Earl, and accus'd him of having, for a long time, design'd to murder the King: And by this Means found false Evidences to swear to what he alledg'd, That Mr. *Forbes* was resolv'd to assassinate the King, so that by his Death the *Dowglasses* might be restor'd to their ancient Possessions, Titles, and Honour. Whereupon *John Forbes* was impeach'd, and by the Testimony of those false Witness found Guilty of Death by the Laws of *Scotland*, and was beheaded.

Ambassadors are sent to *France* to court the Lady *Mary* of *Lorain*.

John Lord *Forbes* condemn'd and beheaded for Treason.

This unfortunate young Nobleman's untimely Death shews how dangerous it is to keep lewd Company, and how often Men of the first Degeees of Nobility are brought to Destruction by giving themselves up to Viciousness, and following evil Courses of Life; for tho' he was innocent of the Crime for which he suffer'd, yet when he ascended the Scaffold he confess'd himself guilty of Death, by having slain the Laird of *Drum* without any just Cause, for which he then justly suffer'd; as for the Crime laid to his Charge he declair'd his Innocence.

The King was so much concern'd for this Nobleman's Death, that he banish'd *Straghan*, and restor'd the second Brother of the Lord *Forbes* to his Brother's Estate and Honour; and in Token of his Favour made him one of his Bed-Chamber; and the third Brother was, by the King's Interest, married to a Lady of great Fortune.

This Execution was immediatly succeeded by a more lamentable one, considering the Quality and Innocence of the Persons accus'd, and the most severe

ſevere Puniſhment inflicted, without the leaſt Offence or Probability of Guilt. *A. D.* 1537.

At this Time the Lady *Jane Dowglaſs* Siſter to *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* (who then liv'd an Exile in *England*) was the moſt celebrated Beauty in the Nation: She was of a middle Stature, not too fat; her Face of an oval Form, with full Eyes; her Complexion extremly fair and beautiful, with a majeſtick Mein: Beſides all theſe Perfections, ſhe was a Lady of ſingular Chaſtity, her Mind wanting none of thoſe Perfections a mortal Creature could be capable of. Her Modeſty was admirable, her Courage was above what could be expected in her Sex; her Judgment ſolid, her Behaviour affable and engaging to her Inferiors as well as Equals: And as ſhe was deſcended from one of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious Families of the Kingdom (tho' at that Time eclips'd) ſhe had been married to *John Lyon* Lord *Glames*, a moſt worthy young Nobleman of noble Birth, but died ſoon, and left this young Lady with one Son: And tho' ſtill Miſtreſs of her Perfections, and a plentiful Jointure, yet continued a Widow for ſome Years after her Husband's Death: During which time ſeveral of the firſt Nobility of the Kingdom had courted her, but ſhe was not ſo much inclin'd to marry for Wealth and Title, as for Merit; ſo that ſhe plac'd her Affection on one *Archibald Campbell* of *Kepneath*, who commanded the Third Regiment in the King's Army, to whom ſhe was married to their mutual Satisfaction. Mean time *William Lyon*, a near Relation of her firſt Husband, having made violent Addreſſes to her, and ſeeing that ſhe was married to this Gentleman, became almoſt diſtracted upon the Diſappointment. But tho' he had loſt her in Marriage, yet did not forbear his Addreſſes to her in an unlawful Way; and continu'd to importune her to conſent to his Deſigns, which ſhe reſented with the utmoſt Diſdain, and told him, that ſhe had treated him with the Reſpect due to the Relation of her firſt Husband and Child, and not out of any Regard to his own Perſon or Merit; but ſince ſhe found that he had ſuch Deſigns, ſhe hated the Sight of him, and aſſur'd him that ſhe never would comply with ſuch abominable Crimes.

This reſolute Denial ſo diſtracted him, that he upbraided her with Ingratitude, for the great Love he had for her, and told her, ſince he had loſt ſo much Time in vain, he would ſtudy to baniſh her from his Thoughts: But his violent Love, or rather Luſt, turn'd to as violent Hatred; ſo that, after that he never viſited her, but ſtudied Revenge. Thus his paſſionate Love being ſucceeded by Vengeance, he took ſome Time to invent a Plot againſt her Life, which he reſolv'd to ſacrifice to his Reſentment: And at laſt found out the moſt horrid Contrivance that Hell could ſuggeſt. He accus'd the Lady, her Husband, and one *John Lyon* an aged Prieſt and his own near Relation, of having a Deſign to poiſon the King: Whereupon they were apprehended, and confin'd Priſoners in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; their Goods ſeiz'd, and a ſtrict Charge given to the Judges of the Juſticiary to proceed to their Trials.

The Lady *Jane Dowglaſs*, &c. accus'd for conſpiring to murder the King.

Mean time the Accuſer, *William Lyon*, having too ready Acceſs to the King's Ear, ſtudied all Means to aggravate the Crime; and that he might diſpoſe the King to treat them with all poſſible Cruelty, he repreſented, "That the Family of the *Dowglaſſes* had been always dangerous and troubleſome to his Predeceſſors, and even to himſelf and his Kingdom; and reminded him of the inſolent Behavior of *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*, Brother to the Priſoner, in the Time of his Majeſty's Minority, whoſe Practices were ſo dangerous, that by a publick Decree he was baniſh'd the Kingdom, as a Diſturber of the Peace of his native Country: That ſince that Time, he was become the Subject of King *Henry* of *England*, his Majeſty's greateſt Enemy; and was now the Cauſe of all the Inroads made by the *Engliſh* into *Scotland*: And ſince he could not be reſtor'd to his Honours and Fortune without great Difficulty, Revenge had incited him to plot all the Miſchief he could againſt the King's Perſon; and who could be employ'd in ſuch wicked Deſigns, more true to him, than his own

A. D. 1538.

" Sister, who, by the Ties of Blood was oblig'd to Secresy; and had em-
" ploy'd her in that Conspiracy, thinking that her Sex, Character and Birth
" would make her the less suspected: Therefore advis'd his Majesty, That
" if he had any Regard either to his Interest or Safety of his Person, it was
" necessary to extirpate that Race, which produc'd nothing but monstruous
" Rebels; and especially that Woman, whom if he spar'd, he put it in her
" Power to accomplish her wicked Designes.

The King being ignorant of the Malice which *William Lyon* bore to the Lady, order'd that she, her Husband, and Chaplain, should be speedily brought to their Trial, without any Regard to their Birth or Characters: And the Lady *Jane* was brought to the Bar according to Custom, to hear what she could say for her self. And having made particular Answers to the Questions propos'd by the Judges; she imagin'd that her Danger proceeded from her Relation to the Earl of *Angus*, and with the greatest Courage and Confidence imaginable, she deliver'd the following Speech.

Lady *Jane Douglass* her Defence at the Bar.

" Those that hate my Brother are enrag'd because he is not in their Power,
" that he might fall a Sacrifice to their Malice; and they now discharge
" their Spite upon me, because of my near Relation to him; and to gratify
" their Revenge with my Blood, they accuse me of Crimes, which were
" they true, deserv'd the severest Death. But since it is the only Preroga-
" tive of GOD, to punish Men or Women for the Faults of others, which
" belongs to no Judge on Earth, who are oblig'd to punish every one accor-
" ding to their personal Crimes: You ought not to punish in me the Actions
" of my Brother, how blamable soever: Above all, you ought to consider,
" if those Things I am accus'd of, have the least Appearance of Truth; for
" what gives the greatest Evidence either of the Guilt or Innocence of an
" impeach'd Person is their former Life. What Fault could any hitherto lay
" to my Charge? Did any ever reproach me with any thing that is scan-
" dalous? Examine into my former Conversation; for Vice hath its Degrees
" as well as Virtue, nor none can attain to a Perfection in either, except by
" long Practice; and if you can find nothing reprovable in my Conduct,
" how can ye believe that I am arriv'd, all of a Sudden, to contrive this
" Murder, which is the very Height and Perfection of Impiety? I protest
" I would not deliberately injure the most despicable Wretch alive: Could I
" then make the Murder of my Sovereign, whom I always reverenc'd, and
" who never did me Wrong, the first Essay of my Wickedness? None are
" capable of such damnable and unnatural Actions except such as are in de-
" sperate Circumstances, or such as are hurried into such Plots by Reward or
" Revenge. My Birth, and Condition of Life puts me beyond the Suspicion
" of the first of this Kind; and for the latter, since I was never injur'd by
" the King, how can I be suspected to thirst for Revenge? I am here accus'd
" for purposing to kill the King, and to make my pretended Crime appear
" more frightful, it is given out, That the Way was to be by Poison. With
" what strange Impudence can any accuse me of such Wickedness, who ne-
" ver saw any Poison, nor know I any thing about the Preparation of it?
" Let them tell where I bought it, or who procur'd it for me; or tho' I had
" it, how could I use it, since I never come near the King's Person, his Table,
" nor Palace? It is well known, that since my last Marriage with this un-
" fortunate Gentleman, I have liv'd in the Country, at a great Distance from
" the Court; what Opportunity could I have to poison the King? You may
" see by those Circumstances, which give great Light in such Matters, that
" I am entirely Innocent of those Crimes I am charg'd with: It is the Office
" of you Judges to protect injur'd Innocence: But if the Malice and Power
" of my Enemies be such, that whether guilty or innocent, I must needs be
" condemn'd, I shall die cheerfully, having the Testimony of a good Con-
" science: And assure your selves, you shall find it more easy to take away
" my Life, than to blast my Reputation, or to fix any real Blot upon my
" Memory. This is my last Desire of you, That I may be the sole Object of
" your Severity, and that those other innocent Persons may not share in my
" Misfortunes.

" Misfortunes. Seeing my chief Crime is, That I am deſcended of the Fa- A. D
" mily of *Dowglaſs*, there is no reaſon that they ſhould be involv'd in my 1538.
" Ruin; for my Husband, Son, and Couſin are neither of them of that
" Name or Family. I ſhall end my Life with more Comfort, if you abſolve
" them; for the more of us that ſuffer by your unjuſt Sentence, the greater
" will be your Guilt, and the more terrible your Condemnation, when you
" ſhall be tried at the great Day by the Almighty GOD, who is the impar-
" tial Judge of all Fleſh.

This Speech was deliver'd with ſuch Courage, and free from Fear, that the Judges were extremly aſtoniſh'd at her heroick Behaviour; and when they had conſider'd what ſhe had ſaid in her own Defence, they delay'd the Sentence, and ſent two of their Number to the King, to repreſent to him,

The Judges repreſent the Caſe of Lady *Jane* to the King.

" That tho' the Witneſſes had prov'd the Articles of Impeachment, and that
" according to the Laws of the Land, upon the Evidence, ſhe deſerv'd Death,
" yet upon a ſerious Conſideration of the whole Circumſtances of the Mat-
" ter, they could not perceive the leaſt Probability of her Guilt: They were
" afraid, leſt the Rigour of the Law in this Caſe, ſhould prove the Height
" of Injuſtice; therefore they wiſh'd rather that Equity and Mercy ſhould
" take Place, it being more ſafe to abſolve a Criminal than to condemn an
" innocent Perſon: That Time alone could diſcover the Truth of the Mat-
" ter, by making known the Characters of thoſe Witneſſes who had ſworn
" againſt her, whether they were Men of Honeſty or had been brib'd to ac-
" cuſe her: That nothing was more adviſable, than to delay the whole Af-
" fair for ſome Days, which could be no Danger to the King, ſince thoſe
" Perſons were not to have their Liberty: And when there appear'd any
" clear Proof of their Guilt, they might ſuffer according to the Law. As
" for themſelves, they were tied up to the Form and Letter of the Law; it
" belong'd only to his Majeſty to temper and moderate their Sentence by his
" Clemency; upon which Account they addreſs'd themſelves to him, ſince in
" ſuch Caſes, wherein the Life, Honour and Effects of Perſons of Diſtinction
" are concern'd, all poſſible Caution was neceſſary."

The King's Anſwer to the Judges.

The King, who was naturally merciful, had eaſily complied with this Requeſt of the Judges, had not *Lyon* (who had contriv'd the helliſh Plot, and then fear'd that if they eſcap'd, his Wickedneſs would be diſcover'd) prevaild with the King to return this Anſwer to the Judges: *That the Exerciſe of Juſtice was a conſiderable Part of the Royal Dignity, which he had entruſted them with when he made them Judges; that it belong'd to their Office to preſerve the Innocent and puniſh the Guilty; that the Book call'd* Regiam Majeſtatem, *contain'd all the Forms and Rules which ought to determine them in ſuch Caſes; wherefore he gave them full Power to proceed in that Matter according to Juſtice and the Laws of the Land; and ſaid he knew nothing that could hinder them from doing their Duty like Men of Judgment and Honour.*

With this Anſwer thoſe that were ſent to wait upon the King return'd to the Exchequer (where the Court of Juſtice then ſat) and reported to the reſt of the Judges what the King had given them in Charge: Whereupon the Judges gave Sentence againſt the Lady according to the Law. She heard the Sentence pronounc'd without the leaſt Signe of Terrour or Concern; and on the Day appointed for her Execution, ſhe ſuffer'd on the *Caſtle-hill* of *Edinburgh*, where ſhe appear'd with ſo much Beauty and little Concern, that all the Spectators were ſo deeply afflicted for her, that they burſt out into Tears and loud Lamentations for her untimely End, and were ſo confident of her Innocence, that they deſign'd to reſcue her: But the King's Officers and Guards being preſent, hinder'd their attempting any thing that way. Thus died this moſt noble Lady whoſe Death was lamented by all that knew or beheld her, except the moſt inhuman *Barbarian* who brought her to this lamentable End.

Lady *Jane* executed.

The next Day after her Death, her Husband deſign'd to make his Eſcape out of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, being let down over the Walls by a Rope, which happening to be too ſhort, or broke, he fell upon the Rocks, where

A. D. 1537. he was daſh'd to Pieces. The King ſeem'd much concern'd after the Execution of Lady *Jane*, and the Death of her Husband, and caus'd releaſe the old Gentleman her Chaplain: But yet the young Lord *Glamis* was ſtill kept in the Caſtle, till after the King's Death.

I ſhould rather paſs over this tragical Story ſilently, than renew the Remembrance of ſo diſmal a Tranſaction, were it not that it ſhould for ever ſerve as an Example, to remember Princes and Perſons in Power how Dangerous it is to believe the Accuſation of every malicious Perſon, who, contrary to all Divine and Human Laws, are ready to ſacrifice the Lifes of the moſt Innocent to their Revenge, or to accompliſh their Ends. Reaſon may convince any Perſon of tollerable Judgment, That when any particular Perſon or Party ſeem to inform againſt any one, and preſs the Severity of the Law to be put in Execution againſt the Accus'd, that in ſuch Caſes it may be conſider'd, That the Accuſer has more Malice and baſe Ends in View, than any real Reſpect he may pretend to the Laws and due Execution of Juſtice. As it is not conſiſtent with the Power of Human-kind to reſtore the meaneſt Life when once taken away; therefore Mankind ought not to be too raſh in taking away that which is only in the Power of the Almighty GOD to give or return.

By Reflection on this and ſeveral other tragical Hiſtories we may obſerve, That great Beauty very frequently expoſes Women to the greateſt Danger; and often proves a Snare and Curſe to them, rather than a Bleſſing. For as their Beauty engages ſo many Men to become paſſionate Admirers, whereas it is only in a virtuous Lady's Power to make but one Man happy; ſo that often where the Rivals are worthleſs Perſons, inſtead of ſubmitting to their Fate, and continuing a generous Reſpect, and friendly good Wiſhes for the Perſon they ſo much admir'd; they out of mean-ſpirited Paſſion turn all their Love into the moſt irreconciliable Malice, and ſtudy Revenge, inſtead of retaining ſome Remembrance of their Love. So that by ſuch Means many Womens Beauty becomes the Cauſe of their greateſt Misfortunes: Whereas Women who are bleſs'd with greater Ornaments of Mind than their outward Form, are only valu'd and belov'd by ſuch as have ſufficient Judgment and Generoſity to conſider, that by placing their Affection on ſuch (which ſeldom happens without mature Deliberation to weigh their Merit) they make Choice of ſuch Women as may render their Conditions happy, without ſuch Jealouſies and Perplexity of Mind, as often attend the Marriages of ſuch as marry entirely for Beauty, without examining the other Qualifications.

After this moſt virtuous and excellent, as well as beautiful Lady, fell a Victim to her inhuman Lover, he began to reflect on his Wickedneſs, and was ſo fill'd with Horror, that he was not able to endure the Laſhes of his troubled Conſcience: He lamented his Crimes when it was too late, and having ſuch Confidence in the King's Mercy, he confeſs'd the whole Matter ſecretly to him: But finding that the King abhorr'd ſuch Wickedneſs, he fled from the Court, knowing that he could not eſcape being puniſh'd according to his Crimes; and departing from *Scotland*, he ſoon after died in *Flanders* in great Miſery.

William Lyon confeſſes his Crime, and flies from Juſtice.

About this time the Barons of *Drumlanrig* and *Hempsfield* having challeng'd one another to decide ſome Point of Honour, they obtain'd Leave of the King to try their Valour in a publick Combat before the King and Court at the Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*. Upon the Day appointed they met, being arm'd from Head to Foot like ancient Warriors; and having fought with great Fury, till they were become almoſt breathleſs, the King by his Heralds caus'd them to be ſeparated with the greateſt Applauſe of their Equality in Manhood and Honour.

A Combat between the Barons of *Drumlanrig* and *Hempsfield*.

At length the King had Letters from *David Beaton* the Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, and the Lord *Maxwel*, then at the Court of *France*, that his Marriage was concluded with the Lady *Mary* of *Lorain*, and the Articles agreed on, to the great Satisfaction of the King and Court of *France*; and according to the Cuſtom of Princes they were married by Proxy, with great Solemnity, in

in the City of *Paris*, in the Preſence of the King and his Court: And after the Ceremony ſhe ſet out for *Scotland*. The King of *France* ſent Monſieur *D'Annabault*, Admiral of *France*, with ſome well man'd Ships for her Convoy: and being accompanied by ſeveral Noblemen and Ladies of *France*, ſhe embark'd at *Nehaven*, and on the 12th of *June*, 1538. ſhe landed at *Balcomy* (a Caſtle belonging to Sir *James Lermount*) near *Cryle*, and was convoy'd by Land to St. *Andrew*'s, where ſhe was met by the King; and there, in the Cathedral Church, they were married, in a great Aſſembly of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, with the utmoſt Solemnity and Splendor. *A. D.* 1538.

The Lady *Lorain* arrives in *Scotland*, *June* 12.

She is married to the King.

The great Merit of the New Queen was ſo very remarkable, that ſhe was admir'd and belov'd by all her Subjects: Her Prudence, and Love to the King, gain'd his Heart entirely; and to compleat his Happineſs, ſhe conceiv'd and brought forth a Son, at St. *Andrew*'s, before the firſt Year was expir'd. He was baptiz'd by the Name of *James*, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and the Earl of *Arran* being his Godfathers, and the Queen Dowager his Godmother. And towards the latter End of *February*, 1539. the Queen was ſolemnly crown'd, in the Abby Church of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, by the Abbot of *Aberbrothock*: At which time, *Margaret*, the Queen Dowager, Mother to King *James*, and Siſter to King *Henry* VIII. of *England*, departed this Life, at *Methven* in *Perthſhire*, and was buried in the Charter-houſe of St. *Johnſton*, near the Tomb of King *James* I. The King her Son, and all the Nobility were preſent at her Funeral, which was celebrated with the utmoſt Pomp and Solemnity. In a few Days after her Death, died *James Beaton*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s; a Man of great Age, and great Character in his Time: Before his Death, he had made Intereſt with the King, to have *David Beaton*, the Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, to ſucceed him in the Primacy; ſo that, immediately after his Death, he was admitted, and accepted as Archbiſhop without any Diſpute by the King and Clergy. This *David* was afterwards Cardinal, as ſhall be ſeen in the Sequel of this Hiſtory. The next Year the Queen was deliver'd of another Son, at *Stirling*, who was baptiz'd by the Name of *Arthur*; whereupon the King was ſo fond of the Queen, that he frequently advis'd with her, in the greateſt Affairs of State: As ſhe was a Princeſs of great Judgment, as well as ready Wit, and was reputed to be nothing inferiour to any Princeſs of that Age, for Beauty, Courage, and Prudence.

The Queen deliver'd of a Prince at St. *Andrew*'s.

The Queen crown'd, *Feb.* 1539.

The Queen Dowager dies, as alſo the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s.

The Queen deliver'd of a 2d Son, at *Stirling*.

At this Time, King *James* enjoy'd all poſſible Felicity, as having a moſt agreeable Queen, and Children by his Marriage; was belov'd by his Subjects, and fear'd by his Enemies: But his Proſperity was ſoon turn'd to Trouble and Perplexity of Mind; chiefly occaſion'd by the Diviſions in Matters of Religion; for now the Proteſtants growing to a numerous Body, were ſo diſpleas'd with the Puniſhments inflicted by the Government upon Account of their Religion, that they had certainly taken up Arms to redreſs their Grievances, if they had had any Number of the Nobility, or Chief Leaders of Families to head them. Mean time, the King knew how dangerous it would be, then to execute the Laws with ſuch Penalties as the Acts then in Force impower'd him; therefore diſſembled his Diſpleaſure at that Time, till he might ſee a proper Opportunity to puniſh them; and endeavour'd to keep them in Subjection. But, as he conſulted moſt with the Clergy, in Matters relating to the Government, many of the Nobility were offended; eſpecially ſuch as regarded their Intereſt, more than the Continuation of the Religion then by Law eſtabliſh'd, or advancing the other: And ſeeing the King (ſince his laſt Marriage, and the Birth of two Sons) ſeem'd to look upon them with leſs Reſpect than formerly, many of them withdrew from Court: And when the King acquainted his Council, of the Occaſion he had for Money, as having been at extraordinary Expence by his Marriages, and the Building and repairing of his Palaces; therefore, expected they would conſider of ſome Means to ſupply the Treaſury, which was then ſo exhauſted. There was no other way, to be thought of at that time,

A. D. 1540. to raiſe Money, unleſs they could lay a Tax upon the Nobility or Clergy; which being mention'd, both of them made ſuch great Complaints of their Poverty, that there could be no Hopes to ſucceed that way.

Peace concluded between the Emperor and King of *France*.

About this time, the King of *England* having Notice, that a Peace was concluded between the Emperor and King of *France*, by the Pope's Mediation; and that they had a Meeting with the Pope at *Nice*, a Maritime Town upon the Confines of *Province*. He ſuſpected that their Conſultation would be nothing to his Advantage, as having lately given new Cauſe of Offence to the Church of *Rome*, by condemning as Rebels, and having confiſcated the Goods, of all ſuch as profeſs'd or mention'd that Religion: As alſo, having eras'd the Tomb, and caus'd the Bones of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* to be burn'd to Aſhes, by the common Executioner. Wherefore King *Henry* conſider'd that it would be his Intereſt to engage his Nephew, King *James*, to take his Part; ſo renew'd his Deſire of an Interview at *York*, with all poſſible Temptations to induce him thereto: Tho' King *Henry* had not forgotten, how he had been affronted by King *James*, by refuſing to marry his Daughter; and having married twice, without ſo much as acquainting him with his Deſigns: Yet, conſidering at that Time, it would not be prudent to reſent the Affront, was reſolv'd to uſe ſubtle Means to bring him to a meeting with him in *England*, where he could manage him with Eaſe to comply with his Deſigns; and if he refus'd, then he ſhould have a fair Pretence to begin a War againſt *Scotland*: Whereupon an Ambaſſador was ſent to King *James*, entreating an Interview at *York*, or any other Place, at a middle Diſtance, between *London* and *Edinburgh*; where he, and the King of *Scotland*, might have a friendly Conference, about ſuch Matters as related to the Advantage of both their Kingdoms, and that a laſting Peace might be concluded between them; as nothing could add more to their Glory and mutual Satisfaction, than to put an End to the ancient Hatred and Animoſity which had continued ſo long, and had occaſion'd the Effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian Blood; that, inſtead of thoſe National Quarrels, a firm and ſincere Friendſhip might be eſtabliſh'd between the two Crowns.

King *Henry* cauſe deſtroy the Tomb, and burn the Bones of *Thomas Becket*.

King *Henry* ſends an Embaſſy deſiring an Interview with King *James* at *York*.

The Proteſtants perſuade the King to meet King *Henry*.

Such of the Nobility of *Scotland*, as favour'd the Proteſtants, us'd all poſſible Arguments to perſuade the King to meet his Uncle King *Henry*, who, they aſſur'd him, had then all the Inclinations imaginable, to meet him with the utmoſt Demonſtrations of Affection; nor were there any Cauſe to fear dangerous Conſequences from that Interview, which they had great reaſon to believe, would procure a well grounded and laſting Peace between the two Nations. The Reaſon, why theſe Perſons urg'd the King to this meeting was, That they knew King *Henry* to be a Prince of very moving Eloquence, ſo they hop'd, that he might prevail with King *James* to enter into a firm Alliance with him; who, being his Uncle, could uſe ſuch Means as would, in little Time, induce him to Change the Religion in his Kingdom, as King *Henry* had done in his own. Tho' the King ſeem'd to liſten to this Advice, yet would not determine to comply, without conſulting the Clergy; who eaſily knew how far that Interview would be againſt the Church then eſtabliſh'd in *Scotland*; therefore employ'd all their Skill to prevent their Meeting, and told the King, "That his Majeſty ought not to "truſt himſelf to any ſafe Conduct of the King of *England*, ſince the Kings "*Malcolm*, and *William* his Brother, had, by truſting to ſuch Promiſes and "Securities, loſt their Liberties, and were made Priſoners by *Henry* II. of "*England*, and carried to *France*, where he then was in War; ſo that he "might oblige them to renounce their ancient Alliance with that Nation. "Alſo the Misfortunes of his Predeceſſor King *James* I. might make his "Majeſty cautious in ſuch Affairs: That now, his Uncle King *Henry*, having "broken his Engagements with Heaven, as having renounc'd that Faith in "which he was born and baptiz'd; what human Tie could bind him? "Thoſe Conſiderations ought to prevail with his Majeſty, to avoid the "Snares of his Enemy: But if his Uncle ſhould be offended at this Diſappointment, ſo as to declare War againſt *Scotland*, they promis'd the King

The Clergies Addreſs to the King, againſt the Interview.

as

" as much Money, as ſhould be neceſſary to defray the Charges of it: Be- A. D.
" ſides, they promis'd to pay him yearly 30000 Crowns; and, if at any 1539.
" time his Affairs requir'd more Money, they would readily contribute ſo
" far as their Revenues could extend for his Aſſiſtance: Provided that his
" Majeſty would allow the Laws to be put in Force, againſt thoſe who
" had renounc'd Obedience to the holy Church, deſpis'd its Ordinances, and
" then openly profeſs'd the Doctrine of *Martin Luther*. They deſir'd his
" Majeſty, as the only way to prevent that growing Miſchief, that he would
" allow them to ſeize the Goods and Eſtates of thoſe who ſhould for the fu-
" ture be convicted of Hereſy; which, they thought, would amount to the
" yearly Value of 100,000 Crowns; which, they ſaid, might be anex'd to
" his Revenue: So, they hop'd, his Majeſty would appoint ſuch Judges as
" were Men of Courage and Reſolution, and would execute their Offices.

upon this Addreſs the King lays aſide thoughts of the Interview.

This Addreſs, from the Clergy, prevail'd ſo far with the King, that he laid aſide all Thoughts of an Interview with his Uncle King *Henry*: Nor was the Queen wanting, on her Part, to diſſuade him from it; for ſhe had declar'd that ſhe was entirely againſt that Journey, becauſe the Dangers ſhe ſuſpected, were far more, than any Advantage he could propoſe: She knew the King, her Husband, did not love his Uncle, nor could he diſguiſe his Averſion; ſo was afraid, that his open, free Temper, would widen the Difference between them, rather than come to any Agreement. Mean time, the King did not think it would be prudent to give a downright Denial to his Uncle; but return'd for Anſwer, " That he would meet him at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*; that " they ſhould not exceed one Thouſand in each of their Retinues; and the " Time of their Meeting ſhould be on the Feaſt of St. *Michael*:" Which Conditions, King *James* imagin'd, that his Uncle would not agree to; yet might, in ſome meaſure, render him excuſable in his Reſolution; but in that he was deceiv'd, for King *Henry* accepted of the Conditions (tho' not without accuſing his Nephew of being too imperious in aſſuming the Power to propoſe all the Conditions of the meeting) rather than miſs the Opportunity he ſo earneſtly deſir'd, yielded to his Terms, only deſir'd the Time might be the firſt of *Auguſt*. Theſe Conditions being almoſt agreed upon, there happen'd ſome Quarrels between ſome *Scots* and *Engliſh* Borderers, which occaſion'd ſome Letters to paſs between both Kings; ſo that the Interview ſeem'd to be delay'd, if not quite broke off. During which Delay, the Biſhops adviſ'd the King, to put the Laws in Execution againſt the Proteſtants, and nominated Sir *James Hamilton*, Baſtard Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, to be Judge of the Court of Inquiſition, to be then erected. Sir *James* being very much in Favour with the Clergy, was the more hateful to the Proteſtants; who, upon his being admitted to that Office, laid a Trap for him, which he could not eſcape.

Sir *James Hamilton* made Judge of the Court of Inquiſition

It happen'd at that time, that *James Hamilton*, Sheriff of *Linlithgow*, who had fled beyond Seas, for the Proteſtant Religion, being now return'd to *Scotland*, as it was alledg'd, by the King's Permiſſion, to ſettle his Affairs; yet could not think himſelf ſafe, whilſt Sir *James* his Couſin was in ſuch Power, for having (when Sheriff) given a Cauſe againſt him, was apprehenſive of his taking an Opportunity to be reveng'd of that Injury: Wherefore the Sheriff was reſolv'd to be before-hand with Sir *James*, and knowing that he was not in great Favour with the King, tho' he had comply'd with the Clergy to give him that Office; therefore ſent his Son to the King at *Falkland*, to inform him that Sir *James* kept Correſpondence with the Earl of *Angus*; and that he only wanted a proper Opportunity to find when the King was alone, or few in his Company, that he would enter his Appartment, and aſſaſſinate him. The King gave attentive Ear to the Information, as it concern'd the Safety of his Perſon; and diſpatch'd the young Gentleman to *Edinburgh*, and gave him his Ring (which was well known to the Miniſters) as a Token of the Verity of his Meſſage; directing Sir *Thomas Erskine*, Secretary of State; Sir *James Lermount*, Maſter of the Houſhold; Sir *William Kirkaldy*, Treaſurer; and others, to meet, and ſecure the

He is accus'd of Treaſon;

A. D. 1540.

He is arrested and committed Prisoner.

Person of Sir *James Hamilton*, in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. They no sooner receiv'd the King's Orders, than they went to Sir *James*'s House, and arrested, and committed him Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*: And in the mean time, drew up Articles of Impeachment against him. The Clergy, suspecting this Accusation to be a Contrivance of the Protestants, to ruin the Inquisition, undertook to defend the Prisoner, went to the King, and us'd all possible Arguments to dissuade him from giving Credit to the Information against Sir *James*; and earnestly entreated his Majesty to release, and return him to the Exercise of his Office: But Sir *James Lermount* and *William Kirkaldy* being appriz'd, how earnestly the Clergy were to release the Prisoner, and knowing the King to be naturally inclin'd to Mercy, and so much govern'd by the Advice of the Clergy; they (besides their Inclination to serve the Protestants) consider'd, that if Sir *James* recover'd his Liberty, he would never forgive the Affront they had given him; and as he was a Man of great Interest, and revengeful, their known Love to the Protestant Religion, would be a Handle for him to contrive their Ruin: Therefore to provide for their own Safety, they went to the King; yet did not enlarge so much upon the Prisoner's Guilt, or the Circumstances of it, as upon his dangerous and wicked Temper; as that he would never forget the Scandal of the Imprisonment, but would study Revenge, if he were free'd from Prison before he was try'd: By which Advice, the King came to *Edinburgh*, on the Day appointed for his Trial, and sat in the Court of Justice to hear the Accusation: But the Prisoner being brought to the Bar to make his Defence; the King left the Court, probably, to shun any Petitions that might be given by him, for Favour; or, lest his Presence might hinder the Judges from speaking their Minds freely, since it was a Matter that concern'd his own Life. He order'd the Judges to continue the Trial till it was ended; and told them, He gave them full Power to do Justice according to their own Consciences and the Laws of the Kingdom: So, upon Proof of the Articles of Impeachment, Sir *James* was found guilty, and sentenc'd to be hang'd and quarter'd, and his Quarters to be fix'd upon the Gates of the City: His Sentence being alter'd, he was beheaded and quarter'd; and his Lands annex'd to the Crown.

He is beheaded and quarter'd.

After this Execution, the King seem'd entirely alter'd in his Temper: For altho' he formerly delighted in Diversions and Exercises, he then became thoughtful and uneasy to himself and others, so that every thing became offensive to him, whereby he abandon'd all Company and Recreations. Some alledge, that his melancholy Thoughts were caus'd, by his giving too much Notice to Dreams; which he often explain'd to presage some future dismal Events. *As it is one of the most remarkable Misfortunes of Mankind, who for unaccountable Apprehensions, torment themselves with what is past, or perplex themselves for what is to come; and augment their present Troubles, by making use of the Night, which is design'd for their Rest, to encrease their Misery, and to afford themselves new Matterials of Affliction.*

The King's omenous Dreams.

Amongst all the King's Dreams, none was so great Torment to him, as a Dream he had, some Time after the Execution of Sir *James Hamilton*, which was; That in his Sleep he saw Sir *James* enter his Chamber, with a naked Sword, and cut off his two Arms, threatening to return soon after, and take away the Remainder of his Life. Which Dream frighten'd the King so, that he awaken'd, and continu'd very thoughtful; and was persuaded, that the Dream foretold something very afflicting, which was near at hand. This the King found too true not long after, for he receiv'd News of the Death of his two Sons, who died much about the same Time; the eldest at St. *Andrew*'s, and the other at *Stirling*. This was very afflicting, but yet the King bore it patiently, because that the Queen was then with Child; and she dissembl'd her Grief, to endeavour to comfort the King, and to dissuade him from giving so much Notice to Dreams; which, more than any thing else, had impair'd his Health. Upon this Occasion the Queen apply'd to two Learn'd Men, to give their Oppinion in the Case of Dreams: But they

they disagree'd in their Sentiments; for one of them said, *That* GOD, *by Dreams, often forwarn'd Men of what was to come; and tho' sometimes they appear very obscure and unintelligible, yet the Event discovers the Truth. Dreams are generally misterious, the Interpretation of which belongs only to those, to whom Heaven has imparted that Gift; and if any object that they are frequently false, that Mistake proceeds from our Ignorance of them; and frequently, because Persons who are unacquainted with such high Secrets, undertake to expound them: Besides, that* GOD, *for very wise Reasons, reveals himself to Mankind during his Sleep, because then the Soul is most free from the Noise, Hurry and Confusion of the Senses; and, as at that Time, is most susceptible of his Holy Inspirations; as the Scriptures informs us, in the Case of* Abimelech, Laban, Judas Maccabeus, Nebuchadnezzar, *St.* John, *the three Wise Men, and others, who were instructed from above in Dreams: Likewise those surprizing Arts which* Bezaleel *and* Aholiab *excell'd in, were more frequently infus'd into them when asleep, than when awake:* *A. D.* 1541.

Two Philosophers disagree in their Opinion of Dreams.

The first Philosopher's Opinion.

The other Learn'd Philosopher, on the contrary, maintain'd, *That it was only an Error, of an old Date, that had seduc'd several great Men, to believe that Dreams contain'd any heavenly Mystery, seeing they were to be accounted for in a natural Way: For they had their Rise partly from the Constitution of Men, and partly from the active Nature of Mens Spirits, even in the Time of Rest, when, they cannot use the Senses and Organs of the Body, which are then fast bound up with Sleep: The Mind is then oblig'd to sport itself in the Imagination, where there is a Medly of Ideas, relating to different Objects; by the blending of which together, it creats Chimeras that never did exist, nor possible to be: And sometimes the Soul diverts it self in the Memory, where are imprinted the Ideas of Things, that have struck our Senses; or the Traces of Things, which we have done, or design to do: If the Mind happen then to be in any violent Passion, the Ideas of the Imagination are confounded with those of the Memory; so that the Dreams which proceed from such a Confusion, are incapable of any Interpretation; so it is profane to attribute them to the Holy Spirit. How foolish is it to imagine, that our Dreams are more capable of Infalibility, and Intercourse with Heaven, than our Thoughts, when awake, which are, frequently, then engag'd in deep and rational Meditations? How unworthy of* GOD *it is, to fancy Him to be the Author of Dreams; and that, by them, he warns us of Things that are to come; when, of a Hundred thousand Dreams, we shall scarcely find one that can have any Meaning at all; the rest are only meer Chimeras, which have no Signification: This would prove quite otherwise, if they were from* GOD, *who never does any Thing in Vain; for all his Gifts answer the Ends they were design'd for; so those Inspirations which proceed from the Omniscience of* GOD, *must of necessity, be intelligible: For,* GOD *who is infallible, never produces Effects contrary to his own Perfections. How ridiculous is it to imagine, That the Great* GOD, *who is Light, Truth and Order, is the Author of Dreams, which are full of Obscurity, Lies, and Confusion? It is in vain to support that Oppinion from the Authority of Holy Scripture, since it is expresly forbidden in* Leviticus, *to observe Dreams: Further, a Regard to Dreams, and vain Delusions, has been the Occasions of the Miscarriage of many Actions. He own'd, that great Secrets had been discover'd in the Night, by Revelation; which is the peculiar Favour of* GOD; *but not at all by Dreams, which have nothing to do with Inspiration; that it was an improper way of speaking, to call those Visions in the Night which appear'd to* Abimelech, Solomon, *and other holy Persons, by the Name of Dreams, seeing they were Propheſies full of high and holy Misteries: In fine, it was great Weakness to be mov'd by Dreams, or to give any Credit to them.*

The second Philosopher's Opinion.

The King took great Notice of this last Opinion; but when he compar'd his Dream with the Loss of his two Sons, which fell out so near the Time, he still continu'd his Belief of them.

King *Henry* of *England*, finding himself slighted by his Nephew King *James*, was highly offended, and gave secret Orders to his Garrisons on the Borders, to make Incursions into the Borders of *Scotland*: Which, when

King *Henry* is offended at King *James*.

A. D. 1541. King *James* had Notice of, he muſter'd all his Troops; and ſent *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntly*, with a Party to ſtop the *Engliſh* from making Inroads; and at the ſame time ſent Sir *James Lermount* of *Balcomy*, to King *Henry*, to excuſe his not coming to meet him; and to enquire the Cauſe of the *Engliſh* Soldiers coming into *Scotland* in an hoſtile Manner; as alſo, to demand ſome *Scots* Ships taken on the open Seas (by the *Engliſh*) to be reſtor'd: But King *Henry* refus'd to reſtore the Ships, and delay'd giving any Anſwer to the *Scots* Ambaſſador, till he had order'd his Army to march, and carry Sir *James Lermount* with them; ſo that he ſhould not be in *Scotland* to give Intelligence, until the Army were enter'd that Kingdom: Of this Army King *Henry* gave the Command to Sir *Robert Bows*, ſeconded by the Earl of *Angus* and Sir *George Dowglaſs*; and they march'd toward *Jedburgh* to take it by Force; but the Earl of *Huntley*, at his firſt coming to the Border, had planted ſtrong Garriſons there, and in *Kelſo*; upon the firſt Notice of the *Engliſh* Army he drew out his Forces, and begun a Skirmiſh, which was fought with great Courage on both Sides, till at laſt, the Lord *Hume* coming up with 400 freſh, well arm'd Men, ſoon determin'd the Victory in Favour of *Huntly* and his Party. In this Skirmiſh Sir *Robert Bows* the Captain of *Norham*, Sir *William Moubray*, *James Dowglaſs* of *Parkhead*, and a Natural Son of the Earl of *Angus* were taken Priſoners, with others, to the Number of 600: The Earl of *Angus* eſcap'd narrowly, by the Speed of his Horſe. This Skirmiſh happen'd on the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1541. being St. *Bartholemew*'s Day, which was kept with great Rejoicing by the *Scots*, on Account of their Victory.

A Skirmiſh between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*.

The *Scots* obtain the Victory.

The War being thus begun, King *Henry* ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* as his Lieutenant-General, accompany'd by the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hereford*, *Angus*, and *Rutland*, and ſeveral other Lords of the North Parts of *England*, with an Army of 40000 Men towards *Scotland*. Mean time King *James* having Notice of their March, ſent *John Erskine* to meet the Duke of *Norfolk* at *York*, to demand the Reaſons of their intended Invaſion That if he or his Subjects had done any Injuſtice to King *Henry*, he was ready to make Reparation, ſince War would be both their Loſſes. The Duke gave no Anſwer, but detain'd the Meſſenger in his Army till he march'd to *Berwick*; which he did, expecting that King *James* would be in Hopes of Peace till the Return of *John Erskine*, and ſo the Duke might ſurprize him before he could have an Army to defend his Country: But yet the King was not ſo negligent of his Safety, for he had Spies all over the Country, eſpecially about the Border, ſo had Intelligence of their March; and having levied an Army of near 30000 Men, he encamp'd on *Falla-Moor*, within 15 Miles of the Border; and ſent the Earl of *Huntly* with 10000 Men to the Border, to receive the *Engliſh* Army, if they proceeded on their March towards *Scotland*. Mean time the King endeavour'd to prepare his Army to give Battle to the *Engliſh*, tho' they were by far ſuperior in Number: But many of the Nobility ſeem'd backward in the Reſolution, which offended the King; however he moderated his Paſſion, and made a Speech to them, ſaying, "Shall it ever be ſaid, That the Nobility of *Scotland* have abandon'd "the Service of their King, in the Sight of the Enemy; and when the two "Armies were ready to engage? Is it poſſible that you who have courted "Opportunities to ſhew your Bravery, would willingly looſe this Opportunity which offers, where you may purchaſe freſh Laurels? How unlike "are you to thoſe brave Warriors, your Predeceſſors, whoſe Names and "Arms you bear, who were regardleſs of their Lives, when Honour and the "Defence of their Country invited them to War? If the Danger of your "King is not Argument enough to perſuade you; let the Safety of your native Country move you, which is in Danger of ſuffering all the Inconveniencies of being made the Seat of War, ſince your Birth, your Wives, "and Children, oblige you to ſpend your Blood in their Defence: What "have you to fear from the *Engliſh* Army, which are new levied Men, and "undiſciplin'd, which I could undertake to diſperſe with thoſe of my Houſ-

The Duke of *Norfolk* ſent with an Army againſt the *Scots*.

The King's Speech to the Nobility.

"hold;

" hold; but I am more afraid of thoſe amongſt you, who are not determin'd " as yet, if they ſhall aſſiſt me in the Time of the Engagement. You ought " to remember, It was always a fix'd Principle with your worthy Anceſt- " ors, That Life is a Puniſhment to thoſe who have loſt their Honour. " Rouſe then your Courage, and ſuffer not Victory to eſcape us, which ſhall " certainly be ours, if you diſcover any Bravery at all upon this Occaſion; " otherwiſe I ſhall publiſh your Ingratitude, and leave it to Poſterity to judge, " whether Cowardice or Treaſon has the greateſt Share of your thus deſert- " ing the Service of your King. A. D. 1541.

Several of the Nobility endeavour'd to pacify the King, and aſſure his Majeſty of their Courage and Loyalty upon any Occaſion, when they might have a proper Opportunity to ſerve his Intereſt; and in anſwer to what the King had ſaid, one of the Noblemen preſent repreſented, " That to defend " the Perſon of their Prince, the State and Country, they would hazard " their Lives, or if they had any thing more dear. If the Enemy would " ſtay on *Scots* Ground, they would do their utmoſt to make them retire, or " by Force expel them: But to invade *England*, and tempt an Army, which " not only was retir'd, but return'd to their own Bounds, they neither had " ſo juſt a Quarrel as they wiſh'd, nor was it ſafe at that time to purſue " them. Moreover if they were to engage, they would not have the King " to venture his Life, he being young, and too forward upon any Occaſion, " and as not only the Glory of the Battle, but likewiſe the Safety of the " Nation depended upon his Life; his two Sons being lately dead, if he " fell in that Battle the Crown would be at the Mercy of the Victor. He " had acquir'd Reputation enough, in ſo far as with ſo ſmall a Force, levy'd " in ſuch haſte, they had ſtop'd the Progreſs of the Enemies powerful and " numerous Army, which had been ſo long making ready to over-run the " whole Country; whereas, tho' they had been eight Days on the Frontiers, " yet durſt not advance one Mile within it: As for themſelves, however " ſo far they had degenerated from the Valour and Merit of their Anceſtors, " yet ſhould never give Occaſion to the King to doubt either their Courage " or Fidelity. But beſeech'd his Majeſty to conſider how dangerous it " would be both for his Perſon and Kingdom to hazard a Battle at ſo unfit " a Time; and entreated him to remember *Flowden*-Field, where Raſhneſs " contributed more than any thing elſe to the Defeat, and the Loſs of the " King his Father's Life, which expos'd the Country to the Cruelty of the " the Enemies: Therefore, if he would be pleas'd to liſten to the Advice " of his faithful Servants, and would ſuffer his Affairs to be manag'd with " Patience, they could promiſe him a ſure Victory."

The Nobilities Anſwer to the King.

It is certain that this Advice was very neceſſary for the King at this Time, conſidering the Diviſions in his Kingdom upon Account of Religion, and other Cauſes: For it is ſaid, that ſome of the Nobility had a ſecret Deſign againſt ſome of the King's Favourites; and that they intended while they were on *Falla-Moor*, to have done by the King, as ſome of the Nobility did with the Favourites of his Grandfather King *James* III. at * *Lauder*-Church.

* The Earl *Douglaſs* and other Noblemen, apprehended the Favourites of King *James* III. &c. and put ſome of them to Death.

Mean time the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was upon his March towards *Scotland*, having Notice that King *James* was ſo near with an Army to oppoſe him, and intended to give him Battle, found his Soldiers (who for the moſt Part were undiſciplin'd Men, and came more for Plunder than Battle) ſo terrify'd, that he retir'd in great Haſte, and return'd to *London*.

The Duke of *Norfolk* returns with his Army to *England*.

The King return'd to *Edinburgh* with his Army, and immediately diſbanded them; but ſtill retain'd a ſecret Averſion to the Nobility, nor was he ignorant of what was intended againſt his Favourites, among whom none had greater Intereſt than *David Beaton* the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, (who by the King's Intereſt with the Pope was made Cardinal) and a young Gentleman nam'd *Oliver Sinclair*, Brother to the Laird of *Roſline*. Whilſt the King continu'd to have ſuch an ill Opinion of the Nobility, the Lord *Maxwell* (being a Perſon of firm Loyalty, Courage, and great Experience in Military Conduct) came to the King, and propos'd, That if his Majeſt

King *James* returns to *Edinburgh* and diſbands his Army.

A. D. 1542. would give him an Army of ten thouſand Men, he did not doubt but that he would do ſomething to his Satisfaction: Which Offer was very acceptable to the King, who thank'd the Lord *Maxwell*, and gave ſecret Orders for a Rendezvous at the Weſt Marches; for which there were no Proclaimations iſſu'd, as at other Times, but private Letters were ſent to all Parts of the Kingdom, to raiſe an Army.

Private Orders are given to raiſe an Army in *Scotland*.

The Earl of *Arran* goes with an Army to the Eaſt Borders.

The Earl of *Arran* and Cardinal *Beaton*, at the ſame time rais'd an Army by the King's Commiſſion, and the Earl march'd with them to defend the Eaſt Border, in caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould make any Incurſions on that Part of the Country. At the ſame time the Earls of *Caſſils*, *Glencairn*, Lords *Fleming*, *Somervil*, *Erskin*, Lairds of *Ayton*, *Largton*, *Ormenſton*, *Waughton*, and many others, accompanied the King to the Weſt Border, and they encamp'd at *Lochmabin*.

Sir *Thomas Wharton* comes with an Army of *Engliſh* to the Weſt Borders

The King of *England* hearing of the Preparations of the *Scots*, gave Commiſſion to Sir *Thomas Wharton* Warden of the *Engliſh* Weſt March, and Sir *William Muſgrave*, to raiſe an Army; which they did with all poſſible Expedition, and came towards the Borders of *Scotland*. King *James* ſent his Army over the River *Eske*, and ſtay'd at *Lochmabin*, without giving (as it is ſaid) publick Commiſſion to any particular Perſon to take the chief Command of the Army, until they might have ſome Aſſurance of coming to an Engagment with the Enemy; and when they came in Sight of the *Engliſh* Army, which made ready to give them Battle, *Oliver Sinclair* was declair'd to be Commander in Chief by the King's Commiſſion, which was read aloud in the Midſt of the Army, whilſt the ſaid *Oliver* was exalted as it is reported, on croſs'd Sticks: Whereupon the Nobility there preſent were highly offended, that their Rank and Merit ſhould be ſlighted, and a private Gentleman appointed to command them. Thus were they ſo negligent of their own Safety, that the Enemy, who were ſo very nigh them that they beheld the *Scots* run into Confuſion, and ſo took that Opportunity to attack them, when they were in ſuch Diſorder that they could not defend themſelves, by which Means the *Engliſh* Army obtain'd a compleat Victory; and beſides ſlaying many, they took the Earls of *Caſſils*, and *Glencairn*, the Lords *Maxwell*, *Fleming*, *Oliphant*, *Somervil*, and *Gray*, *Robert Erskine* Son to the Lord *Erskine*, *Oliver Sinclair*, the Lairds of *Craigy*, *Ayton*, *Langton*, *Ormiſton*, and *Waughton*, with many others of the King's Domeſticks, who were carried to *London*.

The *Engliſh* obtain Victory over the *Scots* at *Solway*.

When Notice was brought to the King of the Defeat of his Army; he ſeem'd to be very much troubled in Mind, ſo that he did not know what to determine, whether to raiſe more Forces to purſue the *Engliſh* or not, but without any Conſultation he went ſtreight to *Edinburgh*, where he appear'd very much dejected, and continu'd very penſive for ſome Time. When the Earl of *Arran* and the Cardinal heard of the King's return to *Edinburgh*, they return'd thither with their Party, to know the King's further Commands with reſpect to his Deſigns to proſecute the War: But found him ſo much afflicted for the late Loſs, that they did not think proper to urge him to any thing, till ſome more proper Occaſion might offer.

The King returns to *Edinburgh*, and is much afflicted for the late Loſs.

About the End of *October* the King went over into *Fife*, where he gave himſelf up entirely to Solitude, ſo that no Man had Acceſs to him, nor ſcarcely his own Domeſticks. He ſtay'd ſome time at *Hallyards*, and from thence went to his Palace of *Falkland*, where, by long Trouble of Mind, and Abſtinence from Food and all Manner of Recreations, he fell into Sickneſs which ſoon confin'd him to his Bed, where he tontinu'd very much afflicted for near 14 Days. Mean time, when there came News that the Queen was Brought-to-Bed at *Linlithgow* of a Daughter, upon the eight of *December*, it is reported that the King ſaid, *It will end as it began, the Crown came by a Woman, and it will go by a Woman: Alas! many Miſeries approach this poor Kingdom*; Henry *will either make it his by Arms or Marriage*. After which he was not heard to ſay much more, but departed this Life the 13th Day of *December*, 1542. in the 33 Year of his Age, and 32 of his Reign.

He returns to *Fife* and falls ſick.

The Queen deliver'd of a Daughter.

His

His Death was univerſally lamented by all his Subjects, as dying in the Flower of his Age; but more by the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* than any beſides, for they clearly foreſaw how near the utter Deſtruction of their Religion was by his Death. The King's Body was tranſported from *Falkland* to *Edinburgh*, attended by the Cardinal, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle*, *Huntly*, *Rotheſs*, *Marſhal*, with many more of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation; and upon the 19th of *January*, he was entomb'd in the Royal Vault in the Abbey-Church of *Holy-rood-houſe*, by his firſt beloved Queen *Magdalen*. The King left ſeveral natural Children, of whom *James* (who was afterwards Earl of *Murray*) was made Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, in his Father's Life-time; and another Son, named *Robert*, was created Earl of *Orkney*. *A. D.* 1543. He is Buried at *Edinburgh*.

King *James* V. in his Life-time, was of a good Size, rather above a middle Stature; his Countenance and Make of his Body was very comely and proper, but of Strength far above the Proportion of his Body; his Judgment ſolid, and Wit penetrating, and tolerably cultivated with Learning, according to thoſe Times. He perform'd all Exerciſes of Arms with great Dexterity, and was indefatigable in Travelling and Watching. He was excellently well skill'd in Muſick and Poetry, and made Verſes extempore, many whereof are yet extant. He was perfectly well acquainted with the Cuſtoms and Conſtitution of his Country; and tho' very Auſtere and ſevere to Offenders, yet was very humble and eaſy of Acceſs, even to the pooreſt of his Subjects. He often took Notice of indigent Perſons, and would patiently hear their Complaints, and ſo very penetrating was his Knowledge, that having often beheld Perſons at a Diſtance, he would call them, ſaying, that he read a Petition in their Countenance, and took Pleaſure in doing them Juſtice, without Regard to Ranks or Titles. The poor Men lov'd him, the great Men fear'd him: He was grateful to his Friends, and dangerous to his Enemies, and was a great Encourager of all learned Men. In his Reign he found great Quantities of Gold in *Crawford-Moor*, which was of high Value in thoſe Days. Had this great Prince liv'd to a conſiderable Age, 'tis not to be doubted, but that his Valour and Conduct had equal'd any of his Anceſtors; for he was moſt couragious, and free from all Apprehenſions of Danger in Military Exploits, as was moſt evident in his great Deſire to give Battle to the *Engliſh* Army, commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk*, tho' almoſt double the Number of his Army. As alſo upon all other Occaſions, he was very forward to venture his Perſon farther than is proper for a King, on whoſe Life the Safety and Proſperity of his Kingdom depends. The King's Death, at this Time, was the greater Loſs to the Nation, that he left no Iſſue, except an Infant of ſeven Days old, who was baptiz'd *Mary*, and ſucceeded her Father. His Character.

MARY. *The* 109 *Sovereign of* Scotland.

MARY, the only Daughter of King *James* V. ſucceeded her Father upon the 14th Day of *December* 1542, being but Seven Days old at his Death; yet was declar'd and proclaim'd lawful Queen and Heireſs of the Crown of *Scotland*. Queen *Mary* proclaim'd.

After the Battle of *Sollway-Moſs*, there were Seven Noblemen and Twenty Four Gentlemen of *Scotland* carried Priſoners to *London*, where they were ſeverely reprimanded by King *Henry*, and ſent Priſoners to the Tower: But ſome Days after, he having Notice of the Death of King *James*, and the Birth of his Daughter, ſent for the *Scots* Noblemen, and ſpoke very kindly to them, promiſing great Rewards, beſides their Liberty, if they would engage to get their Infant-Queen in Marriage to his Son *Edward*, Prince of

A. D. 1543. *Wales.* And after having entertain'd them ſplendidly at Court, they were on the firſt of *January* 1543, ſet at Liberty to return, tho' not without giving Hoſtage to the Duke of *Norfolk* at *Newcaſtle*. With thoſe Noblemen the Earl of *Angus* and his Brother, (who had been Baniſh'd and reſided in *England* about fifteen Years) return'd to *Scotland*, and were reſtor'd to their former Honour, Dignity and Eſtates. At this time *David Beaton* the Cardinal made great Intreſt with the Queen-Mother, and all the Church-men, to have himſelf made Regent during the young Queen's Minority: But the Parliament met on the thirteenth of *March*, wherein by the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, it was declar'd, *That* James *Earl of* Arran, *Lord* Hamilton, *being the next immediate Heir to the Crown, failing the Queen and her lawful Iſſue; was the only perſon who had Right to be appointed Tutor to the young Queen, and Governor or Regent of the Kingdom, during her Minority: Therefore by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commiſſioners of Shires and Burroughs ſitting then in* Edinburgh, *the ſaid* James *Earl of* Arran *was declar'd next immediate Heir to the Crown, failing the Queen and her lawful Iſſue, and Tutor to her, and Regent to the Kingdom, until ſhe was of perfect Age to govern: And that all the Subjects of* Scotland *ſhould Acknowledge and Obey the ſaid Earl as ſole Regent or Governor of the Realm in all things belonging to his Office, according to the Tenor of that * Act; to which all the Noblemen, Prelats and Commiſſioners, of Shires and Burroughs of* Scotland *put their Seals.*

The Earl of *Arran* made Regent.

* This Act is in the Cuſtody of his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton.*

When the Earl of *Arran* enter'd upon the Government, he ſent the Earl of *Glencairn*, Sir *George Dowglaſs*, *William Hamilton* of *Sanquhar*, *James Learmount* of *Balcomy*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaves* of *Hallhill*, Secretary of State, to *England* in order to treat of Peace, as alſo of a Match between the Infant-Queen and *Edward* Prince of *Wales*; and according to their Commiſſion they went to *London*, where they were receiv'd with all Marks of Reſpect by King *Henry*. After deliberate Conſultation, a Peace, or at leaſt a Truce or Ceſſation of Arms was agreed on; and Sir *Ralph Sadler* was ſent Ambaſſador from *England*, to conclude the Marriage between Prince *Edward* and the young Queen of *Scotland*. Whereupon the Parliament met at *Edinburgh* in *Auguſt*, and the Treaty of Peace, and the Marriage of the Queen was agreed upon, and ratified by a conſiderable Majority in Parliament: But the Queen Dowager, many of the Nobility, the Cardinal, and all the Church-men were againſt the Marriage; and made all poſſible Intereſt to repeal the Act. The chief Perſons who were againſt the Marriage and Treaty of Peace, (beſides the Queen-Mother and Cardinal) were the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle*, *Montroſe*, *Bothwel*, *Monteith*, Lord *Fleming*, who being joyn'd by many more of all Ranks, they enter'd into a ſolemn Bond, and (notwithſtanding of the Act of Parliament) bound and oblig'd themſelves to oppoſe the intended Match with *England*, and the Union which that Marriage in Conſequence might produce, even with their Lives and Fortunes: At the ſame time they ſolicited the Regent to comply with their earneſt deſire of breaking the Treaty; and to engage him in their Intereſt the more effectually, they propos'd to ſecure the Crown to his Poſterity, by marrying the Queen to his eldeſt Son the Lord *Hamilton:* But the Regent was reſolv'd not to violate his Honour beſides the Act of Parliament wherein he was engag'd: Yet King *Henry* upon ſome View or other, ſoon violated his Part of the Engagement: for he not only refus'd to ratify the Treaty of Peace, unleſs upon unreaſonable Conditions, but alſo caus'd his Officers ſeize ſeveral *Scots* Ships that had carried *French* and *Scots* Commodities into *England*, upon the Faith of the Treaty of Peace before concluded. Mean time the Governor call'd a Parliament at *Edinburgh* in *December*, and in it declar'd the late Treaty to be Void and Null, in regard that the *Engliſh* had firſt broke the Articles agreed on; and at the ſame time he us'd all poſſible Diligence to carry on a War againſt *England*. King *Henry* on his Part was no leſs expeditious in his Deſigns; for he rais'd an Army which were forthwith ſent to invade *Scotland*; but the Regent having rais'd a good Body of Troops, met the *Engliſh* Army at *Ancrum* in *Tiviotdale*, gave them Battle, and routed them with great Slaughter, without much Loſs of his own Army.

An Ambaſſador from *England* to Treat of a Marriage between the Infant-Queen and Prince of *Wales.*

The Queen-Mother and others againſt the Match.

King *Henry* vio'ates the Treaty of Peace,

which Treaty is declar'd Null by the Parliament of *Scotland.*

The *Engliſh* Invade *Scotland*, are encounter'd and defeated.

The

A. D. 1544.

The War with *England* being now begun, thoſe that were againſt the Match of the Queen with Prince *Edward* of *England*, employ'd their Thoughts another way; and in Conſideration of the ancient Alliance between the two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *France*, the Queen-Mother made all poſſible Intereſt with her Relations to procure Aſſiſtance from that Nation, and at the ſame Time invited over *Matthew Sewart* Earl of *Lenox* to return to *Scotland* from the Court of *France*, where he had for ſome time reſided. At his coming over he was courteouſly received by the Regent, but more affectionately by the Cardinal, and the Queen-Mother's Party. He at firſt joyn'd with the Regent in the Defence of the Country; but ſoon after there happen'd Diviſions between thoſe two great Peers, which was ſecretly fomented by factious Perſons, to accompliſh their own Ends. It ſeems the Earl of *Lenox* entertain'd Hopes of being admitted to the Regency upon his coming over to *Scotland*; whereupon he conſulted thoſe who had given Birth to theſe Hopes; and they adviſ'd him to make expeditious Applications to his Friends for their Intereſt and Aſſiſtance, which he did, and made ſo ſtrong a Party that he look'd upon himſelf to be able to diſpute the Title of Regent with the Earl of *Arran*: and as the Cardinal ſeem'd to ſuſpect that the Regent was more favourable to the Proteſtants than was agreeable to him, he therefore made the greater Intereſt for the Earl of *Lenox*, who was firmly attach'd to the Church of *Rome*: But upon the Earl of *Arran*'s giving Aſſurance that he was ſtedfaſt in the Principles of the Roman Catholick Religion; the Cardinal was eaſily reconcil'd to him, and deſerted the Earl of *Lenox*: Whereupon the Earl made great Complaints to the King of *France*, expecting Aſſiſtance to obtain his Deſire by Force. But the Queen Dowager and Cardinal ſo eaſily excus'd themſelves at the Court of *France*, that the Earl's Hopes were entirely fruſtrated: Therefore he conſider'd that it would be more prudent to ſubmit to the Regent; and in ſhort time the Regent and Earl of *Lenox* were reconcil'd; yet there continu'd ſtill ſome Miſunderſtanding between the Earl of *Lenox* and the Cardinal, who, being then in good Terms with the Regent, the Diviſions were again renew'd, and the Queen Dowager, Regent and Cardinal, joyn'd in one Faction againſt the Earl of *Lenox*; who, after ſeveral Attempts, again apply'd to the Court of *France* for Aid, which being deny'd, he at laſt fortify'd his Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, and leaving *George Sterlin* as his Governor, took Ship and ſail'd to *England* unknown to his Friends, and was received by King *Henry* with great Reſpect, as he intended to make uſe of him againſt the Regent and Government of *Scotland*, having then open War againſt them. At that time King *Henry* had at his Court, the Lady *Margaret Dowglaſs*, Daughter to the Earl of *Angus*, by Queen *Margaret* Mother to the late King *James*; This young Lady being beautiful, in the Flower of her Age, when the Earl of *Lenox* came to Court he was ſo Enamour'd with her, that he acqainted King *Henry* with it; and as he was then a Nobleman of great Power in *Scotland*, King *Henry* was willing to engage his Intereſt; alſo having extraordinary Gifts of Body and Mind, the Lady *Margaret* receiv'd his Addreſſes, and they were ſoon after married, of which marriage was born the Lord *Henry Stewart*, Lord *Darnly*, who was afterward married to Queen *Mary*.

The Earl of *Lenox* comes over to *Scotland*,

He makes a Party to procure the Regency to himſelf,

but finding no Hopes, he ſubmits to the Regent.

Upon a new Diſguſt he leaves *Scotland*, and goes to the Court of *England*.

The Earl of *Lenox* marrys the Lady *Margaret Dowglaſs*, and begets *Henry Stewar* Lord *Darnly*.

Upon the firſt breaking of the late concluded Truce, the Regent apply'd to the *French* King for Aſſiſtance to carry on the War againſt *England*, whereupon that King begun new Quarrels with the *Engliſh*, ſo that he by this Means diverted them from invading *Scotland* for ſome time; but the Regent having lately had ſome Domeſtick Broils with the Earl of *Lenox*, the Army were ſcatter'd over the remote Parts of the Kingdom; upon which King *Henry* took the Advantage, and having put an Army of 10000 Men on board, in order to tranſport to *France* (as it was given out) he gave private Orders to the Lord *Liſle* his Admiral, and the Earl of *Hartford* his General to ſail to *Scotland*; They landed at the Sea-port of *Leith*, and having Plunder'd many

The *Engliſh* invade *Scotland* by Sea.

A. D. 1545. many of the Inhabitants, they march'd up to *Edinburgh*, and finding the City without any Forces to guard or defend it, they ranſack'd a great Part of the Town and Suburbs, ſuch as were at a diſtance from the Safe-Guard of the Caſtle. They continued ſeveral Days ravaging the Country about *Edinburgh*; and having burnt ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen's Caſtles, and other Places, they return'd to *Leith*, where they ſet Fire to ſeveral Houſes, carrying off the Spoil to their Ships, and ſail'd for *England*. This Invaſion was in *May*, 1545. and the ſame Year King *Henry* ſent over an Army into *France*, under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk* and beſieg'd *Bolloign*; (which diverted the *French* King from ſending over Forces to *Scotland* as he intended) ſoon after King *Henry* went over in Perſon, and having taken that Town, he placed a Garriſon therein, and return'd Home.

They plunder *Leith* and *Edinburgh*.

Upon notice of the late Plunders committed by the *Engliſh* in *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, the Regent rais'd all the Forces he could, but as the *Engliſh* were gone before he could come up; he march'd a ſtrong Body of Troops to the North of *England*, where they continu'd to burn and ranſack Towns and Caſtles for ſome time, 'till they had notice of a powerful Army, Commanded by the Earl of *Hartford* coming towards them: Whereupon they return'd over the Border to the *Scots* ſide, and waited the Approach of the *Engliſh*; who finding the *Scots* had left *England* did not purſue them at that time: But ſoon after the *Scots* had left the Borders the *Engliſh* enter'd *Scotland*, and Plunder'd the Towns of *Jedburgh*, *Kelſo*, with many other adjacent places, and from thence went to *Coldingham*, and fortify'd the Church, and ſeveral Towers of that Town; and leaving a Garriſon there, the Body of the Army return'd, it being near Winter. The Regent rais'd a ſtrong Party, and came to *Coldingham*, where he endeavour'd to retake the Town; but it being then a very ſharp Winter, and finding no Proviſion to be had in that part of the Country, he retir'd to *Dunbar*. The Earl of *Angus* undertook to force the *Engliſh* Garriſon to Surrender, but without Succeſs; he alſo went to *Dunbar*, and quarter'd the Troops in the Country about; mean time the *Engliſh* having ſo good Shelter, ſent out Parties and plunder'd the Inhabitants of the Country all about their Garriſon, and were ſo confident of their Succeſs and future Victory, that they would needs compel the Inhabitants of the Country round, to ſubmit to their Authority; and at the ſame time, two of their Chief Officers named *Ralph Evers* and *Brian Eaton*, Petition'd King *Henry* to grant them a great Reward for the Conqueſt they had made in *Scotland*; or at leaſt that he would grant them Poſſeſſion of what Lands they then had in *Scotland*; or might bring under Subjection to the Crown of *England* by their Valour: To which King *Henry* readily comply'd; being well aſſur'd that the *Scots* would not eaſily be oblig'd to abandon their Country, or would not forbear to recover their Lands, though once driven out of them. However the Ambitious Warriors accepted the offer, and rais'd all the Forces they could, wherewith they march'd to the Border, being then about 3000 Soldiers in Pay, beſides ſeveral Auxiliary Borderers, who aſſiſted for their ſhare of Plunder. With this Army they enter'd *Scotland* before the Regent had notice of their approach: He being Ignorant of the Cauſe of their Expedition, order'd a Party to march towards the Border, and advanc'd ſlowly with what Forces he could raiſe after them. The *Engliſh*, being by this time about 5000. And the Regent not having near the Number halted for ſome time, till the coming up of *Norman Leſly*, Son to the Earl of *Rotheſs*, who joyn'd him with 300 *Fife* Men, and Sir *Walter Scot* of *Ballcleugh*, with ſeveral of his Kinſmen and Vaſſals of *Tiviotdale*. The *Scots* were ſtill fewer in Number than the Enemy, who were very eager to fight in hopes of Victory and Conqueſt, and made forward towards the *Scots*; whereupon the Regent (by the Advice of Sir *Walter Scot*) drew up his Party all on Foot in a Valley, and ſent their Servants and Horſes over a Hill in ſight of the Enemy, which appear'd as if the *Scots* were flying from them: Upon this they haſten'd their March with ſo much Speed that they fell in among the *Scots* unaware; but truſting to their Numbers gave them Battle: Yet as they were in ſuch Diſorder, they were ſoon routed

The Regent raiſes an Army and enters *England*.

They return and the *Engliſh* enter *Scotland*.

The *Engliſh* fortify *Coldingham*.

Ralph Evers and *Brian Eaton* their Offers to King *Henry*.

They enter *Scotland* with an Army.

they are defeated by the *Scots*.

routed with great Slaughter, and many Perſons of Diſtinction taken Priſoners. *A. D.* 1545.

As the Victory was unexpected, it was the more agreeable to the Regent, who applauded Sir *Walter Scott* for his Contrivance, which was of ſo great Service.

They are defeated by the *Scots*.

After this Victory, the Regent ſent an Ambaſſador to the King of *France*, to deſire Aid againſt King *Henry*; as alſo to complain of the Earl of *Lenox*, who had left his native Country, when his Aſſiſtance was ſo very much wanting, and had join'd the King of *England*, their only Enemy, having promis'd to deliver up the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, with ſeveral other ſtrong Holds of *Scotland*, to the *Engliſh* Army. The Earl of *Lenox* at the ſame Time, ſent to vindicate himſelf at the *French* King's Hands, but the Complaint againſt him was ſo affirm'd, that his Vindication was not credited. Mean time, the King of *France* ſent over ſome Troops under the Command of *John Mountgomery* Count of *Lorge*, who landed at *Leith*, and march'd with the *Scots* Army to *Haddington*, being near 15000 in Number; they march'd to the Border of *England*, and form'd their Camp over againſt the Caſtle of *Wark*, from whence they ſent Parties over the Enemies Country with diſplay'd Colours, and having plunder'd a great Part of the Country, return'd with great Booty, without any Interruption, altho' ſome Parties of *Engliſh* were gather'd together in ſeveral Places to attack them, yet did not offer to encounter them. Count *Mountgomery* General of the *French* Troops, as alſo the Earl of *Hume*, were very deſirous to march their Army into *England*; but the Regent thought it more prudent to ſecure the Kingdom, by keeping the Army in a Poſture of Defence, than to leave the Country expos'd to the Enemy, or Domeſtick Quarrels: Therefore return'd towards *Edinburgh*, and diſmiſs'd the Army, and the *French* were quartered in the Villages near *Stirling*, where then the Court was kept. This Summer and Harveſt there happen'd ſome Scuffles about the Borders between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, where the *French* were engag'd as often as Occaſion requir'd, till towards *Winter*, when there ſeem'd no Appearance of Danger from *England*, *John Mountgomery* return'd with his Troop to *France*.

The Regent ſends to *France* for Aid againſt *England*.

French Troops ſent over to *Scotland*.

They march into *England*.

The *French* Troops return home.

At this Time, there happen'd great Diſturbance in *Scotland* about Religion: As the Cardinal had prevail'd with the Regent, to put the Acts made in the late Reign, in Execution againſt the Proteſtants, who were very numerous in the Nation at that Time. The chief Perſons who preach'd the Proteſtant Doctrine publickly in *Scotland*, were *John Knox* and *George Wiſheart*, and were very much taken Notice of by the Cardinal; who, by the Regent's Command, gave Orders to apprehend them, whereupon *John Knox* fled out of the Kingdom into *England*: But *George Wiſheart* (thinking himſelf ſafe in the Laird of *Ormiſton*'s Houſe near *Edinburgh*) was apprehended, and carried Priſoner to the Caſtle. The Cardinal deſir'd that he might be tryed according to the Laws, and that he might be puniſh'd: But the Regent apprehending Danger from Combuſtions which might be occaſion'd by ſuch Proceedings, delay'd his Trial for ſome Time; yet the Cardinal at laſt had him carried over to St. *Andrews*, where he was try'd, and condemn'd to be burn'd to Death; which Sentence was executed on him upon the 2d. of *March* 1545. This Execution ſo afflicted and enrag'd the Proteſtants and their Favourers, that nothing leſs than the Cardinal's Deſtruction could ſatisfy them: And having engag'd *Norm Leſly*, commonly call'd *Maſter of Rothes*, with ſeveral other diſobliged young Gentlemen; they beſet the Cardinal in his Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, where they murder'd him; and having ſhut all the Gates, the Town was alarm'd, ſo that the Inhabitants got to their Arms, and ſurrounded the Caſtle, which when *Norman Leſly* and his Accomplices beheld, they threw down the Cardinal's dead Body, telling thoſe without, *That they needed not trouble themſelves any further, for that was the Perſon they expected to reſcue.* At which Sight, all the fencible Men in the Town arm'd and endeavour'd to ſtorm the Caſtle, but it was defended

Diviſions about Religion in *Scotland*.

John Knox and *George Wiſheart* two Proteſtant Preachers.

Knox flyes, but *Wiſheart* is apprehended.

He is try'd, condemn'd and executed.

The Cardinal ſlain by *Norman Leſly*.

A. D. 1546. fended with ſuch Reſolution, that they had no Succeſs. This Murder of Cardinal *Beaton*, which was committed on the 28 Day of *May* 1546, made great Noiſe over all the Nation, and the Churchmen, who ſaw what Danger they were in, ſupplicated the Regent, to apprehend and bring to condign Puniſhment the Murderers, who were fortified in his Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s: Whereupon the Regent ſent a ſtrong Party with ſeveral Pieces of Ordinance to ſtorm and take the Caſtle, and at the ſame Time, iſſu'd a Proclamation offering a Reward to any who would apprehend *Norman Leſly* or any of his Accomplices.

Norman defends himſelf in the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s.

The Regent ſends a Party againſt him.

The See being vacant upon this Murder, the Regent made Intereſt to have his natural Brother *John Hamilton*, prefer'd to ſucceed the Cardinal as Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s; and being elected by the Canons, he was confirm'd by Pope *Paul* the 3d. Mean time the Regent re-inforc'd the Siege of the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, which was ſtill defended, and there came daily Aſſiſtance to them of Men and Arms, with all neceſſary Proviſion; and being mightily applauded by all the Proteſtants in *England*, as well as *Scotland*; they wrote Letters to *Henry* King of *England* entreating ſome Aid, they being then in Danger for maintaining that Cauſe which he had ſo publickly encourag'd. King *Henry* receiv'd their Meſſage very kindly, and moſt cheerfully engag'd to ſend them Supply of Men, Arms, and Amunition. The Regent having Notice of the Supply promis'd from *England*; He ſent over to the King of *France* for Aſſiſtance, to oppoſe the *Engliſh* Army, and to reduce thoſe rebellious Subjects, who had encourag'd and join'd the Murderers. As this Blow did allarm the Clergy of the eſtabliſhed Church of *Scotland*; it on the other Hand, gave great Hopes to the Proteſtants to propagate their Doctrine; and finding the *Leſlies* and their Friends in the Caſtle, were reſolv'd to defend it until they might have advantageous Terms: Therefore gather'd a ſtrong Party, to the Number of 160 Perſons, and went into the Caſtle by a private Paſſage. The chief Perſons among them were the *Melvils* of *Raith*, Mr. *Henry Belnaves*, with ſeveral Gentlemen of *Fife*, who went in, and remain'd during the Siege; as alſo, with them went into the Caſtle, *John Rough* and *John Knox*, two zealous Preachers of the Proteſtant Doctrine; it is alledg'd, That the latter was very forward in concerting Means to haſten the Cardinal's Deſtruction, as he had been oblig'd to fly from *Scotland* ſometime before *George Wiſheart* was apprehended, and had remain'd in *England* until he had Notice of the Cardinal's Death; ſo that coming ſtraight from *England* to join thoſe who had murder'd the Cardinal, gave great room to charge him with a great Share of the Fact: However as he had ſo many Friends then about him, he took Occaſion to preach up Repentance to ſuch as had imbru'd their Hands in the Cardinal's Blood: But *John Rough* ſeeing ſuch great Wickedneſs committed by the Soldiers of the Caſtle, left them and went into *England*, where he remain'd long Time in the Cities of *Carliſle* and *York*, but at laſt was burnt in *Smithfield* in *London*. Mean time *John Knox* continued in the Caſtle, and when the Siege was rais'd by the Governor, to ſend them to join ſuch Forces that were rais'd to defend the Nation from the *Engliſh*, who were then renewing the War upon *Scotland*; He went out of the Caſtle, and went into ſeveral adjacent Pariſh-Churches, where he preach'd the Proteſtant Doctrine, without any Concern or Fear of Danger, knowing how near he was to the Caſtle, where he could have immediate Relief, in caſe he had been attack'd by the Country-People. But they were ſo fond of his Diſcourſe, that they ſtrove who ſhould exceed one another in defending and entertaining him, whilſt he continued to preach in ſeveral Places in *Fife*, bringing many over to his Religion. The Regent having march'd an Army to encounter the *Engliſh*, who had enter'd *Scotland* at *Solway Firth*, and having *George Leſly* Earl of *Rotheſs*, Father of *Norman* who defended the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, with him in the Army, he offer'd Terms to his Sons to be ſent by him to them: But their Demands were ſo unreaſonable, that the Regent could not comply with their Terms of Capitulation;

John Hamilton the Regent's natural Brother, made Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s.

The Siege of the Caſtle continued.

Many Proteſtants join with thoſe in the Caſtle.

John Knox ſuſpect'd to have contrived the Cardinal's Murder.

titulation: Yet ſoon after the great Hopes they had of being aſſiſted from *England*, upon all Occaſions, were become very uncertain, by the Death of King *Henry* the Eight, which happen'd on the 28th of *January* 1547; whereupon they propoſed to the Regent, that they would ſurrender the Caſtle upon Condition that they ſhould have a general Pardon for the Murder of the Cardinal, yet would not accept of it, unleſs it were ratify'd by the chief Council of *Rome*, to which the Regent ſeem'd to comply, and a Time was limited to give and return the Pardon; ſo that for ſome Time they ceaſed from Hoſtility on all Sides: But when the Act of Indemnity was ratified and return'd, they objected againſt the Validity of it, and would not ſurrender the Caſtle. *A. D.* 1547.

Terms of Captitulation offer'd by the Regent to *Norman Leſly*, but rejected.

King *Henry* the eighth of *England* dies 1547.

The Regent ſeeing all Means render'd ineffectual, he ſent an Ambaſſador to *France*, to entreat the King to ſend Supply of Forces, according to the Articles of the ancient Alliance between the two Kingdoms: Whereupon the King of *France* immediatly ſent over 24 Gallies, with Ammunition and Troops, under the Command of *Leon Strozius*. He arrived in St. *Andrew*'s Bay in the Month of *June*; and the Regent ſent Forces to join them, ſo the Siege was renew'd with great Force, and ſuch Celerity, that many of thoſe who had been in the Caſtle, being abroad for Proviſions, or upon other private Affairs, were hinder'd to return to the Caſtle.

Troops from *France* arrive in *Scotland*.

They renew the Siege of St. *Andrew*'s.

Mean time, the *French* and the Regent's Troops caſt up Trenches, and planted ſeveral large Pieces of Ordinance againſt the Caſtle, wherewith they ſo batter'd the Towers; ſo that at laſt the Beſieg'd were terrify'd with the Apprehenſion of being taken by Force, and expoſed to the Rage of the Regent, whom they had ſo highly offended by the Death of the Cardinal who was his Kinſman; and their having obſtinately refus'd all the Terms of Peace he had from time to time offer'd to them. And being reduc'd to the laſt Extremity of want of Victuals, and ſeeing no Probability of Aſſiſtance from *England*, they call'd a Council of War, wherein they determin'd to ſurrender themſelves to the *French* General, only upon Promiſe of Quarters for their Lives: Which being granted, they ſurrender'd the Caſtle to *Leon Strozius*, who with his Soldiers enter'd it, and receiving them all as his Priſoners, he gave Leave to his Soldiers to take what they could find among the Beſiedg'd, where it is ſaid they found great Sums of Money, brought in by all thoſe that had aſſiſted, beſides the Cardinal's Houſhold-Furniture, and Money which the Beſieg'd had in their Poſſeſſion.

The Caſtle ſurrendered.

The Regent having order'd the Caſtle to be demoliſh'd, he gave Leave to *Leon Strozius*, to return with his Troops to *France*, and to carry over with him to *Roan* Priſoners, *Norman*, and *John Leſly*, *William Kirkaldy*, *Peter Carmichael*, *James Melvil* of *Raith*, *John Knox*, *James*, *David* and *Gilbert Balfours*. The Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s was taken and demoliſh'd in the Beginning of *Auguſt* 1547. About this Time, King *Edward* the ſixth, Son of the late King *Henry*, having ſucceeded his Father in the ninth Year of his Age, the Earl of *Hartford* (who was then created Duke of *Somerſet*) was made Protector, or Regent of *England*, during that Prince's Minority: And as the War with *Scotland* ſtill continu'd, the Duke rais'd a powerful Army to invade *Scotland*, both by Sea and Land, in order to compell the Regent and Nobility to perform the Treaty which was made four Years before, concerning the Marriage of the young Queen with Prince *Edward* now King of *England*. And in *September* they enter'd *Scotland*, with ten Thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe. Mean time the Regent iſſued Proclamations to raiſe all fencible Men to meet at *Edinburgh*, with all poſſible Expedition, to defend the Nation; and in a few Days had ſuch an Army in Readineſs, that when the Duke of *Somerſet* had Notice thereof, he did not think proper to proceed any further until he might endeavour to bring the Regent and Nobility to a Treaty, therefore wrote a Letter, wherein he deſir'd, "That the Regent and Nobility of *Scotland* would conſider that both Armies were Chriſtians, whoſe Blood ought to be regarded by

The Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s taken and demoliſhed; *Norman Leſly* and his Accomplices, ſent Priſoners to *France*.

The Duke of *Somerſet* with an Army invades *Scotland*.

His Letter to the Regent and Nobles of *Scotland*, propoſing the before mentioned Match.

A. D. 1547. " by thoſe that had the Government of them : And as Peace and Tran-
" quility would be ſo very profitable to both Nations, it ought to be
" more deſireable by both. As to his coming to invade *Scotland*, at
" that time, it did not proceed from Covetouſneſs or Malice : But rather
" a deſire of perpetual Peace and Amity, which might be effectually
" concluded by the Marriage, which was ſo long ago agreed upon, and
" which he then expected to be perform'd according to former Promiſes
" paſt, to that effect. And as the Conditions were ſo beneficial to *Scot-*
" *land*, he hop'd that the Eſtates would publickly conſent to ratify the
" former Treaty, ſince the advantages thereby acruing to *Scotland* would
" be greater than to *England*. That as their Queen ſhould of neceſſity
" be married to ſome Prince ; their King by his Propinquity of Blood,
" being a Sovereign in the ſame Iſle, of the ſame Language and Edu-
" cation, ought to be prefer'd to all other Princes of *Europe* : Yet tho' the
" Regent and Nobility could not immediately determine to conclude the mar-
" riage. If they would engage themſelves that the Queen ſhould not be
" Contracted nor Married to any forreign Prince, but kept in *Scotland*
" until ſhe might be of perfect Age to chuſe a Husband for herſelf, with
" the conſent of her Nobility : Upon that Condition he would with-
" draw his Forces from *Scotland* and recompenſe all Injuries done ſince
" their coming into the Kingdom.

The Propoſals rejected by the Regent and Council.

When the Regent receiv'd this Letter, he call'd a Council to whom he communicated it, and after great Debates, the Propoſals were rejected, for there went many Reports of this Invaſion ; as that the *Engliſh* had invaded *Scotland* with a deſign to carry off the Queen by Force, and have married her to their King, without the conſent of the Regent or Peers of her Kingdom : Therefore they were reſolv'd to oppoſe the proceedings of the *Engliſh*, and ſo prepar'd their Army for an Engagement: Mean time the Duke of *Somerſet* finding (by an Anſwer to his Letter) that the Regent and Nobility had rejected his Propoſals, he forthwith march'd his Army towards *Edinburgh*, and order'd his Fleet with ſeveral Cannon, to make up to the River *Forth*, ſo that before the Regent had march'd his Army from *Edinburgh*, the *Engliſh* Army were advanc'd near *Muſſlburgh*, where they ſtay'd for the coming of the *Scots* Army, who march'd from *Leith* by the Sea-ſide, and coming up near the Enemy, they were put into great Confuſion by the *Engliſh* Cannon, which ſo play'd upon them from the Ships, that their Ranks were entirely broken; which when the Enemy beheld, they came very ſpeedily upon them, and by that Advantge, ſoon routed the *Scots* with exceeding great Slaughter, and in the purſuit took many perſons of Diſtinction Priſoners. This Battle was fought at *Pinky* near *Muſſlburgh* the tenth Day of *September*, 1547. and as the *Scots* had fled from *Leith* to fortify other places of the Kingdom, they march'd into it, and gave the common Soldiers leave to Plunder the Inhabitants. After ſtaying eight Days in and about *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, and having taken the two Iſles of *Inch-Keith* and *Inch-Colm*, they march'd towards the Borders of *England*, taking ſeveral Caſtles in their way, ſuch as *Hume*-Caſtle, and *Faſt*-Caſtle, as alſo the Towns of *Haddington*, *Lawder* and *Roxburgh* ; where they placed very ſtrong Gariſons, and went ſtraight home towards *London*.

The *Scots* defeated at the Battle of *Pinky*.

The *Engliſh* plunder *Leith*, and takes the Iſles of *Inch-Com* and *Keith*.

The Regent with ſuch of the Lords as eſcap'd from the Battle, went ſtraight to *Sterling* where the young Queen was, and fearing ſtill what had been ſaid of the *Engliſh* Army's deſign of coming into *Scotland* at that time : They therefore convoy'd the Queen to the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, and gave her into the keeping of the Lords *Erskine* and *Livingſton* ; and at the ſame time ſent notice to the King of *France* how Matters went in *Scotland*, entreating that he would ſend over ſome immediate ſupply of Men and Ammunition.

The young Queen remov'd from *Sterling* to *Dunbarton*.

After this great Loſs the Regent went ſtraight to *Sterling*, where he call'd a Council of all the Nobility and chief Perſons of the Army, to whom he made the following Speech.

A. D. 1547.

The Regent's Speech to the Nobility after the Battle of *Pinky*.

" I doubt not, but that many of you my Lords, and more of the " Commons, may be apt to diſapprove a War, that has been attended " with Conſequences ſo fatal to moſt of us. I own that I adviſ'd you " to undertake it; But as I was then, ſo am I ſtill of Opinion, that " it is one of thoſe Evils, the Glory and Liberty of the Nation, do " not allow us to avoid: I know not but you may have other Senti- " ments at this time, and have therefore call'd you together, to con- " gratulate your Magnanimity, if you remain ſtill unſhaken, as I am, " in your Reſolution, to repulſe the Encroachments made upon us; and " if you are otherwiſe diſpos'd, (as I hope you are not) to upbraid " your Fear, the inglorious enemy of Reaſon and Courage. When I " took the Command of your Armies upon me, you unanimouſly pre- " fer'd an honourable War, to a Peace you thought equally unſafe and " diſgraceful; and ſhall we be ſo mean as to yield to the firſt ſignal " injuſtice of Fortune? No! I am perſuaded that as grating as your " Misfortunes at *Pinky* muſt needs be to you all, you'll nevertheleſs chuſe " to purſue a noble Revenge, rather than ſit down with the Affront, " or ſubmit to the threaten'd Slavery. Come of it what will, I am " fix'd in my firſt Opinion, and I had rather preſerve the Monarchy at " any rate, I mean, tho' at the expence of ſuch of the Subjects Fortunes " and Blood as have been, or yet may chance to be waſted; than to " ſpare the Eſtates and Lives of private Men tho' ever ſo great or de- " ſerving, with the coſt of our common Country. Let us labour by " all means to ſave the Ship that ſaves all, to effect this, let us not " grudge to cut down the Maſt, nor to ſee our own ſhares of the " Loading thrown over Board. If the foundation of an Edifice ſtands " firm, it is no matter what comes of the Ceiling or Furniture. Our " private Loſſes are ſo many Sacrifices that are due to the Publick: " They weaken the State I own it; but the ruin of the State, muſt needs " involve us all in univerſal irretrivable Miſeries: Conſider my Lords, " with what an Enemy we have to do, and on what terms we may " purchaſe a Peace. Our Enemy is the ſame old inveterate one whoſe " Avarice has by unjuſt Wars, ſo often attempt'd to devour our Ex- " iſtence; and is not this preſent War alone ſufficient to make us tremble " at the very thoughts of falling under the power of Tyrants ſo uncon- " ſcionably Implacable? We cannot deſcend to the Terms they pro- " poſe, without ſtooping under the imperious Yoke of a people that " thirſt for our Blood, and whoſe inſolence is whetted with Fury. Caſt " your Eyes on the other hand on your ancient unalterable Allies the " *French*; you ſee they never fail us in our greateſt Exigencies, nor do " not this time; neither do we want Friends in *Italy*; nay, there are " few Potentates in *Europe* that will unconcern'dly look on and ſee our " Deſtruction. Reſolve in fine, whether we had beſt defend our Liber- " ties, or give them up; whether it is moſt expedient to die, (if it " muſt be ſo) Free and Independent, or to live eternal Slaves to our " greateſt Foes. 'Tis true, they offer us fair things; our Laws and " Rights, are by the Treaty to remain untouch'd: But pray who is " Guarrantee for this? And if the *Engliſh* ſhall in any after-game either " break or encroach upon the Articles agreed to; who will redreſs our " Grievances? to what Tribunal ſhall we appeal? 'Tis a jeſt to ſet up " for Liberty or Property, when in effect we ſhall have given them " away. We muſt begin by ſurrendering our Miſtreſs to a Husband, " that is to a Maſter; which done, I do not ſee why he may not " as ſuch, ſubject her Crown to his own, or rather unite and confound " them into one: And thus *Scotland* muſt inevitably become a Pro- " vince of *Engand.* 'Tis impoſſible to reflect on the ambitious Project " without Horror and Deteſtation: And how can we chouſe but to " have the meaneſt Sentiments, and greateſt Contempt imaginable for " ſuch of our Countrymen, as ſhall ſhew themſelves Villans enough to

A. D. 1548.

" comply. The uncertain events and length of the War, may perhaps " intemidate ſome of us: But is it the firſt time *Scotland* has ſeen her " ſelf expos'd to Dangers of this kind? when reduc'd to the laſt Ex- " tremity, did ever our Anceſtors heſitate to prefer their Honour to " Life? and are we ſo degenerated as to render ourſelves their off-ſpring, " unworthy of the ineſtimable Treaſure they purchas'd with ſo much " Valour, and tranſmitted to us with ſo much Glory? had the Maligne " influence of our Birth, involv'd us in Slavery, how far we had been " oblig'd to endeavour the recovery of that freedom, we had never en- " joy'd, I ſhall not determine; but ſince we are freeborn, 'tis plain that our " poſterity can never pardon our Cowardice, if we become willing to " reſign the independency our own Birth and Fore-fathers Courage have " entitled us to. If but a part of our Eſtates and Honour were invaded, " we might plead ſome pretence or excuſe for diſpenſing with it: But " the Body of the Nation is attack'd; our Country! nothing leſs than " our Country is at ſtake; it's ancient Laws and foundamental Conſti- " tution are on the point of being ſubverted. I cannot diſown, but that " it is hard to tell what ſucceſs it may pleaſe the Amighty to give our " Armies; 'tis certain however, that as we muſt bear with patience thoſe " Maladies, the infirmities of Nature has made us liable to; ſo we are " oblig'd to ſuffer with conſtancy ſuch further loſſes as the Enemy's good " Fortune may procure us. 'Tis not only in theſe our days that the " *Scots* Nation (equal to the *Romans* in this point) have ſtood firm in " the midſt of Dangers, or that they have conquer'd their hard Fate by " the ſtedineſs of their Courage: Let us for no reaſon affront thoſe He- " ro's that gave us a Being; let us deteſt the infamy of thoſe who ſeem " to deſert the Cauſe of their Country and Liberty. The more vigour " we expreſs by our Unanimity in this Meeting; ſo much the more we " may expect the aſſiſtance of our Friends beyond Seas: Nay, Fortune " herſelf ſeems to take pleaſure in raiſing that Virtue, ſhe has in vain " attempted to depreſs. One thing at leaſt we are ſure of, the boldneſs " of our Reſolutions, cannot fail of convoying the praiſes we ſhall deſerve, " down to future Ages; whereas our Cowardice if expreſs'd on this " occaſion, would render us Infamous and Unhappy at once.

This Speech had its deſir'd effect with the Nobility, and all perſons of Diſtinction, for they applauded the Regent's valiant Reſolution, and readily agreed with all poſſible Expedition to proſecute the War; and whatever the Event might be, they reſolv'd to hazard all, rather than ſubmit to the *Engliſh*: So it was agreed to have recourſe to the King of *France*, to adviſe them in the Marriage of the young Queen; and to ſend aſſiſtance to withſtand the Invaſion of the *Engliſh*. The Regent ſent over to the King *Henry* of *France*, giving an account of the circumſtances, of the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and at the ſame time entreating ſuch ſupply as he thought proper, to enable them to retrieve their Loſſes. The King of *France* gladly agreed, to what the Regent and Nobility of *Scotland* had propos'd to him, and in the next *May*, 1548. ſent 3000 Horſemen over, under the Command of Count *Rinegrave*, Monſieur *d' Eſſe*, M. *d' Oſel*, and M. *d' Mallery*; and at the ſame time Created the Regent, Duke of *Chattlerault*, in the Kingdom of *France*, and for the ſupport of that Title and Honour, aſſign'd him a Revenue of 30,000 Livres, to be pay'd yearly to him, his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever.

This Speech applauded by the Nobility, who reſolve to maintain the War.

3000 Troops ſent from *France* to *Scotland*.

The Earl of *Arran* created Duke of *Chattlerault* in *France*.

The *French* Troops being ſafly landed at *Leith*, they were quarter'd in and about *Edinburgh* for ſome time, to refreſh themſelves; mean time the Regent (by proclaimation) rais'd a powerful Army, wherewith he joyn'd the *French*, and march'd to *Haddington*, which was fortify'd by the *Engliſh*, and Beſieg'd it: And then the Regent call'd a Council in the Camp before the Town, and acquainted the Nobility, that the King of *France* had deſir'd, that the young Queen might be ſent over to his Court, as well for her Education, as ſafety from any attempt of the *Engliſh*, to carry her away by Force,

Force, if th ey had Succeſs in the preſent War, as all Events were uncertain; therefore it was moſt prudent to guard againſt the worſt. Upon this Occaſion great Debates happen'd among the Nobility and others; for thoſe who were of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, were for ſending the Queen over to *France*, for her Education and Safety, as alſo that ſhe ſhould, when at proper Age, be married to the Dauphin, Son to the then King *Henry* II. But thoſe that were turn'd to, or favour'd the Proteſtant Religion, were for an Agreement with the *Engliſh*, and to have the Queen marry'd to King *Edward*. A third Party were againſt both theſe Propoſals, and would have the Regent agree to the Offers made by the Duke of *Somerſet*, which were, that the Queen ſhould remain in *Scotland*, and Aſſurance given to *England*, that ſhe ſhould not be contracted to any foreign Prince, nor ſent out of the Kingdom, until ſhe were of perfect Age to chuſe a Husband for her ſelf: By which Means they propos'd to keep Peace with *England* for ſo many Years, until the Queen became of Age: But at laſt, the earneſt Solicitations of the Queen Mother with many of the Nobility and Clergy, prevail'd with the Council to determine, that the Queen ſhould be immediatly convoy'd over to *France*, and kept at that Court, until they might be in better Condition to treat of a Marriage. Whereupon Orders were given to the *French* Fleet, with ſome well man'd *Scots* Ships, to ſail round the North of *Scotland*, to receive the Queen from the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*. *A. D.* 1548.

The young Queen ſent over to *France*.

The Queen being then in the 6th Year of her Age, went on Board one of her Ships, accompanied by her Baſtard Brother *James*, *John Erskine* Earl of *Mar*, *William* Lord *Livingſton*, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality of both Sexes; and after being toſs'd ſome Days at Sea, ſhe arriv'd ſafe in *Britaign*; from whence, by eaſy Journies, ſhe was convoy'd to *Paris*, where ſhe was receiv'd by the King, Queen and Court, with all Reſpect and Demonſtrations of Joy.

A Party of *Engliſh* cut off by the *French*.

The *Scots* and *French* having beſieg'd *Haddington*, as before-mention'd, found it ſtrongly fortify'd and ſtoutly defended; and ſo ſoon as the *Engliſh* had Notice of the *Scots* Army's March, they ſent down 1300 Horſe well arm'd under the Command of Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*; but by the Way they were cut off, by an Ambuſcade laid by *Monſ. d'Oſel*, who afterwards went with his Party and ſurpriz'd and took *Hume* and *Faſt* Caſtles. Mean time the Earl of *Shrewsbery* came with a ſtrong Army of *Engliſh*, beſides four thouſand *Germans*, to relieve the Beſieg'd in *Haddington*; and at the ſame time a Fleet of Ships were ſent by Sea to invade *Scotland*, in order to divert the Army from the Siege: They firſt landed at St. *Minnian*'s in *Fife*, and marching along the Coaſt, pillaging the Towns, till they came towards St. *Andrew*'s, where they were ſo ſharply encounter'd by a ſtrong Party, that they were driven to their Ships, and oblig'd to leave their great Guns, which they had landed to batter any Town or Caſtle of Strength. After this Repulſe they ſail'd towards *Merns*, a Country leſs inhabited, and intended to ſurpriſe and take the Town of *Montroſe*; and coming to the Mouth of the River *Dee*, they anchor'd in the Night without being obſerv'd: But, by lighting their Lanthorns, to land, they were diſcover'd, and Notice being brought to *John Erskine* of *Dun*, who was Governor of the Town, he inſtantly alarm'd the Town, and having arm'd all the Inhabitants, he divided them into three Parties, and having lin'd them with ſome Soldiers, he march'd them quietly towards the Enemy; the firſt Party he plac'd behind a great Dyke, or Earthen Wall, the ſecond he planted at ſome advanc'd Diſtance from them, and with the third, being all Archers, he made directly up to the Enemy, who were coming forward, and engag'd him ſharply; but being attack'd by the ſecond Party, and the Appearance of the other upon an Hill, with diſplay'd Collours, the *Engliſh* were ſo diſcourag'd, that they ſoon gave way, and were Cloſely purſu'd toward's their Ships. In this Scuffle the Enemy loſt above 800 Men, beſides ſeveral Pieces of Cannon, and great Quantities of Amunition, which they had landed. The Fleet having ſcarce Men enough to manage the Ships, they return'd

The *Engliſh* land in *Fife*, are repulſe'd at St. *Andrew*'s

They intend to ſurprize *Montroſe*.

But are encounter'd and routed by *John Erskine*.

A. D. 1549. home to *England*. Whereupon the Earl of *Rutland* was ſent with near 3000 Men, to relive the Garriſon of *Haddington*, which at that Time were in great want of all manner of Proviſion; ſo that now the Army brought by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, with the laſt Forces, being on their March towards *Haddington*, the *Scots* and *French* left the Siege, as they conſider'd it dangerous to venture a Battle againſt ſo powerful an Army; therefore they retreated to *Edinburgh*, where they were quarter'd for ſome Months without any Action, only that *Monſ. d' Eſſe* with a Party of *French* ſtorm'd and took the Iſles of *Inch-Keith* and *Clom* in the River *Forth*. During this Time the *Engliſh* over-run ſeveral Places in the Borders of *Scotland*, and ſent Proviſions from time to time to the Garriſon of *Haddington*. There happening ſome Quarrel between *Monſieur d' Eſſe* and ſome of the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, which being known to his Maſter the King of *France*, he was recall'd, and Monſieur *Paul Termes*, a good Officer, was ſent over in his ſtead, with ſome more Troops; and being deſirous to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome valiant Action, he went over the *Forth* with a Party, and coming to the Caſtle of *Brochty*, ſtanding on the River *Tay*, which was held by an *Engliſh* Garriſon, he laid Siege to it, and in a few Days took it, and another Caſtle lying near it, and put both Garriſons to the Sword. When he return'd to the *Lothians*, he march'd to a Hill near *Haddington*, where he kept a Watch over all the Country, whereby he intercepted moſt of all the Proviſions and Store deſign'd for the Garriſon: But ſeeing a great Army of *Engliſh* and *German* Auxiliaries drawn out to give him Battle, he did not think it would be prudent to engage ſo great a Number, therefore retir'd to a Place of greater Safety. Mean time a flying Party of *Scots* coming near the Enemy's Camp, ſeeing all the Baggage and Tents unguarded, went and plunder'd it ſpeedily, and eſcap'd before the *Engliſh* could apprehend them. Some time after, the *Engliſh* finding the Country about waſted, ſo that all Proviſions were ſcarce, and, at the ſame time, the King of *France* taking Opportunity to renew the War againſt *England*, to be of Service to the *Scots*, they were oblig'd to withdraw their Army from *Scotland*, ſo that on the firſt of *October*, 1549. the Garriſon of *Haddington* burnt the Town, and march'd ſtreight away for *England*.

The *French* retake the Caſtle of *Brochty* and other Places.

The *Engliſh* deſert *Haddington*.

During the Winter and Spring there was no Action in any Part of *Scotland*, and in *April* 1550. the three Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *France* and *England* held a Treaty at *Boloign*, where the Count *Caſtilon* for the *French*, the Earl of *Bedford* for the *Engliſt*, and *David Painter*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, for the *Scots*, concluded a Truce for ſome time; ſo that when ſome Garriſons of *Engliſh* that were in *Scotland*, were upon point of Surrender, the Treaty of Peace was publiſh'd in *Scotland*; whereupon all the *Engliſh* departed the Nation, and in *May* following the *French* Soldiers return'd home.

1550.

Peace concluded.

This Peace laſted three Years, during which Time nothing remarkable happen'd in *Scotland*, except ſome religious Broils between the Clergy of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and the Profeſſors of the Proteſtant Doctrine, who were grown very numerous at that Time. And as upon the late Treaty of *Boloign* thoſe that were taken Priſoners in the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s were releas'd from their Confinement in *France* they were upon their Return to *Scotland* welcom'd by their Friends; and as *John Knox*, the moſt eminent Preacher of his Time, was one of them, and being ſet at Liberty among his Friends, he labour'd daily to increaſe his Hearers, and to propagate his Religion; nor did he labour in vain, for in all Places where he went, there were great Numbers engag'd to his Opinion: But finding the Biſhops intended to proſecute him, he fled from *Scotland* into *England*, and afterwards to *Holland*, from whence he went to *Geneva* and *Frankfort*, where he became intimately acquainted with *John Calvin*, who was a *Frenchman* by Birth, and bred a *Civilian*; he going to *Geneva* became a Diſciple to *Martin Luther*: But upon ſome Diſguſt of *Luther*'s Doctrine, *John Calvine* diſſented from him, and ſet up a ſeparate Form of Doctrine, and brought over many to his Opinion in a ſhort time. It is ſaid that this *John Knox* follow'd the Doctrine of *Luther* at

John Knox, returns to *Scotland*.

at first, but coming afterwards to be acquainted with *Calvine*, he agreed with his Opinion, which he improv'd to the best Advantage. *A. D.* 1553.

In the Year 1553, died *Edward* VI. of *England*, and was succeeded by his eldest Sister the Princess *Mary*, by Queen *Katherine*: But as she was a zealous Professor of the Church of *Rome*, the reform'd Nobility combin'd against her, and proclaim'd the Lady *Jane Gray*, Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, whose Mother was the Daughter of *Mary*, the second Sister of King *Henry* VIII. The Lady *Mary* was first married to *Lewis* King of *France*, and afterwards to *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, by whom she had *Frances* who was married to *Henry Gray*, Father to the Lady *Jane*, who was by his Marriage made Duke of *Suffolk*, in the Right of his Wife: And when some of the Nobility found King *Edward* past Recovery, 'tis said that they prevail'd with him to make a Will, whereby he left the Crown to Lady *Jane*, notwithstanding the Right of his Sisters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; and by Virtue of this Will, they proclaim'd the Lady *Jane* the 9th Day of *July* 1553. The chief Persons who stood up for the Lady *Jane*, were the Duke of *Northumberland*, Marquis of *Winchester*, Earls of *Pembroke*, *Bedford*, *Huntingdon*, *Shrewsburry*, and *Arundel*, who drew in many Noblemen and others to their Party, endeavouring to defend her Title, however so unjust. But such as were for preserving the ancient Constitution of Monarchy, join'd the Lady *Mary*, who set up her Royal Standard in *Northfolk*: And when the Lords of the Council found that most part of the Nation seem'd to take her Part, they, (the better to save themselves,) went and proclaim'd the Princess *Mary* Queen of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, upon the 18th Day of *July*, being nine Days after the Proclamation of the Lady *Jane Gray*. The Duke of *Northumberland*'s eldest Son, *Robert Dudly*, Earl of *Guilford*, was married to Lady *Jane*; so that the Duke his Father, who was the chief Person of her Party, took upon him the Command of an Army, which he, with the other Noblemen, had rais'd upon that Occasion: But upon Notice that the Lady *Mary* was upon her Way to *London*, with a strong Party, all the Duke's Army deserted him, and he himself came in, with otders, to proclaim Queen *Mary* at *Cambridge*. He, with the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Lady *Jane* and her Husband, were apprehended and committed to the Tower. The Duke of *Northumberland*, Sir *John Yeats*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, were executed on *Tower-hill*, the 22d of *August*, that Year: But the Duke of *Suffolk* was once releas'd, upon the Interception of his Dutchess, the Lady *Frances*. And 'tis said, that the Lady *Jane* and her Husband had been pardon'd soon after, but the Duke her Father having join'd in a Rebellion rais'd by Sir *Thomas Wyat* and others, in *January* 1554. He was taken and committed to the Tower; whereby the Sentence of Death was executed on the Lady *Jane* and her Husband, who were beheaded on *Tower-hill* the 12th Day of *February*, and the Duke was beheaded on the 19th Day of the same Month.

Edward VI. his Death.

Lady *Jane Gray* proclaim'd Queen of *England*.

she is Executed.

Queen *Mary* of *England* suppress'd the Protestant Religion, and establish'd the Church of *Rome* over all *England*, which was great Satisfaction to the Churchmen in *Scotlaud*, who had been very active for the three Years past in Search for, and punishing all such as were found to favour or introduce the Protestant Religion.

For the three last Years the Kingdom of *Scotland* being at Peace with *England*, nothing worth Notice happen'd, but there were several Prosecutions of such as profess'd the Protestant Religion; and in the Year 1554. *John Knox* returning to *Scotland*, was entertain'd among his Friends at *Edinburgh*, and took the Liberty to meet in publick Congregations, which offended the Bishops, so that they cited him to compear before their supreme Court: But he fearing their Power, fled again to *Geneva*, whereupon they condemn'd him to be burnt in Effigie, which accordingly was done at the Markat Cross of *Edinburgh*.

John Knox returns again to *Scotland*.

He is cited before the Ecclesiastical Court:

But flies, and is burnt in Effie.

In this Year 1554. the Queen Dowager undertook a Voyage to *France*, to visit the young Queen her Daughter, and her Relations; and being arriv'd at *Paris*, she found her Brothers in great power at Court, especially the Duke of

The Queen Dowager goes over to *France*.

A. D. 1555. *Guiſe* the eldeſt, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* the ſecond; nor were the other four, (*viz.*) The Duke *d'Aumale*, the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, the Marquiſs *d'Elbeuf*, and the Grand Prior, leſs eſteem'd at Court, they having given ſignal Proofs of their Military Bravery; ſo that by their great Characters, and the Reſpect every way due to her by Birth and Marriage, the Queen Dowager found the utmoſt Reſpect and Regard paid her by the whole Court of *France*. And having acquainted King *Henry* with all the Affairs of *Scotland*, and how Matters of Religion ſtood: He thereupon propos'd to her that ſhe ſhould ſollicite the Regent to reſign the Government to herſelf, whereby they might, with the greater Certainty, preſerve the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and ſuppreſs the Reformation, to which (he imagin'd) the Regent might be too favourable, and give ſuch Liberty, as might in ſhort time increaſe their Party, to too great a Number to be ſuppreſs'd, or even contended againſt, by the Eſtabliſh'd Clergy and their Party. The King of *France* and the *Guiſes*, having once mention'd this Propoſal, to the Queen Dowager, ſhe very readily comply'd to obey their Requeſt, and left nothing undone, that could by any means contribute, to obtain the Government. She having brought over with her in her Journey, *David Painter*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, and Sir *Robert Carnegy* of *Kinard*, one of the Senators of the College of *Juſtice*, they both having been formerly employ'd, as Ambaſſadors at the Court of *France*, and had gain'd great Credit and Reputation with the King and Court, and were in no leſs good liking with the Regent; therefore the Queen-Dowager dealt with them, to make it their Buſineſs, to bring the Duke-Regent to comply with the *French* King's Deſire, which the Queen-Dowager and chief Miniſters of *France* inſiſted upon, as a very great Advantage to *Scotland*. Mean time the King of *France* made *James Lord Hamilton* the Regent's eldeſt Son, Captain of his Life-Guard; and gave him a Penſion of 2000 Piſtols to ſupport the Dignity of his Office, the more to diſpoſe the Regent to reſign the Government to the Queen-Dowager. And *David* Biſhop of *Roſs*, with Sir *Robert Carnegy*, were ſent over to *Scotland* to acquaint the Regent how acceptable a piece of Service it would be to the King of *France*, if that he would reſign the Government to the Queen-Dowager, for the ſmall Space that remain'd for him to keep it; ſince the young Queen would in ſhort time be of Age. Sir *Robert Carnegy* came firſt over to deal with the Regent, and ſoon after came over the Biſhop, who having repreſented the Requeſt and Promiſes of the *French* King and Queen-Dowager, to the Regent, he ſeem'd to be free to reſign the Government, upon ſuch Conditions as might ſecure the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom. When the Queen-Dowager had notice of the Regent's Compliance, ſhe ſet out to return for *Scotland*, accompany'd by Monſieur *d' Oſel*, (who was ſent Ambaſſador from the King of *France*, to witneſs the Reſignation of the Government to the Queen-Dowager) and ſhe landing in *England*, receiv'd the Compliments of Queen *Mary*, travel'd by Land to *Scotland*, where ſhe was receiv'd by the Regent, and many perſons of all Ranks, with all Reſpect due to her Character.

The Queen-Dowager makes intereſt to obtain the Regency,

to which the Regent ſeem'd to comply.

When the Queen-Dowager return'd to *Scotland*, the Regent had appointed the Lords of the Juſticiary, to accompany him over the Kingdom to hold Aſſizes, in which progreſs the Queen-Dowager alſo went to have the better Experience in the Management of the Government, when in Poſſeſſion of it.

When the Regent had ended this Circuit, he return'd with the Queen-Dowager to *Edinburgh*, where he call'd a Parliament upon the twentieth Day of *June*, 1555. and before the three Eſtates of the Nation reſign'd the Office of Regent and Governor of the Kingdom to the Queen-Dowager, upon the Conditions, that the Acknowledgment of his being next Heir to the Crown, (in caſe the young Queen ſhould die without Iſſue) ſhould be confirm'd by the young Queen, and ſuch perſons, as the Duke might approve of as Guarrantees. Which Acknowledgment the Queen-Dowager tranſmitted to her Daughter who confirm'd it, and made King *Henry* the II of *France*, *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe*, and *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorain* his Brother, Guarrantees.

The Regent reſigns the Government to the Queen-Dowager.

Upon

Upon the tenth Day of *Auguſt* after, an Aſſembly of the Nobility met at *Edinburgh*, where the Duke of *Chattlerault* receiv'd the Ratification, confirm'd and ſubſcrib'd by the Queen, and Guarrantees above-mention'd; as alſo an additional Condition that he ſhould continue Governor of *Dunbarton* Caſtle, and have the priviledge of keeping a Garriſon therein for his own Safety: Whereupon he deliver'd up all the Enſigns of Government, to the Queen-Dowager, who was conducted to the Palace of *Holy-Rood-Houſe* in State, having the Crown Sword and Scepter, carried before her according to Cuſtom. *A. D.* 1556.

The Queen-Dowager being in poſſeſſion of the Regency, went over ſome Parts of the Kingdom to hold Aſſizes, and being at *Inverneß*, ſhe had notice that of the Iſlanders had rais'd ſome Commotions among themſelves; therefore ſhe ſent *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntly* to apprehend the chief Perſon of the Party who had caus'd the Diſturbance, whoſe name was *John MacMurdoch*. The Earl went in Purſuit of him for ſome time, but return'd without ſight of him, whereupon ſuch as were his Enemies about the Queen-Regent endeavour'd to perſuade her, that the Earl of *Huntly* favour'd the Inſurrection, and would not ſuppreſs it; wherefore he was committed to Priſon, and many perſons about the Queen were very deſirous to have him Tried and put to Death, or Baniſh'd out of the Kingdom: But that Advice being debated in Council, it was rejected, and he was ſoon after releas'd. About the ſame time *John Stewart* Earl of *Atholl* was ſent with a Party againſt *John MacMurdoch*, and brought him with his Family and Followers, Priſoners to the Queen-Regent to *Inverneß*, where he was for ſome time kept Priſoner, but finding means to eſcape, he renew'd his Pranks, whereupon the Queen-Regent went again to *Inverneſs*, where he ſtay'd till *MacMurdoch* was again retaken and Executed with ſeveral more Criminals, and ſo return'd to *Edinburgh*.

The Queen-Regent goes to the North to hold the Aſſizes.

The Earl of *Atholl* takes *MacMurdoch* the chief of the Rebels, he makes his Eſcape and raiſes a new Rebellion, he is taken and Executed at *Inverneſs*.

The Peace which *Scotland* at this time enjoy'd with *England*, being ſomewhat uncertain, the Queen-Dowager conſider'd, that if War ſhould break out, the publick Treaſury was ſo exhauſted, that Money would be wanting to raiſe Forces; therefore with the Advice of her moſt intimate Counſellors ſhe propos'd to lay a Land-Tax on all the Nation, to raiſe a Sum of Money, to be in readineſs againſt any ſudden Neceſſity: But as this Deſign ſeem'd diſagreeable to moſt of the Nobility, eſpecially ſuch as had no good will to the *French*; upon that occaſion about 300 Lords and perſons of Eſtates met at *Edinburgh*, where they conſulted proper Meaſures, to prevent the impoſſing the intended Tax, and finding a proper Opportunity, they appointed two of their Number, to attend the Queen-Regent to repreſent their Objections againſt it. The Perſons who were appointed, to make the Repreſentation to the Queen-Regent were Sir *John Sandilands* of *Calder*, and Sir *John Weymes* of that *Ilk*, who having repreſented the Complaints of the Lords and Heretors, with the evil Conſequences that by all Probability would attend ſuch an Attempt; the Queen freely comply'd with their Advice, and gave over all further Endeavours of impoſing the Tax.

The Queen-Regent propoſes to raiſe Money by a Land-Tax,

but is diſwaded from that deſign.

In the year 1557. whilſt the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland* were treating with the Nobility of *England* at *Carliſle*, to continue the Peace, there came Letters from the King of *France*, intreating the Queen-Regent to declare War againſt *England*, according to the Articles of the ancient League between the two Kingdoms; the Reaſons given by the *French* King, were, that the Queen of *England* had aſſiſted her Husband *Philip* King of *Spain* who was then engag'd in War againſt *France*, and the *Netherlands*. Upon Receipt of theſe Letters, the Queen-Regent call'd a Council of the Nobility at the Monaſtry of *Newbottle* near *Dalkeith*, and having urged the Neceſſity of declaring War againſt *England*, and finding little Oppoſition in that Propoſal, ſhe gave immediate Orders to build a Fort at the Mouth of the River * *Aye*, and to carry thither ſeveral great Guns and Ammunition, to be in readineſs to encounter the *Engliſh* upon their coming over the Border into *Scotland*. This Fort was no ſooner begun, than the *Engliſh* interrupted the Workmen, whereupon the War broke out; and the *Scots* Ambaſſador was call'd Home. Mean time

The *French* King ſollicits the Queen-Dowager to declare War againſt *England*,

to which ſhe complys.

* In *Merſs*.

A. D. 1557. a Proclamation was iſſu'd for a general Rendezvous at *Edinburgh*, where the Army being Muſter'd, they march'd to *Tiviotdale* and encamp'd at *Maxwell-haugh*, near the River *Tweed*.

The Nobility offended at M. *d' Oſel*.

Although many of the Nobility, had comply'd with the Queen-Regent to declare War, and raiſe an Army; yet were not unanimous in their Reſolution to carry on a War, for they found that Monſieur *D' Oſel* the *French* Ambaſſador (who attended the Queen-Regent as a privy Counſellor) was ſomewhat more forward in this Expedition than became him as being a Foreigner; that as he had upon ſeveral Occaſions, taken upon him to give Orders, without the Advice or Conſent of the Nobility, they were highly offended and begun to conſult whether it was proper to proſecute the War or not. Being met in Council, there were ſeveral Complaints made againſt Monſieur *D' Oſel*; whereupon he was commanded, to withdraw the Ordinance he had order'd to be carry'd over the *Tweed*, without Advice of the Council; which if he refus'd to do, they declar'd that he ſhould be puniſh'd as a Traitor. This Declaration of the Nobility, was ſo offenſive to the Queen and M. *D' Oſel*, that they with ſeveral of their Friends, exclaim'd againſt it as the groſſeſt affront, to the Perſons of the Queen, and Ambaſſador of the King of *France*; yet as thoſe Nobility of the oppoſite Party, were the ſtronger, the Queen-Rege and Ambaſſador conſider'd, that it would be more prudent to comply with their Deſire, than to ſhew any Reſentment at that time; however after deliberate Conſultation, they tranſmitted the Sum of their Complaints to the King of *France*, who having conſulted his Council, was advis'd to haſten the Marriage of his Son the *Dauphin*, with the young Queen of *Scotland*, by which means he might have a better Pretenſion, to be concern'd in the Management of the Affairs of that Nation in time coming, and might find a more convenient Opportunity than the preſent to reſent that Affront. There happen'd ſeveral Skirmiſhes between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, with various Succeſs during the Harveſt and Winter of this Year; but no Engagement worth Notice, except one which happen'd at the Foot of the *Cheviot-Hills*, between the Duke of *Norfolk* and Sir *Andrew Ker* of *Ceſsford*, wherein the Victory was long doubtful, but at laſt fell to the *Engliſh*, and Sir *Andrew* was taken Priſoner, with ſeveral Perſons of good Account.

A Parliament held at *Edinburgh* the twentieth of *December*.

December the twentieth, this Year the Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, where among other things laid before the Queen-Dowager and Eſtates of Parliament, the King of *France*'s Letters were read, wherein he propos'd to the Queen-Regent and Nobility of *Scotland*, *That as his Son the* Dolphin, *and their Queen were both come to Years fit to be Married, he entreated them to conſider, that as he was well aſſur'd they had (from the firſt time of her coming to his Court) intended no other Match than his Son; therefore deſir'd, that Ambaſſadors might be ſent over, with full Power to conclude the Marriage according to Law: That nothing ſhould be wanting on his part, to convince the Subjects of* Scotland, *that he had no View in that Marriage, but what might be of equal Advantage to the Queen and Subjects of that Nation. And that he would readily agree to, and faithfully perform every Demand that could contribute to the Proſperity and Honour of* Scotland *as well as* France.

The *French* King's Letter read in Parliament.

Commiſſioners ſent over to *France* to conclude the Marriage

Thoſe Letters being read and conſider'd in Parliament, it was agreed that eight Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent over to *France* to treat and conclude the Marriage; whereupon the Commiſſion was given to *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Caſſils*, *George Leſly* Earl of *Rotheſs*, *James Fleming*, Lord *Cumernald*, *James Beton* Arch-biſhop of *Glaſsgow*, *Robert Reid* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *James Stewart* Prior of the Monaſtry of St. *Andrews* the Queens Baſtard Brother, *George Lord Seaton* Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, and Sir *John Erskin* of *Dunn*, Proveſt and Governor of *Mountroſe*.

After ſome time to deliberate, on the Articles of the Queen's Marriage, with the *Dauphin* of *France*, the Ambaſſadors or Commiſſioners ſet ſail for *France*, and being almoſt off from the Coaſts of *Scotland*, there aroſe a violent Storm, wherein they had great Difficulty to make the Coaſt of *France*, there being two Ships in their Convoy, ſunk by the Violence of the Tempeſt. The Earl

of

of *Rotheſs* and Biſhop of *Orkney*, being in one of them, were very narrowly preſerv'd by Fiſhermen's Boats, moſt of the Paſſengers being loſt in the Ships. *A. D.* 1558.

When the Commiſſioners arriv'd at *Paris*, they were receiv'd with all due Reſpect, and after ſome days to Refreſh themſelves after the tempeſtuous Voyage, the chief Miniſters of *France* enter'd into a Treaty with them; ſo the Marriage betwixt the Dauphin and the Queen of *Scotland*, was Concluded and Solemniz'd with the utmoſt Splendor and Magnificence, in *Noſtre-Dame* Church, upon the thirteenth Day of *April*, 1558. after which the Nuptials was Celebrated, with ſplendid Entertainments and Royal Diverſions for ſeveral Days; which being over, the Chancellor and Council of *France*, appointed to meet the *Scots* Commiſſioners in a Council, wherein they propos'd to them, to ſend over to their Queen, the Crown of *Scotland*, with the Sword, Scepter, and all other Royal Ornaments belonging to that Kingdom, to be us'd and kept by their Queen, and the *Dauphin* her Husband, who upon his Marriage with the Queen was ſtil'd King of *Scotland:* To this Propoſal the Commiſſioners anſwer'd, that having receiv'd no Commiſſion to that purpoſe, they could not undertake any thing of themſelves, nor could any thing be done in a matter of ſo great Importance, without the Conſideration of the whole Kingdom in Parliament. To which the Chancellor of *France* reply'd, that nothing was deſir'd of them at that time, but what they could eaſily Conſent to, which was, that they would promiſe, when the matter came to be debated in Parliament, that they would give their Votes and Intereſt in the Affirmative. To this the Commiſſioners anſwer'd, that as they were Ambaſſadors, they could not make any Promiſe as to the Performance of any thing not mention'd or contain'd in their Commiſſion, eſpecially ſuch an Affair as might be attended with pernicious Conſequences; therefore deſir'd to be excus'd for not giving any direct anſwer to ſuch Propoſitions as exceeded their Commiſſion to anſwer, or in any reſpect agree to. The Commiſſioners having taken their Leave of their Queen, her Husband, and the Court of *France*, they ſet out on their Journey to embark for *Scotland:* But as they waited for a fair Paſſage at *Diep*, they were all ſeiz'd with a violent Fever, whereof the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Rotheſs*, Lord *Fleming*, and Biſhop of *Orkney* died very ſuddenly, which occaſion'd a report of their having been Poiſon'd by ſome of the Miniſters of *France*: Of that Report we find very little Cauſe of Suſpicion, tho' ſome partial Writers have endeavour'd to make a Handle for Party Reflections, of that lamentable Accident.

The Queen Married to the Dauphin of *France*.

The Council of *France* deſire the Crown of *Scotland* to be brought over to the *Dauphin*.

The Commiſſioners Anſwer to that Propoſal.

The Commiſſioners ſeiz'd with a Fever at *Diep*, whereof the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Rotheſs*, the Lord *Fleming* and Biſhop of *Orkney* died.

This Summer there were Skirmiſhes between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, without any conſiderable Action or Loſs on either ſide, only, that *William* Lord *Keith*, Son to the Earl *Marſhal*, and *Patrick* Lord *Gray*, who went with a Party over the Borders, were beſet and carried Priſoners to *England:* But were ſoon after releas'd, and in *Auguſt*, the *Engliſh* ſent a Fleet to invade *Scotland*, but finding no Opportunity to Land in any Part of the Continent, they ſail'd Northward, to the Iſles of *Orkney*, and made towards *Kirkwall*, the chief Town of the Iſles; and having landed ſeveral Men, they intended to burn the Biſhop's Palace, and other Parts of the Town: But there aroſe a ſudden Tempeſt, which made them return with all poſſible Speed to their Ships, which were in danger of being driven on the Shore, ſo that they ſet to Sea in ſuch Confuſion, that many were left to be taken by the Inhabitants of the Town, who, finding them ready to ſet Fire to the Biſhop's Caſtle, and other Places, ſlew them on the Spot without Mercy. The Fleet was toſs'd at Sea for ſeveral Days, ſo that after great Loſs, they were oblig'd to return without any Action.

The *Engliſh* invade *Scotland* with a Fleet,

they return with Loſs.

At this time, Matters were order'd ſo in *Scotland* by the Queen-Regent's prudent and active Management, that all manner of Broils were pacified, except thoſe among the oppoſite Profeſſors of Religion; and even as to that, the Nation was then more quiet than it had been for ſome time: For the Preachers of the Proteſtant Doctrine, having been ſuppreſs'd in ſeveral Parts of the Nation, where they had appear'd publickly; were now content to

A. D. 1558. meet their Followers in Private, which they continu'd to do for ſome Time: Yet in a ſhort Space they begun to make publick Declarations of their Principles; whereupon *Walter Mills* and *Paul Meffen* (or *Methven*) were apprehended and proſecuted with the utmoſt Severity of the Law then in Force: But their Puniſhment did not deter others from going about to preach the Reform'd Doctrine, but rather made their Hearers the more reſolute in maintaining their Faith, ſo that they were entertain'd and publickly protected in ſeveral Towns, ſuch as *Perth*, *Dundee*, and other Towns of *Fife* and *Angus*; where great Numbers aſſembl'd, and having enter'd into an Agreement to ſupport their Doctrine, they drew up Articles in Writing (wherein they took the Title of *Congregation)* and ſubſcrib'd their Names thereto, engaging to defend the Preachers and aſſiſt one another upon all Occaſions. This Attempt was ſoon encourag'd by ſeveral Perſons of the firſt Rank; for as ſome of the Nobility had great Hopes of having large Shares of the Church Lands, they were the more forward to carry on the propos'd Reformation of Religion.

Congregation, ſo firſt nam'd in *Scotland.*

Mean time the Queen Regent us'd all poſſible Means to prevail with the Magiſtrates of the ſeveral Towns to ſupreſs the Profeſſors of the Reform'd Religion; but found that moſt of them were ſo much inclin'd that way themſelves, that they ſeem'd rather to approve of, and encourage their Proceedings, than to ſuppreſs or interrupt them in the Profeſſion of it; ſo that the Behaviour of the Magiſtrates very much offended the Queen Regent and her Party, who were griev'd to ſee their Religion ſo redicul'd and publickly condemn'd, contrary to the Laws and ſupreme Authority of the Kingdom: But as they could not think of any effectual Means to do themſelves Juſtice at that time, they delay'd any further Proſecution of of their Preachers, until the meeting of the Parliament: where they expected to have the Concurrence of the Eſtates to ſuppreſs the Proteſtants.

Acts of mutual Naturalization paſt in *Scotland* and *France.*

The Parliament met at *Edinburgh* the 29th Day of *October*, 1558. when Ambaſſadors from *France* came to *Scotland*, and produc'd an Inſtrument of Naturalization to all *Scotſmen*, in the Kingdom of *France*; as alſo of all *Frenchmen* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which Privilege being ratify'd and recorded in the Parliament and Council Books of *France*, it was requir'd to do the ſame in *Scotland*: Whereupon the Queen Regent and the three Eſtates of Parliament unanimouſly agreed, that the ſaid Inſtrument ſhould be ratify'd in Parliament, and be publickly recorded in the Books of Council and Seſſion, and commanded Mr. *James Mackgill* of *Rankiller*, Deputy Clerk of the Regiſter, to give authentick Copies of the ſaid Act of Naturalization, to all ſuch as would deſire it, as well to the Natives of *France* as *Scotland.*

The Ambaſſadors who brought over this Act, had other Matters to lay before the Parliament, which was the former Requeſt made to the *Scots* Commiſſioners, of ſending over the Crown and Royal Enſigns of the Kingdom of *Scotland* to *France*, to be us'd by the Queen and her Husband, according to his Right of Marriage, alledging, that he only enjoy'd an empty Title by his Marriage, ſince he had not been lawfully Crown'd, according to Cuſtom: This Part of the Embaſſy was brought into Debate, which continu'd for ſome time, with many Arguments *pro* and *con*; but as *Scotland* was then engag'd in a War againſt *England*, they conſider'd that the more firmly they were conjoyn'd with *France*, they might expect the greater Aſſiſtance to defend the Kingdom againſt *England*; which Conſideration, was the only Motive that induc'd the major Part of the Peers and Commons in Parliament, to give their Conſent, that the Crown ſhould be carried over to Crown the Dauphin, then call'd King of *Scotland*: And the Earl of *Argyle*, with *James* the Prior of St. *Andrews*, were nominated by the Queen-Regent and Parliament, to carry it: But as they had not been forward in giving their Conſent to that Purpoſe, they delay'd their Journey from day to day; ſo that at laſt, when

when they were preparing to go, the News of a Change in *England* alter'd the whole Design of their Journey. For upon the 17 of *November*, this Year died Queen *Mary* of *England*, and was succeeded by her Sister *Elizabeth*; which unexpected Alteration, had great effect among the contending religious Parties in both Nations. Whereas the Reformers in *Scotland* were so much afraid of *England*, that they agreed to many things contrary to their Inclinations, to keep in with *France*, so as they might have their Assistance: But knowing the Promises made by *Elizabeth* to promote the Protestant Religion, they grew careless of the Friendship of *France*, and turn'd all their Dependence on *England*: So that in this same Parliament, the Commission given to the Earl of *Argyle* and *James* the Prior was Revok'd, and their Journey quite laid aside. *A. D.* 1558.

The Death of *Mary* Queen of *England*.

It was at the Death of *Mary* Queen of *England* that the King of *France* caus'd his Son, and Daughter-in-Law Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, to assume the Title of *England*; and caus'd, at the same time, the Royal Arms of *England* to be engraven on all their Plate and Houshold Furniture; and us'd, upon all other Occasions, as if they were in Possession of the Crown of that Kingdom. All that the King of *France* could say to excuse this was, That Queen *Elizabeth*'s Legitimacy was disputed, as that it was alledg'd, that King *Henry* could not lawfully marry *Ann Bullen* her Mother, while Queen *Katharine*, Mother of Queen *Mary* was alive. But that Objection being rejected by the Parliament of *England*, the Proceedings of the Court of *France* in that Matter, prov'd of most fatal Consequence to Queen *Mary*; for Queen *Elizabeth* look'd upon that Action to be so great an Affront, that she never could forget it in all her Lifetime.

The Queen, and her Husband the Dauphin of *France*, assume the Title and Arms of *England*.

Upon this Occasion, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, the *English* Ambassador at the Court of *France*, had Orders from his Court to complain of the Injustice done to Queen *Elizabeth*, by taking her Title and Arms. To which the King of *France* answer'd, "That according to the Custom of *Germany*, any "Prince's Children, Brothers, or Cousins, were still'd of that Title, and "us'd their Arms; and as Queen *Mary* of *Scotland* was Cousine, and next "Heir to the Crown of *England*, she might freely make use of the Title "and Arms of that Nation, without any Offence to Queen *Elizabeth*." But that Excuse was not admitted by her, but rather encreas'd her Displeasure.

To return to the Affairs of *Scotland*, at this time several of the Nobility had join'd themselves to the Protestant Party; among whom were *Archibald* Earl of *Argyle*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencairn*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Archibald* Lord *Lorn*, Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*, Sir *John Erskine* of *Dunn*, and *William Maitland* of *Lethington*, younger; they met together, with several others of less Account, and after Consultation, they concluded, *That in all Parishes they would have Prayers according to their own Form: That if the Curates of each Parish refus'd to do so, the best qualify'd Person in the Parish should perform that Office: But for preachiug, they only desir'd, That that might be in private Houses, after a quiet Manner, until the Queen might grant further Liberty.* The which to do, these Noblemen, with all the rest of the Party, bound themselves by Oaths and Subscriptions, to assist one another, and hazard their Lives and Fortunes in advancing the Cause of Religion.

The Protestant Nobility enter into an Association to maintain their Religion.

Upon this Association the Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s wrote Letters of Advice to the Earl of *Argyle* and others of that Party, which had no Effect; and the Queen Regent press'd the Magistrates of several Towns to suppress the Preachers. Yet little Obedience was given to that Command; for about that time *John Knox* having Notice of Queen *Mary* of *England*'s Death, and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Accession, he return'd from *Geneva* thro' *England*, and coming to *Perth*, he made a publick Oration against the Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, and wrought up the Populace to such a Pitch of Rage, that they went straight to the Church, where finding some Priests at Mass, they tore off their Vestments, broke down the Altars, as also the Shrines

John Knox returns to *Scotland* and preach against the Church of *Rome*.

The Protestants attack the Priests at *Perth*,

A. D. 1559. and Monuments within, or about the Church; from whence they went to the Monaſtery of *Franciſcans*, which they alſo broke into, and turning them out, ſeiz'd all their Furniture. The Inhabitants of *Cowpar* in *Fife* hearing of the Proceedings of their Neighbours of *Perth*, aſſembl'd themſelves, and follow'd their Example in demoliſhing all the Ornaments of the Church, which they did all in one Day.

as alſo at *Cowper* in *Fife*.

The Queen Regent having Notice of the Proceedings of *Perth* and *Cowpar*, ſeem'd very much ſurpriz'd, and ſent for the Duke of *Chattlerault*, the Earls of *Argyle* and *Athole*, with their Clans, to come to her upon this Occaſion; and having, at the ſame time, order'd the *French* Troops, which were in *Scotland*, to be in Readineſs, ſhe intended to go againſt the Towns of *Perth* and *Cowpar* with all poſſible Expedition. The Lords, and others of the Congregation (as the Proteſtants were then call'd) having Notice of the Queen's Preparation againſt them, ſent Notice to all their Friends, to come to their Aſſiſtance with all poſſible Expedition.

The Queen reſolves to ſuppreſs them.

She brings an Army againſt them whereupon they raiſe an Army of equal ſtrength.

About the middle of *May* the Queen Regent, with the Duke, Earls of *Argyle* and *Athole* and *James Stewart* the Prior, came with an Army and heavy Carriage of Ordinance towards *Perth*, when, at the ſame time, the Earl of *Glencairn* came ſpeedily with a ſtrong Party from the Weſt Countries, and join'd his Friends at *Perth*; ſo that now they were near 7000 ſtrong, and all reſolute to maintain their Cauſe. The Queen had muſter'd near the ſame Number, but was not willing to come to an Engagement if they could be brought to any reaſonable Terms; therefore ſent the Earl of *Argyle*, and *James* the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, to treat with the Lords of the Congregation. This Commiſſion was moſt acceptable to them, for altho' they both were the chief Perſons in carrying on the Reformation, yet they conceal'd their Inclinations from the Queen Regent, and attended her Councils and Army, to make the beſt Advantage of all Opportunities to advance the Deſigns of their Party: And having at this time got a fair Occaſion to ſerve their own Intereſt, they readily obey'd the Queen's Commands; and having come to a convenient Place, they ſent Notice to the Earl of *Glencairn* and Sir *John Erskine* of *Dunn* to meet them, to treat about an Accomodation of the preſent Commotions. And being met, they agreed, *That all* Scotſmen, *on both Sides, ſhould be disbanded and ſent home: That the Queen Regent ſhould have free Leave to enter the Town of* Perth *with her Guards and Attendance, and ſtay to refreſh herſelf for ſome Days, after the Fatigue of her Journey or during her Pleaſure; upon Aſſurance that none of the Inhabitants ſhould be moleſted: But as for the* French *Auxiliaries, they were not to come within or near the Town: And all other Differences to be referr'd to the Deciſion of the next Parliament.*

They come to an Agreement.

The Queen Regent being come to *Perth*, the Earl of *Argyle* and *James Stewart* went to St. *Andrew*'s, where they ſtaid ſome time: But after ſome Days ſtay at *Perth*, the Queen found the Townſmen were rude, whereupon ſhe changed the Magiſtrates, and caus'd Fine others; and being weary of her Reſidence there, ſhe went to *Stirling*, where ſhe order'd the Earl of *Argyle* and *James Stewart* to come to her: But they refus'd, alledging, that ſhe had violated the Promiſes made to the Lords of the Congregation: Whereupon they wrote to all their Confederates, to come ſpeedily to St. *Andrew*'s, for the Queen would immediately raiſe Forces and aſſault the Towns of *Perth*, St. *Andrew*'s, *Cowpar*, and all other Places where the Reform'd Religion was profeſs'd, and would proſecute all ſuch as had favour'd that Opinion. Upon this Allarm all the Members of the Congregation came flocking towards St. *Andrew*'s, ſo that in a few Days a ſtrong Army was in and about the Town. The Archbiſhop knowing the Cauſe of their coming, made his Eſcape with a few of his Friends, and went to meet the Queen Regent, who was then on her Way from *Stirling* to *Falkland*.

The Queen enters *Perth*.

The Earl of *Argyle* and the Lord *James* deſert the Queen and joyn the Congregation, they raiſe an Army at St. *Andrew*'s.

The Archbiſhop leaves the Town.

Mean

A. D. 1559.

Mean time the Earl of *Argyle*, with *James* the Prior, march'd their Army over all the East Coast of *Fife*, and demolish'd all the Altars, and carried away all Church Vessels, and other Things appertaining to the *Roman* Catholick Religon; nor did they cease till they return'd to St. *Andrew's*, where they broke down every thing in the Cathedral, and afterwards demolish'd the Monasteries of the *Franciscan* and *Dominican* Friars, which they level'd to the very Ground. An Account whereof being brought to the Queen Dowager at *Falkland*, she was in the utmost Concern, and gave immediate Orders to the Earl of *Arran* and *Monsr. d'Ossel*, to get their Forces ready, to march towards *Cowpar* to encounter the Enemy, who intended to take their Rout that Way; and were so expeditious, that they march'd their Army near *Cowpar*, before the Queen could get her Forces in Readiness; only the *French* Troops and a few *Scots* march'd to the Top of a Hill to view their Number, which they discover'd to be more than was expected; so they return'd with Notice to the Queen, who did not think proper to follow them, until she could have more Forces in readiness. Mean time the Reformers march'd their Army thro' *Cowpar* and *Perth* to *Stirling*, where they set to work to break down Altars, and every Thing they did not approve of, and demolish'd the Monasteries: Next they went to *Linlithgow*, and having there likewise demolish'd all Things, as in other Places; they next provided all the Churches in those Towns with Preachers of their own Doctrine, to preach and pray publickly in every Parish-Church: And at last they came to *Edinburgh*, where they disbanded most part of their Army, to let the Common people go home, while the chief Persons enter'd into Consultation to settle their Religion.

The Protestants break down the Ornaments of the Cathedral of St. *Andrew's*, they march over the Country demolishing Altars, &c.

At this time News came to *Scotland*, of the Death of *Henry* II. King of *France*: That News was very welcome to many in Consideration of the Queen, and her Husband the Dauphin, being come to the Possession of the Crown of *France*.

The Death of *Henry* King of *France*.

The Lords of the Congregation being at *Edinburgh*, in a carless Posture, considering their late Actions; of which the Queen Regent having Notice, sent over the *French* Troops to *Dunbar*, and went over to *Lothian* with those of her Retinue; among whom were the Earls of *Arran*, *Huntely*, *Atholl*; the Lords *Erskine*, *Somervill*, and other Noblemen: So that when she found the Lords of the Congregation had taken Possession of several Places about the City, she call'd a Council of those who attended her, and by their Advice publish'd a Proclamation, commanding the Lords and Members of the Congregation to give up the Mint, and to leave the City and Suburbs of *Edinburgh*, and Palace of *Holy-rood-House*, by a Time limited; upon Pain of being prosecuted as Rebels, and Traitors to the Crown: And at the same time promis'd, that upon their Submission and good Behaviour, a Parliament should be call'd in *January* after, wherein she should refer the ordering all Matters, especially the Differences in Religion; and to satisfy such as were injur'd by the present Troubles.

The Queen Regent sends over the *French* to *Lothian*, and follows them herself.

A Proclamation against the Congregation.

The Lords sent Letters at the same time to excuse themselves to the Queen Regent, wherein they deny'd having us'd any Violence, further than in Defence of their Religion. Mean time they staid at *Edinburgh*, and the Queen came to *Leith* with her Retinue; and having lodg'd there all Night, the next Day she intended to enter *Edinburgh* by the West Port; and being met by the Duke and Earl of *Morton*, she was on her Way to enter, when the Lords of the Congregation came to stop her Entry: Whereupon the Lord *Erskine* Governor of the Castle, who till then had stood neuter, sent Notice to the Lords, That, unless they would permit the Queen to enter, he would Cannonade them from the Castle. Upon this the Lords agreed, to a Truce for that Day, and that they should depart from the City and Suburbs of *Edinburgh* for 24 Hours; that the Queen should have the Mint and Palace of *Holy-rood-House*, with all the Furniture deliver'd up to her that Day: That the Priests should have free leave to use the

A. D. 1559. Church as formerly; and that no Churches, Chappels or Monaſteries ſhould be demoliſh'd, nor any Ornaments of them broken, till the 10th of *January* after.

Francis II. and *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* crown'd King and Queen of *France*.

The Dauphin, who ſucceeded his Father by the Title of *Francis* II. and *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, being now crown'd King and Queen of *France*, hearing of the Tumults in *Scotland*, had Information that *James*, the Queen's Baſtard-Brother, had renounc'd the Title of Prior of St. *Andrew*'s; having ſtil'd himſelf Lord *James Stewart*, was the Ringleader of the Reformers, who at that time bred all the Diſturbance; and that the ſaid *James* intended no leſs than to diſinherit the Queen and uſurp the Crown of *Scotland*; whereupon the King and Queen wrote, each of them, a Letter to him as follows.

FRANCIS, *King of* France, *to* JAMES, *Prior of St.* Andrew's.

Couſine,

K. *Francis*'s Letter to the Prior.

" When I underſtood, as well by Letter as common Report, the Tumults " rais'd in *Scotland* at this time; I was much ſurpriz'd when I found that " you, to whom my dear Wife, my deceas'd Father, and my ſelf have given " ſo many Benefices, ſhould be the Head and principal Contriver of the " ſame. I could not believe, that you would be ſo forgetful of our Love, and " the Duty and Reſpect, you have at all times profeſs'd unto the Queen: If it " is ſo as reported to us, I did imagine you were induc'd by the Promiſes " and flattering Perſuaſions of others, to take the Fault upon you, ſuppoſing " the Fault would be more eaſily excus'd and forgiven to you. This is my " Opinion, and ſhould be glad to find Means to mitigate our Diſpleaſure, " which you have caus'd, by deceiving the Hopes I had of your Piety to " GOD, and Fidelity to us: Therefore, as nothing can be more agreeable to " me, than to hear that all Controverſies are decided, and all Tumults com- " poſ'd according to Law and Juſtice; and, ſince I am perſuaded this may " be eaſily done by your Credit and diligent Endeavours, I thought proper " to intimate to you by theſe Letters, and for the Good-will I bear you, I " earneſtly require you to return to your Duty and Obedience to us; ſo that " I may ſee you behave your ſelf ſo as to contradict thoſe Reports; and " return to your Duty to GOD and your Sovereign, otherwiſe you may " expect that you, and all ſuch as adhere to your Deſigns, ſhall be puniſh'd " according to Law. I have given the Bearer Charge to mention our " Will at more Length, to whom give Credit as my ſelf. Pray GOD " (Couſine) to have you in his Protection.

Paris, the 17th Day of *July*, 1559.

The Bearer of this Letter was *Monſieur Crook*, who brought another Letter from the Queen, as follows.

MARY, *Queen* of Scotland *and* France, *to* JAMES, *Prior of the Monaſtery of St.* Andrew's.

Queen *Mary*'s Letter to the Prior.

" I cannot (my Couſine) wonder enough, that you, who are neareſt to " us in Blood, and greatly benefited by our Liberality, of which you are " ſenſible, ſhould be ſo preſumptuous and wickedly diſpos'd, as to violate " your Duty to the Almighty GOD, and Obedience to my Husband and " Me. It is ſtrange that you, who when with me, did complain of the " Duke of *Chattlerault* and others, for ſetting my Authority at nought, " ſhould now become the Leader of a Faction, in Matters of the greateſt " Weight; wherein the Honour of GOD is touch'd, and my Authority " utterly taken away; which I could more eaſily believe of any other of " my Subjects than you, whoſe Fidelity I depended ſo much on, and it is " the more Grief to me, to find my Hopes deceiv'd. I cannot yet believe " that you are ſo far led aſtray from Truth and Reaſon: If ſo, I pray GOD

" to

" to illuminate you with his Light, and bring you back again to the right " Way, that you may live in Obedience to the Laws of GOD and our " Nation: Wherefore I thought fit to admoniſh you by this Letter, and do " earneſtly entreat you to ammend your paſt Faults, by better Deeds, in " time coming, ſo that the Diſpleaſure my Husband and me have conceiv'd " of you, may be mitigated: Otherwiſe you may expect to be proſecuted " with all Severity of Law, which would be to me great Trouble. I be- " ſeech GOD to protect and keep you from all Danger."

A. D. 1559.

Paris, July 24. 1559.

Monſieur Crook having deliver'd the Letter to Lord *James*, acquainted him of the great Concern of the King and Queen for the late tumult in *Scotland*, and that they were reſolv'd to perſecute thoſe that were the Beginners and Abettors of it. The Lord *James* anſwer'd, " That he was no ways conſci- " ous to himſelf of any Undutifulneſs, either in Word or Deed, againſt " his Sovereign's Laws: That it was true, he had join'd himſelf with thoſe " of the Nobility who went about reforming of Religion, but that, he did " not eſteem a Fault againſt the King or Queen."

Lord *James*'s Anſwer to the Letter.

As this Anſwer was no Satisfaction to the King or Queen, they reſolv'd to aſſiſt the Queen-Regent with Forces to ſuppreſs the Lords of the Congregation, and thereupon ſent out a Regiment of Foot, and ſoon after ſent over 500 Horſemen, with four well Man'd Ships to ſecure the Harbour of *Leith*, in caſe any Aſſiſtance of Ships ſhould be ſent from *England* to the Congregation.

The King and Queen ſends a ſupply of Forces to the Queen-Regent.

At this time *James* Lord *Hamilton*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Chattlerault*, upon ſome Diſguſt left the Court of *France*, and went to *Geneva*, where he had not been long before he became acquainted with one *Randulph* an *Engliſh* Man, who took great Pains to bring him over to the Proteſtant Religion, and ſoon after return'd to *Scotland* by the way of *London*, where he was very much Carraſs'd by Queen *Elizabeth* and her Court, who prevail'd with him to declare for their Religion, and to aſſiſt and encourage the Reformation in *Scotland*. When this young Lord arriv'd in *Scotland*, he went ſtraight to the Lords of the Congregation (without taking notice of the Queen-Dowager) at *Sterling*, and offer'd them his Aſſiſtance, and ſoon after going to viſit the Duke his Father at *Hamilton*, he perſuaded him to a Reconciliation with the Reformers, and to joyn with them in writing a Letter to the Queen-Regent, wherein they complain'd of her Deſigns of bringing in a *French* Power, to ſubdue the Kingdom of *Scotland*; therefore deſir'd ſhe might deſiſt from ſuch Courſes, which would compel them to ſeek the Concurrence of all the Subjects to defend the Priviledges of the Nation. To this Letter the Queen-Regent gave an Anſwer, but not ſuch as pleas'd them: Therefore they proceeded from time to time to leſſen her Authority, and ſhe having recourſe to *France* for Aſſiſtances, had ſome ſupplies of Forces; whereupon the Lords of the Congregation apply'd to Queen *Elizabeth* for Aid. Their Requeſt was readily comply'd with, and the Duke of *Norfolk* was ſent by Queen *Elizabeth* to *Berwick*, to enter into an Agreement with the Lords of the Congregation; they having notice of his coming, ſent *James Stewart*, the Lord *Ruthven*, Sir *John Maxwel* of *Taregles*, *William Maitland* of *Lethington*, younger, *John Wiſhart* of *Pittarrow*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaves* of *Halhill*, who enter'd into Articles with the Duke of *Norfolk*.

James Lord *Hamilton* leaves *France* upon a Diſguſt, and goes to *Geneva*.

He returns to *Scotland*, joyns the Lords of the Congregation.

He perſuades his Father the Duke to joyn the Lords.

The Queen-Regent having ſupply from *France*, the Reformers are aſſiſted from *England*.

A Contract between the Reformers and the Queen of *England*.

The Articles of the Contract.

I. That Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould receive the Kingdom of *Scotland* into her Protection, during the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland* with the King of *France*, and ſhould Aid and Aſſiſt the Lords of the Congregation againſt the *French*, and all ſuch as would take their Part.

II. That ſhe ſhould ſend immediately a ſufficient number of Forces to joyn the Lords of the Congregation, to expel the *French* out of *Scotland*, and to ſtop them, and all others from coming into the Kingdom for the time to come.

A. D. 1560.

III. That Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould not leave the Lords without Aid, until all the *French* were Expell'd, and ſhould maintain the Liberty and Dignity of the Crown of *Scotland*, and aſſiſt all the Subjects whilſt they acknowledge her Queen.

IV. That all ſuch Forts and Towns as were recover'd from the *French*, by the Aſſiſtance of *England*, ſhould be Demoliſh'd, or deliver'd to the Duke of *Chattlerault*, and his Aſſiſtants: That no Fort nor Caſtle ſhould be built by the *Engliſh* on *Scots* Ground, without the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid Duke and Subjects of *Scotland*.

V. That the ſaid Duke and the Nobility of *Scotland*, ſhould Aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Army againſt the *French*, with all the Strength they could raiſe of Foot and Horſe, either by Sea or Land while they remain'd in *Scotland*.

VI. That if the *French* ſhould Invade, or cauſe the Realm of *England* to be Invaded at any time, the *Scots* ſhould furniſh the Number of a thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Foot at leaſt, or ſuch a Part of them as ſhould be requir'd, at the Charge of the Queen of *England*, to be conducted to any Part of the Nation that they ſhall be appointed. But in caſe the Invaſion happen'd on the North ſide of the River *Tine*, they ſhould conveen and gather their whole Forces upon their own Charges, and joyn the *Engliſh* in their Quarrel, and continue for the Space of thirty Days or longer, if Occaſion were for for their Stay.

VII. That they ſhould never conſent nor permit the Realm of *Scotland* to be Conquer'd, or otherwiſe united to the Crown of *France*, than as the then Marriage of the Sovereign the Queen, to the King of *France*, and as the Laws and Liberties of the Realm do allow.

VIII. That the Earl of *Argyle* as Lord Juſtice General of *Scotland*, being then joyn'd with the Duke, ſhould employ their Force and Intereſt to reduce the North of *Ireland*, in obedience to *England*; conform to a mutual Contract to be made between the *Engliſh* Deputy and the Earl of *Argyle* for Suppreſſion of *O Neal*, or any others of the North of *Ireland*, or Iſles of *Scotland*.

IX. That the *Scots* ſhould, for Performance of their Part of the Contract, give Hoſtages or Pledges to the Duke of *Norfolk*, before his coming into *Scotland* with an Army; and that thoſe Hoſtages ſhould be the Sons or Brothers of the Lords of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that they ſhould change them for others of the ſame Rank and Number at the end of every ſix or ſeven Months; and that thoſe Hoſtages ſhould remain or continue to be chang'd from time to time, during the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland* with the King of *France*, and a full Year longer, until proper Meaſures might be taken for the Peace and Concord of both Kingdoms.

X. That the Duke and Nobles of *Scotland* being joyn'd with him, ſhould ſubſcribe theſe Articles within twenty Days after the Hoſtages were given, and that all the Lords of *Scotland* that ſhould at any time after agree to theſe Articles ſhould ſubſcribe them when requir'd, at leaſt within twenty Days after their Agreement.

XI. That the ſaid Duke and Nobility of *Scotland* joyn'd with him, ſhould underſtand that the Queen of *England* granted them the preſent Support to defend the Laws and Liberties of *Scotland* from Conqueſt; and not to withdraw their Obedience from their Sovereign Lady the Queen, nor to withſtand the *French* King her Husband in any thing Lawful, which tended not to the Subverſion of the juſt and ancient Liberties of *Scotland*: For the Preſervation whereof they acknowledge themſelves bound to hazard their Lives and Fortunes.

This Contract was Dated at *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, the 27th of *February* 1560. confirm'd by the Queen of *England*, and a Patent thereof deliver'd under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Duke and Nobility. The Lords of the Congregation in *Scotland* did in like manner Ratifie the ſame by their Subſcriptions at the Camp before *Leith* the 20th Day of *May* following.

The

The *French* Troops being at this time in *Fife*, they march'd towards St. *Andrew*'s, in order to put a Garriſon therein, but upon ſight of the *Engliſh* Fleet coming up the Firth of *Forth*, they intended to joyn the Queen-Regent's Army, which had then Poſſeſſion of *Leith*, and were in a Poſture of Defence againſt the Lords of the Congregation, who were encamp'd near the Town. The *French* were for tranſporting themſelves over the River; but wanting Ships, they were oblig'd to take their Rout by the way of *Sterling*, and in three Days joyn'd the Confederates at *Leith*. *A. D.* 1560.

The *French* upon ſight of the *Engliſh* Fleet, come over to *Leith*.

About this time the Lords ſent Parties over *Fife*, *Angus*, *Merns* and *Aberdeen* Shire, to demoliſh Churches and Monaſtries; and having done as they pleas'd in ſeveral Places, came to *Aberdeen*, where they demoliſh'd the Monaſtries of the *Dominicans* and *Carmelites*: They were about to break into the Cathederal Church, when the Earl of *Huntly* with a ſtrong Party came upon them, and, after a Scuffle, put the Reformers to flight. This Party being return'd, the Lords held a Council, and publiſh'd Proclamations, charging all their Friends and Fellow-Subjects to meet in Arms at *Linlithgow* the laſt day of *March* 1560. and from thence to march againſt the *French*, who had fortify'd the Town of *Leith*, and at the ſame time they ſent three Gentlemen as Pledges to the Queen of *England* for the Performance of the Contract before mention'd. The Perſons ſent were *Colin Campbell*, Couſin to the Earl of *Argyle*, *Robert Dowglaſs*, Brother to the Laird of *Lochleven*, and *John Ruthven* Son to the Lord *Ruthen*; they being deliver'd to the *Engliſh* Admiral, were convoy'd by Sea to *Newcaſtle*; whereupon two thouſand Horſe, and 6000 Foot, commanded by the Lords *Gray* and *Scroop*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Henry Piercy*, and Sir *Francis Leake*, came into *Scotland*, and joyn'd the Reformers Army at *Preſton* in Eaſt *Lothian*, upon the fourth of *April*. The chief Perſons of the *Scots* Army were the Duke of *Chattlerault* (being lately drawn in by his Son) the Earls of *Argyle*, *Menteith* and *Glencairn*, *James* the late Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, the Lords *Boyd*, *Ruthven* and *Ocheltree*; beſides many Barons of *Fife*, *Lothian*, *Angus*, *Merns* and the Weſt Countries, who came to their Aſſiſtance.

The Reformers demoliſh ſeveral Places in the North.

The Cathedral Church of *Aberdeen* ſav'd by the Earl of *Huntley*.

Hoſtages deliver'd to the *Engliſh* Admiral.

The *Engliſh* Army ſent to the Lords.

The chief Perſons of the Congregation.

When the Queen-Regent had Notice of the *Engliſh* Army being come ſo near, ſhe went from *Leith* to *Edinburgh*, and was reſpectfully Receiv'd by the Lord *Erskin*, into the Caſtle, where ſhe (with her Servants and Furniture) were ſecure from the Enemy, who were upon their March towards *Leith*: But upon further Conſideration, they encamp'd at *Dalkeith*, and having call'd a Council, they wrote a Letter to the Queen-Regent, wherein they inſiſted upon ſending the *French* Troops out of the Kingdom; and at the ſame time, the *Engliſh* Generals ſent Sir *James Crofts*, requeſting her to ſend Home all the *French* Forces; upon which Condition, the *Engliſh* Army ſhould alſo return Home, without offering any Diſturbance to any Part of the Kingdom: To both which Meſſages, ſhe return'd for Anſwer, that ſhe would take their Propoſals into Conſideration, and would give them a poſitive and particular Anſwer in a Day or two after; but they not liking to admit of any Delay, march'd their Army towards *Leith*, by the Sea Coaſt, till they came to *Reſtalrige*. The *French* ſeeing them on their March, iſſu'd out to the Number of 1300, and Aſſaulted the *Engliſh* Army, who were Advanc'd before the *Scots*, and Fought them for near five Hours; but the *Scots* coming up, charg'd them freſh, after the Fatigue of the former Engagement, and ſo beat them back into the Town of *Leith*: In this Engagement (which happen'd on *Saturday* the 6th of *April*, 1560.) there were near 300 of each Side ſlain. The *Engliſh* pitch'd their Tents in the Fields about *Reſtalrige*, and the *Scots* towards the City of *Edinburgh*, where they continu'd encamp'd, and planted ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance in convenient Places, to Cannonade the Town of *Leith*, and Subburbs of *Edinburgh*, where the *French* had rais'd ſome Fortifications.

The Queen comes to *Edinburgh*, and is reſpectfully receiv'd by the Lord *Erskin*.

The *Engliſh* Army march towards *Leith*.

The *French* come out and attack the *Engliſh*, but are beat back.

After ſome Days Reſt, the *Engliſh* growing ſecure in their Camp, and neglecting to keep Watches, which being known to the *French*, they ſallied out in the dark of the Morning, enter'd the *Engliſh* Trenches before they

The *French* Surprize the *Engliſh* Camp, and after great Slaughter, return with Plunder.

A. D. 1560. could be perceiv'd, and ſlew a great Number, and carried off great Booty. The Number ſlain in this Surpriſe, was ſaid to be about 400. Some Days after, there happen'd a great Fire in the Town of *Leith*, ſo that while the *French* were buſy in the Night, to extinguiſh it, the *Engliſh* came to the Walls, and by the Light of the Fire, meaſur'd the Height of them, in order to make Ladders, for ſcaling of them, to Storm the Town; and having prepar'd their Ladders, they came on the 7th of *May*, before Day-Light, and attempted to ſcale; but the Ladders proving ſhort, they were diſcover'd and attack'd by the *French*, who purſu'd them almoſt to their Camp, and ſlew about 160 Soldiers, beſides Officers.

The *Engliſh* attempt to ſcale the Walls of *Leith*, but Miſcarry, and come off with loſs of Men.

Theſe Advantages, tho' ſmall, gave Hopes to the Queen-Regent's Party, that the Siege would ſoon be rais'd, and the *Engliſh* would return Home: But their Hopes were ſoon blaſted; for the Duke of *Norfolk* ſent Letters to the *Engliſh* Generals, to continue the Siege, aſſuring them of having ſpeedy Supply of Forces, in caſe there were Occaſion. During the Month of *May*, the *French* made ſeveral Sallies out of the Town, but were put back without any Action, or Loſs on either Side; nor was there any Loſs of the *Scots* all that time, except two Gentlemen, the one *Robert Colvil* of *Cliſh*, the other *Alexander Lockhart* of *Barr*.

The *French* King and Queen knowing the continu'd Troubles in *Scotland*, could not at that time ſend any Supplies of Forces, therefore ſent Count *Randon*, and the Biſhop of *Valence*, Ambaſſadors to the Queen of *England*, deſiring that ſhe would call Home her Forces from *Scotland*, offering at the ſame time to give up *Cailis*, which had been taken from the *Engliſh* in the Reign of the late Queen *Mary* of *England*. But Queen *Elizabeth* would not condeſcend to any Terms, but with the Conſent of the Reform'd Lords of *Scotland*; whereupon ſhe ſent Sir *William Cecil* her Secretary, and *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *York*, with the *French* Ambaſſadors to *Scotland*, to Treat with the Queen-Regent, and Lords of the Congregation: But while they were on their Journey, the Queen-Regent (who had been ſick for ſome time) died in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, upon the 10th Day of *June*. Her Death was very much Lamented by many; yea, even of thoſe who were then in Arms againſt her, eſpecially the Duke of *Chattlerault*, who continu'd always in very intimate Friendſhip with her, until he was drawn away from her by his Son; and being afterwards very much ſway'd by the Counſel of the Earl of *Argyle*, and his Brother-in-Law, the late Prior, (for the Earl was Married to *Jane Stewart*, Natural Daughter to King *James* the Fifth, and Siſter to the Prior) but the Duke hearing that the Queen was near Death, he went attended by the Earls of *Glencairn*, *Marſhal* and Lord *James Stewart*, and being admitted by her Permiſſion and Deſire, ſhe expreſs'd great Grief for the Calamities of the Nation, and earneſtly entreated them to ſtudy ſuch Means, as might reſtore Peace and Concord among the Subjects; and to ſend away both *French* and *Engliſh* Armies out of *Scotland*, to give due Obedience to their Lawful Queen, and to entertain the ancient Amity with the King and Realm of *France*. After ſome Advices to that Purpoſe, ſhe kiſs'd the Duke and other Nobles, and gave her Hand to thoſe of inferior Rank, and asking Forgiveneſs of them all, ſhe declar'd how freely ſhe forgave them, and all the World, and took her Leave of them.

The King and Queen's Offers to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Death of the Queen Regent.

Among the many Encomiums juſtly due to this Queen's Merit, I find none to exceed that Character given her, by the Learned Doctor *Spotſwood*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s; who, tho' no Friend to her Religion, yet ſpeaks of her with ſuch Reſpect and Reverence, as becomes all Dutiful and Loyal Subjects to ſhew the Memory of the Lawful Princeſs of their Native Country; therefore without Alteration, I ſhall here inſert that Character in his own Words.

Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*'s Character of the Queen-Dowager of *Scotland*.

She was a Lady of honeſt and honourable Conditions, of ſingular Judgment, and full of Humanity, a great Lover of Juſtice, helpful to the Poor, eſpecially to thoſe ſhe knew to be Indigent, but for Shame could not Beg; Compaſſionate

ſionate of Women in Travail, whom ſhe did often Viſit in her own Perſon, and help both with her Skill and Counſel. In her Court ſhe kept a wonderful Gravity, tolerating no Licentiouſneſs; her Maids were always buſy in ſome virtuous Exerciſe, and to them ſhe was an Example every way of Modeſty, Chaſtity, and the beſt Virtues. A great Dexterity ſhe had in Government, which appear'd in Compoſing the Tumults in the North, and Pacifying the Iſles, which by her Wiſdom were reduced to perfect Obedience. As to thoſe Wars which Afflicted the Kingdom in her laſt Days, it is not to be doubted, but the ſame happen'd much againſt her Will, neither had they fallen out at all, if Affairs had been carried according to her Mind: But ſhe was to Govern by Direction, and in all Matters of Weight, muſt needs attend Reſponſes from the French *Court, which were the Oracles whereby all Affairs at theſe Times were fram'd. This made her in Matters of Religion more ſevere than of her own Nature ſhe was, and led her into many Errors of State, neglecting the Natives and born Noblemen of the Country, and following the Counſels of the* French, *that attended her, who making no Conſcience of their Promiſes, and minding nothing but the bringing of* Scotland *in Subjection to* France, *as they conceiv'd things to ſerve unto their Ends, mov'd her to follow Courſes Unſure and Diſhonourable. Otherwiſe ſhe was of a moſt mild Diſpoſition, and was often heard to ſay, That if her own Counſel might take Place; ſhe doubted nothing to compoſe all the Diſcentions within the Realm, and ſettle the ſame upon good Conditions, in a perfect Tranquility. The Author of the Story aſcrib'd to* John Knox, *in his whole Diſcourſe, ſheweth a bitter and hateful Spite againſt her, forging diſhoneſt Things, which was never ſo much as ſuſpected by any; ſetting down his own Conjectures as certain Truths, and Miſinterpreting all her Words and Actions; yea, the leaſt Syllable that did eſcape her in Paſſion, he maketh it an Argument of her cruel and inhuman Diſpoſition: But when he cometh to ſpeak of her End, he will have all her Sickneſs and Death (though in none of the two there was any thing Extraordinary) to be the Judgment of GOD inflicted upon her; as if Death and the ordinary Viſitations, which bring Death, were not Common to Princes, as well as others. Then for her Burial, becauſe by Direction of her Friends, and (as ſome ſay) at her own Deſire, order was taken to carry her Corpſe to the Abbey of* Rhemes *in* Champaigne, *where her Siſter was Abbeſs, which of all Neceſſity requir'd a Protraction of Time; he conſtru'd the Delay to the Puniſhment of her Inhumanity; and the want of a Sepulchre in this Kingdom, a Prognoſtick of the ſhort Continuance of her Race, and the* Guſian *Blood (as he ſpeaks) in this Realm. Pardon me good Reader for this Degreſſion. To detract from the Fame of Princes, and Miſcenſure their Words and Actions, ſavoureth of Malice, and no way becometh a Chriſtian, much leſs a Miniſter of Chriſt.*

A. D. 1560.

Immediately after the Death of the Queen Dowager, both Armies agreed to a Ceſſation of Arms, until they might hear the Commiſſions of the Ambaſſadors ſent from *France* and *England*; and being come to *Edinburgh*, they enter'd into a Conſultation with the chief Noblemen of both Parties, to bring Matters to an amicable Concluſion; which could not be done for ſome time, by reaſon of the Demands of the *French* Ambaſſadors, inſiſting on keeping Garriſons of *French* Soldiers in ſeveral Places in *Scotland*, for the Uſe of the King and Queen; and that ſuch as return'd home, ſhould be diſmiſs'd with all their Baggage. Which the Nobility of the Confederate Army of *Scots* and *Engliſh* oppos'd, alledging that it was not proper to continue any Strangers in any Places of Strength in the Nation, ſince that would probably occaſion Broils, and breed a new War: And as to the *French* to carry off ſuch Baggage as they then had, it was unreaſonable they ſhould carry off what they had taken by way of Booty from the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, therefore ought to redreſs, ſuch as they had wrong'd, with thoſe Goods ſo purchas'd. Theſe Debates laſted for ſome Days, but at laſt they came to an Agreement, upon the following Conditions.

A Ceſſation of Arms between the two Armies.

A. D. 1560.

The Articles of the Treaty of *Leith*.

I. That the *French* Forces in the Town of *Leith* ſhould be ſent home, within the Space of twenty Days, with Bag and Baggage.

II. That the Fort of *Leith* ſhould be given up to the Lords of the Congretion, and the Walls thereof be demoliſh'd, as alſo *Dunbar*, if the ſaid Lords thought proper: That the King and Queen ſhould not make any new Fortifications, nor repair thoſe demoliſh'd, without Conſent of Parliament.

III. That 60 *French* Soldiers ſhould be permitted to remain in the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, and the like Number in the Iſle of *Inch-Keith*, until the Eſtates ſhould find Means to diſpoſe of the ſaid Forts; the ſaid Soldiers, in the mean time, to live obedient to the Laws of the Realm, and take nothing from the Subjects without Payment of ready Money.

IV. That an Act of Oblivion ſhould be made, for aboliſhing the Memory of all Injuries and Wrongs attempted or committed againſt the Laws of the Realm, ſince the 6th of *March*, 1558. until the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1560. which Act ſhould be ratify'd in the next Parliament, and confirm'd by the Queen, with Conſent of the King of *France* her Husband.

V. That a general Reconciliation ſhould be made amongſt the Lords and Subjects of the Realm, ſo as they who were call'd of the Congregation, and the oppoſite Party, ſhould bear no Quarrel to one another, for things done ſince the 6th of *March*, 1558.

VI. That the King and Queen ſhould not deſire Revenge, or any Puniſhment to be inflicted for any Offences given ſince the ſaid time: That none of the Subjects of *Scotland* ſhould be diſpoſſeſs'd of whatever Eſtate, Office or Benefice they had enjoy'd before that Time; and that it might be known that the King and Queen were willing to forget all paſt Offences, it was declair'd, that the Duke of *Chattlerault*, and all other Noblemen of *Scotland*, ſhould be re-poſſeſs'd in their Livings and Benefices in *France*, as they had been before the 6th of *March*; and that the Capitulation agreed upon ſhould be obſerv'd as well by them as by the Nobility.

VII. That where any Biſhop, Abbot, or other Churchmen could prove any Injuries done either to their Perſons or Goods the ſame ſhould be refer'd to the Eſtates of Parliament, and Redreſs made according to Reaſon; and in the mean time, that no Man ſhould ſtop them from the Poſſeſſion of their Rents and Benefices, nor do any Hurt or Violence to their Perſons or Goods; ſo that if any ſhould tranſgreſs this Article, he ſhould be proſecuted by the Lords as an Enemy to the Publick.

VIII. That for the time coming the King and Queen ſhould not depute any Forreigner in the Adminiſtration of Civil or Common Juſtice; nor give the Offices of Chancellor, Treaſurer, or Comptroller to any but the Natives of *Scotland*; nor that the Offices of Treaſurer or Comptroller ſhould be given to any Churchman; and further, that the Treaſurer and Comptroller ſhould do nothing in diſpoſing of the Revenue without the Conſent of the Council; yet not but that the King and Queen might ſtill beſtow Gifts, when and where they ſhould think proper and needful.

IX. That the Eſtates of the Realm ſhould convene, and hold a Parliament in the Month of *Auguſt* next, for which a Commiſſion would be ſent from the *French* King, and Queen of *Scotland*, and that the ſaid Convention ſhould be as lawful in all Reſpects, as if ordain'd by the expreſs Commands of their Majeſties: Provided all Tumults of War be diſcharg'd, and they who ought by their Places to be preſent, may come without Fear.

X. That for the better Government of this Realm, a Council of twelve worthy Perſons of the Kingdom, ſhould be choſen, whereof ſeven by the Queen, and the other five by the Eſtates; which Council, in their Majeſties Abſence, ſhould govern the Nation, that no Affairs of State ſhould be tranſacted by any of the Subjects, without their ſpecial Conſent and Aprobation; and that the ſaid Council ſhould meet as often as they found Occaſion, but that no leſs Number of them ſhould meet at any time than ſix; or if any Matter of Importance occur'd, they ſhould be call'd, at leaſt, moſt part of them;

them; provided it ſhould not be prejudicial or offenſive to the King and Queen, or Rights of the Crown. *A. D.* 1560.

XI. That the King and Queen ſhould neither make Peace nor War in theſe Parts, but by the Council and Advice of the Eſtates, according to the Cuſtom of the Country.

XII. That none of the Nobility of *Scotland* ſhould raiſe arm'd Men, except in ordinary Caſes, approv'd by the Laws and Cuſtom of the Realm; nor ſhould any of them bring Strangers into the Nation, nor attempt any thing againſt the King and Queen, or againſt the Authority of the Magiſtrates of the Kingdom; and in caſe any of them ſhould have Occaſion to take Arms, the ſame ſhould be firſt communicated to the Council, and their Majeſties likewiſe to be acquainted therewith, and that they ſhould behave themſelves as good and lawful Subjects with reſpect to the Peace and Quietneſs of the Realm, and give due Obedience to the Sovereign.

XIII. That Lord *David*, Son to the Duke of *Chattlerault*, who was then confin'd in *France*, ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and permitted to return to *Scotland* at his Pleaſure.

XIV. That the *French* Soldiers ſhould not carry any Artillery out of *Scotland*, but thoſe which were ſent or brought into *Scotland* ſince the Death of *Francis* I. and that all other Arms and Ammunition, eſpecially thoſe having the Arms of *Scotland* on them, ſhould be return'd to the Places from whence they were brought.

XV. That the *Engliſh* Army ſhould return home immediately after the embarking of the *French*; and that all the *Scots* Soldiers ſhould be disbanded and have Leave to return home.

XVI. That as to the Articles of Religion preſented by the Lords and Commons of *Scotland* (which the Commiſſioners would not meddle with, but referr'd them to their Majeſties) it was promis'd, that a certain Number of Noblemen ſhould be choſen in the next Parliament, to be ſent to their Majeſties, to explain what was neceſſary for their Satisfaction; and for the Articles then agreed upon, they ſhould carry with them the Ratification of the ſame by the Eſtates, and return a Confirmation thereof from their Majeſties: And laſtly, that the Queen of *Scotland* and King of *France* ſhould not hereafter uſurp the Titles of *England* and *Ireland*, and ſhould put out the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* out of their Eſcutcheons and whole Houſhold Furniture.

The Treaty being ended, the *French* Auxiliaries embark'd and left *Scotland*, upon the 16th of *July*, and the ſame Day the *Engliſh* Army departed towards *Berwick*. Upon the 29th of the ſame Month the Lords of the Congregation order'd a ſolemn Thankſgiving to be in St. *Giles*'s Church at *Edinburgh*; after which they gave Orders that ſeveral reform'd Preachers ſhould be diſtributed in the Cities and Towns, as follows: At *Edinburgh* they appointed *John Knox*; at St. *Andrew*'s, *Chriſtopher Goodman*; at *Aberdeen*, *Adam Heriot*; at *Perth*, *John Row*; at *Dundee*, *William Chriſtiſon*; at *Dunfermling*, *David Ferguſon*; at *Jedburgh*, *Paul Methven*; and at *Leith*, Mr. *David Lindſay*. Beſides theſe they appointed others, as Super-intendants; for the Dioceſs of *Glaſgow*, *John Willock*; Mr. *John Spotſwood* for *Lothian* and *Mers*; *John Erskine* for *Angus* and *Merns*; *William Winram* for *Fife*; Mr. *John Kerſwell* for *Argyle* and the Iſles.

The Treaty being ended, the *French* and *Engliſh* leave *Scotland*.

The ſeveral Towns ſupply'd with Preachers.

The Parliament (or rather Convention) being call'd about the firſt of *Auguſt*, ſeveral Debates aroſe about the Legality of their Meeting, ſince they had no Commiſſioner to repreſent the Sovereign; but the Lords of the Congregation inſiſted on the 9th Article of the late Treaty; wherein it was agreed, That a Parliament ſhould be call'd in the Month of *Auguſt*. So after a Debate which laſted eight Days, it was carry'd by the Reformers, That their Meeting was allow'd by the ſaid Article, whereupon they enter'd upon Buſineſs. Of the Nobility, there were preſent, the Duke, and his Son *James* Earl of *Arran*; the Earls of *Marſhal*, *Argyle*, *Caſſils*, *Caithneſs*, *Athole*, *Glencairn*, *Morton*, and *Rotheſs*; the Lords *Ruthven*, *Glames*, *Erskine*, *Boyd*,

A Convention held at *Edinburgh*.

A. D. 1560. *Ochiltree*, *Carliſle*, *Livingſton*, *Ogilvey*, and *Somervil*; with many of the inferior Barons. Of the Churchmen, there came only the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Biſhops of *Dunkel*, *Dumblain*, *Galloway*, *Argyle*, and the Iſles. The Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, the Abbots of *Cowpar*, *Lindores*, *Culroſs*, St. *Colm*'s-*Inch*, *Newbottle*, *Hooly-rood-Houſe*, *Kinloſs*, *New-Abby*, and the Priors of *Coldingham* and St. *Mary*'s Iſle. Of the Commiſſioners of Burghs none were abſent.

The Lords of the Congregation's Requeſt.

The firſt Thing that was laid before this Convention was, a Suplication of the Lords and Commons of the Congregation, concerning Religion; wherein they deſir'd, *That the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome *might be condemn'd by Act of Parliament*: Secondly, *That the Sacraments ſhould be alter'd*: *And* Thirdly, *That the Pope's Authority, in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, ſhould be diſcharg'd, and Proviſion made for Reform'd Preachers, out of Church Livings.* And at the ſame time they order'd the Miniſters to draw up the Sum of their Doctrine, under the Denomination of * *The Confeſſion of Faith, and Doctrine believ'd and Profeſs'd by the Proteſtants of* Scotland. Which was made ready, and read before the Convention, upon the 17th of *Auguſt*.

* *Vide* 1 Parl. *James* VI.

When this Confeſſion came to be read, the Earl of *Athole*, and the Lords of *Somervil* and *Borthwick* made ſeveral Objections againſt it, but it being put to Votes, it was carry'd in the Affirmitive, and was approv'd and ratify'd by the commanding Party: As alſo they paſt an Act againſt the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and Pope's Authority within the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and another Act, to aboliſh all former Acts of Parliament for ſupporting of the Doctrine and Authority aforeſaid: And a third Act, for inflicting puniſhments on all ſuch as would ſay or hear Maſs.

An Act paſt, aboliſhing the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope's Authority.

Sir *James Sandilands* being ſent to *France* with the above Act is deny'd Acceſs.

Theſe Acts being paſt, the Lords ſent Sir *James Sandilands*, Knight of *Rhodes*, with the above Acts to *France*, to have them ratify'd by the Queen, with Conſent of the King her Husband: But Sir *James* was not well receiv'd at the Court of *France*; for not only was his Meſſage contemn'd, but he himſelf was upbraided with a Violation of the Oaths taken at his Admiſſion to the holy Order, of which he was a Knight, in having taken a Commiſſion from Rebels, to ſollicite Favour for moſt execrable Hereſies. Sir *James* did all he could to excuſe himſelf, and have Audience of the Queen; but could not obtain that, nor any Satisfaction, ſo return'd without any Anſwer: Whereupon they broke up their Aſſembly, and finding ſome Reaſons to fear that the King of *France* would reſent their Actions, by ſending over Forces to moleſt them, they ſent the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencairn* as their Ambaſſadors to Queen *Elizabeth*, to return Thanks for the former Service done them; and at the ſame time to entreat her farther Aid, in caſe of any Forces being ſent from *France*, to interrupt their Work of Reformation: But their Fear was ſoon remov'd by the Death of King *Francis*, the Queen's Husband; which was occaſion'd by an Impoſthume in his Ear, of which he died the 5th of *December*, 1560. His Death was no greater Cauſe of Joy to the Proteſtants than of Affliction to the *Roman* Catholicks in *Scotland*.

The *French* King's Death.

The Catholicks ſend *John Leſly* to the Queen.

Upon this Occaſion the chief Perſons of the *Roman* Catholick Party met at *Aberdeen*, where they had a private Conſultation, and determin'd to ſend *John Leſly* (afterwards Biſhop of *Roſs*) with Letters to the Queen, to entreat her Majeſty to return to her Kingdom of *Scotland*, with all poſſible Expedition; and that it would be moſt proper for her to land at *Aberdeen*, where they would abide, and receive her with the utmoſt Reſpect, Honour and Duty; and were hopeful, that they could find ſuch Aſſiſtance, as would enable her to ſuppreſs the Proteſtants, and re-eſtabliſh the Catholick Religion.

Their Advice to the Queen.

At the ſame time they entreated her Majeſty not to be directed by the Advice of her Baſtard-Brother *James*, for that he was not only deceitful, but was of an ambitious aſpiring Mind, and had too great a Deſire to govern the Kingdom: Therefore it would be proper to detain him in *France*, until Matters were accomodated at Home.

Thoſe

Thoſe that ſubſcrib'd theſe Letters were, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, *Murray*, and *Roſs*; the Earls of *Huntly*, *Crawford*, *Athole*, *Sutherland*, and *Caithneſs*. *A. D.* 1561.

At the ſame time the Lords of the Congregation met at *Edinburgh*, where having conſulted, they ſent *James*, the Queen's Baſtard-Brother, in their Name to *France*, to perſuade her likewiſe to return to *Scotland*. But Mr. *Leſly* having been more expeditious in his Journey, arriv'd before the Lord *James*; and finding the Queen retir'd to *Vitrie* in *Champaigne*, he deliver'd his Letters and Credentials. The Queen anſwer'd, That the Prelates and Noblemen by whom he was employ'd, might reſt aſſur'd of her Favour which he might notify to them; but that he might attend until ſhe could reſolve upon her Return. Which ſhe certainly intended with all poſſible Expedition; for as *Katherine* of *Medicis*, Mother to the late, and then King of *France*, had Hopes of the ſole Management of the Affairs of *France*, ſhe wanted to be quite of the Queen of *Scotland*, in caſe ſhe might have ſome Claim to a Share in the Government; which when the Queen's Uncles perceiv'd, they remov'd her to *Lorain*, until Things neceſſary for her Journey to *Scotland* were provided.

The Queen's Anſwer to the Catholicks.

The Lord *James* having in his Journey to *France* taken the Court of *England* in his Way, was there for ſome Days, and had ſome private Conference not only with the chief Miniſters, but likewiſe with Queen *Elizabeth*, to whom he made ſolemn Promiſes of doing Service, upon Condition of having her Aſſiſtance in his future Deſignes; and being come to the Queen in *France*, he acquainted her Majeſty of the great Deſire her Subjects of *Scotland* had to enjoy her Preſence. Whereupon ſhe told him, That ſhe intended to ſet out in ſome little Time, deſiring he might return with all Speed, and give Notice of her Journey, and to take Care nothing ſhould be attempted againſt the Pacification of *Leith* before her coming.

In *March*, 1561. *Charles* IX. King of *France*, ſent *Noalius*, a Senator of *Burdeaux*, to *Scotland*, with a Commiſſion, wherein the King entreated the Nobility of *Scotland* to grant three Requeſts, which were, 1. *That the ancient League between* France *and* Scotland *ſhould be renew'd.* 2. *That the late Confederacy with* England *ſhould be broken.* 3. *That the Churchmen ſhould be reſtor'd to their Places from which they had been turn'd out.* The Council did not meddle with this Affair, until the ſitting of the Parliament, which was appointed to meet in *May* after: But the Lord *James* returning at that Time to *Edinburgh*, he return'd Anſwer to *Noalius*, *That the* Scots *had not broken the ancient League, but that the* French *had done ſo, by endeavouring to deprive* Scotland *of its ancient Laws and Liberty: They could not violate the late Contract made with* England, *without being guilty of the greateſt Ingratitude: And that as they had renounc'd the Pope, they would no longer maintain his Prieſts.*

The Earls of *Morton* and *Glencairn* arriv'd about this Time from *England*, and gave an Account of the Aſſurances Queen *Elizabeth* had given, of ſending Aſſiſtance in caſe of any Need. They, at the ſame time had a more private Affair in Truſt, which was, to try if Queen *Elizabeth* would accept of the Earl of *Arran* in Marriage; to this ('tis ſaid) ſhe anſwer'd, *She was not as yet weary of a ſingle Life, but acknowledg'd herſelf indebted to the Gentleman for his Affection, telling, that if he would try her Kindneſs in any other Matter, he ſhould find his Love not ill beſtow'd.* The Earl took this Denial the better at this Time, ſince, that by the Death of the King of *France*, he had ſome Hopes of obtaining the Favour of his own native Queen, whoſe Beauty and excellent Qualifications he greatly admir'd.

The Earl of *Arran* propoſeth Marriage to Queen *Elizabeth*. Her Anſwer.

When the Queen intended to have ſet out on her Journey for *Scotland*, ſhe was ſeiz'd with a Fever, which confin'd her at *Janville* for ſome Time: After which ſhe came to *Paris*, in the end of *June*, at which Time the Earl of *Bedford*, Ambaſſador for Queen *Elizabeth*, had an Audience; and after congratulatory Speeches for her ſafe Recovery, he propos'd the Ratification of the Treaty of *Leith*, entreating the Performance of it. The Queen an-

A. D. 1561.

ſwer'd, "That as yet ſhe was not in perfect Health, but hop'd to be well "in a little time; as to the Ratification of the Treaty, ſhe remember'd "that Affair, but could not then do any thing in ſuch a Matter, without "the Conſent of her Council of *Scotland*, where ſhe intended to go ſoon; "and told the Earl, that ſhe would ſend *Monſ. d' Oſſel* to her Siſter the Queen "of *England*, who ſhould give her all poſſible Satisfaction; and that by him "ſhe would acquaint Queen *Elizabeth* that ſhe intended to go ſoon to *Scot-* "*land*, and would require thoſe Favours of her, that Princes do one to "another in ſuch Caſes.

Monſ. d' Oſſel ſent Ambaſſador to *England* on his Way to *Scotland*.

The Queen ſent *Monſ. d'Oſſel* ſoon after over to *England* with that Meſſage; and at the ſame time order'd him to go to *Scotland*, and give Orders that the Caſtle of *Dunbar* and Fort of *Inch-Keith* ſhould be kept in good Order, till her landing in *Scotland*.

Q. *Elizabeth*'s Anſwer to him.

Queen *Elizabeth* finding by this Embaſſy, that the Ratification of the Treaty of *Leith* was delay'd, ſhe anſwer'd the Ambaſſador in the hearing of all her Attendance, *That unleſs the Queen of* Scotland *would confirm the Articles agreed upon at* Leith, *wherein ſhe found herſelf ſtill fruſtrated, there could be no perfect Amity among them; and if ſhe would do that, the Kindneſs which became a Queen, her Couſine, and Neighbour, ſhould not be wanting on her Part.* This ſhe deſir'd him to report, and leave his Journey into *Scotland*, for that ſhe ſhould not permit the ſame through her Country.

The Queen offended at Q. *Elizabeth*.

The Queen of *Scotland* was highly Offended at this Anſwer, and call'd Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, then at the Court of *France*, with whom ſhe had a long Conference, wherein ſhe blam'd Queen *Elizabeth* for denying the Requeſt of leave to Travel to *Scotland*, and for having made that Denyal ſo very publickly to her Ambaſſador M. *d' Oſel*; and told him,

Her Speech to *Throgmorton*.

"That ſhe was ſorry that ſhe had deſir'd that Favour of his Queen, which "ſhe ſo little needed, for as ſhe had eſcaped the *Engliſh* Fleet in the Reign "of her Brother King *Edward*, ſhe doubted not but (that with GOD's "leave) ſhe could return to her own Country without her leave; that "ſhe had try'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s good Will: But as ſhe had denied her "Deſire, and aſſiſted her rebellious Subjects againſt her Authority, and the "Laws of the Kingdom, and would then do all that in her lay, to hinder "her return; ſhe could not apprehend what the Queen of *England* intended "by ſuch unfriendly Actions; as for her part, ſhe proteſted that ſhe never "had done any thing to Queen *Elizabeth*, to merit her Hatred, but ra- "ther Affection and Friendſhip, and would do all ſhe could to continue "in Amity with her: Of which ſhe deſir'd the Ambaſſador to acquaint "his Miſtreſs.

His Anſwer.

Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* anſwer'd the Queen, "That he had not any "Commiſſion from the Queen his Miſtreſs to the Queen of *Scotland*, but "only to deſire the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Leith*. But to ſpeak "his own Opinion, of the cauſe of the Queen of *England*'s firſt Diſpleaſure, "was upon account of the Queen of *Scotland*'s uſurping the Title and "Arms of *England*, when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Throne, which "ſhe had not done in the Reign of Queen *Mary* her Siſter." To this the Queen reply'd, "That what had been done that way, was by the "Advice and Command of her Father-in-Law and Husband, who were "then living, but ſince ſhe had been at her own Liberty, ſhe had not "us'd the Title nor Arms of *England*; but as ſhe was a Queen, and her "Grand-Mother was the eldeſt Siſter of King *Henry* the Eighth, ſhe could "not conceive what Injury it could do Queen *Elizabeth* to uſe the Arms of "*England*, ſince others more remote in degree of Blood had done the "like; ſuch as the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, the Neice of King *Henry*, by his "youngeſt Siſter, did bear the Arms of *England* with a Border for Diſtinc- "on." About this time Queen *Elizabeth* wrote a Letter to the Lords of the Congregation, exclaiming againſt them for not having the Treaty of *Leith* Ratify'd according to the Articles of the ſaid Agreement: To which Letters the Lords wrote an Anſwer, promiſing Queen *Elizabeth* to uſe

their

their endeavours to have it Ratify'd with all poſſible Expedition, after the Queen's return to *Scotland*. *A. D.* 1561.

When the Queen was recover'd to her perfect Health, ſhe went to St. *Germain*'s, where the Court was then, and having taken Leave of the King and Queen-Mother of *France*, ſet out for *Caillais*, accompany'd by the Cardinals of *Lorain*, and *Guiſe* the Duke of *Guiſe*, and *d'Aumrale*, the Grand Prior, and Marquis *d'Elbuff* her Uncles, the Duke of *Nemours*. The Mariſhal *d'Anvile*, and many other Perſons of Note of both Sexes: She being come to *Abbeville* on her way to *Caillais*, ſent for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and deſir'd he might inform her how ſhe might ſatisfy Queen *Elizabeth*; he anſwer'd, by Ratifying the Treaty of *Leith*. To which ſhe anſwer'd, "I have very "juſt Reaſons to refuſe it, which ought not to be interpreted as Delays. "For firſt, that Treaty ſhould have been Confirm'd by my Husband and "me; and now cannot be Ratify'd unleſs Concluded in my own Name "alone, ſince the King then my Husband is expreſsly nam'd in the Contract. "Next, the moſt of the Articles are perform'd; for all Preperations of War "are ceas'd, and the *French* are call'd over from *Scotland*: But Queen "*Elizabeth* is offended that I have us'd the Title and Arms of *England*. "This I have not done ſince my Husband's Death; and if it be alledg'd, "the ſame is us'd in Letters Patents given by me through *France*, it is well "known I cannot hinder that, for they who paſs thoſe Letters, are not my "Subjects. And for the Articles concerning Religion, I hope my own Sub-"jects ſhall have no Cauſe to complain of my Severity. By this you ſee "I am ready to do every thing in my Power, to give my Siſter Satisfaction; "and I hope, Sir, that you will act the Part of a judicious Ambaſſador, and "rather Pacify than Exaſperate the Queen your Miſtreſs." This the Queen ſaid, and was willing to be reconcil'd to Queen *Elizabeth* at that time, for ſhe fear'd being intercepted by an *Engliſh* Fleet, which about that time were ſent to Sea, as it was alledg'd, to ſurpriſe Pirates: But their taking a Ship coming from *France*, wherein the Earl of *Eglington* and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality were; made the Action be conſtructed that the Fleet came with a Deſign to intercept the Queen. It is reported that when *James* the Queen's Baſtard Brother return'd laſt from *France*, he was at *London*, and had a private Audience of Queen *Elizabeth*, and gave her ſecret Counſel to intercept the Queen in her return, by which Means ſhe might provide for Religion, and her own Security; and that *Lethington* being in *England*, when Monſieur *d'Oſel* was there, he alſo perſuaded the Queen of *England* to ſtop his Journey to *Scotland*, and to intercept the Queen. Yet ſhe embarked at *Caillais* the 13th of *Auguſt*, and landed ſafe at *Leith* the 20th of the ſame Month, 1561.

The Queen ſets out for *Callais*.

Lord *James Stewart* gives ſecret Advice to Queen *Elizabeth*. to intercept Queen *Mary*.

The Queen arrives at *Leith*.

Upon the Queen's Landing, the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* came from all Parts of the Kingdom to congratulate her Majeſty's ſafe Return, as the better Part of the Subjects were under ſtrong Apprehenſions of her Danger whilſt in *France*, they were ſo much the more overjoy'd to ſee her ſafe Return; and ſeeing the incomparable Beauty and Comlineſs of her Perſon, her mild and courteous Demeanour to all ſorts of People; 'tis impoſſible to expreſs the Joy of the People upon that Occaſion; nor was ſhe leſs belov'd than admir'd by all her Subjects.

Some few Days after her landing ſhe held a Council of the Nobility, and gave them all poſſible Aſſurance, that ſhe intended not to make any ſudden Alteration in their Religion, provided they would allow herſelf the Privilege of having her Chaplains to ſay Maſs in her own private Chappel. This Requeſt was conſider'd moſt reaſonable, to be granted to the Sovereign of the Nation, as ſhe had been educated among the *Roman* Catholicks: Yet the Proteſtant Preachers ſo envy'd this ſmall Freedom, that in their Sermons they condemn'd that Toleration of Maſs for the Queen, as moſt unlawful. Of the Nobility none oppos'd it, except the Earl of *Arran*, who publickly declair'd and proteſted, that he would not agree to have Maſs publickly or privately: Which Proteſtation offended the Queen ſo, that ſhe could not endure

A. D. 1561. dure the Earl; altho' ſhe had, before that, ſhew'd great Reſpect for him, as being her neareſt Kinſman; whoſe Father, the Duke, had been ſtill well eſteem'd by her, until he had join'd the Lords of the Congregation; which he had done by the Advice and Council of this Son.

The Prieſts of the Queen's Chapel interrupted in their Worſhip.

The Day after the Council had conſented to the Queen's Requeſt of having Maſs in her private Chapel, the Prieſt, who was about to execute the Office of his Function, was attack'd by ſome of the Mob, who broke down the Tapers, and committed great Abuſe in the Chapel: But the Tumult which was like to enſue, was quickly appeas'd by the Lord *James Stewart*; altho' at the ſame time it is alleg'd, that he was the greateſt Encourager of the Mob who committed the Outrage, but upon that Occaſion he interpos'd his Authority; and having diſpers'd them, he took Opportunity to tell the Queen of the great Danger that would attend her having Maſs, however ſo private: But for ſome time after there happen'd no Diſturbance in the Court; ſo that the firſt Month after the Queen's landing was ſpent in entertaining the *French* Nobility, that had accompany'd her Majeſty to *Scotland*: The Duke *d'Aumarle*, the Grand Prior, and Mariſhal *d'Anvile* having ſtaid till the middle of *September*, they took Leave and return'd to *France*. The Duke and his Retinue went by Sea, and the Grand Prior, with the Mariſhal *d'Anvile* took their Journey through *England*; but the Marquiſs *d'Eiluff* ſtaid with the Queen all the next Winter.

The *French* Nobility return home.

At this Time the Subjects were mightily taken with the Queen's courteous Behaviour, and exceeding great Humility, in taking Notice of the meaneſt of her People: As it is acknowledg'd by all that had ſeen her, that no Princeſs on Earth was better accompliſh'd in Body and Mind; for altho' ſhe appear'd moſt humble and familiar to the meaneſt of Perſons; yet no Woman had more Appearance of Majeſty, in her Form and Countenance; which, with her great Beauty, commanded Love and Reſpect from all that beheld her.

Of her great Beauty there are ſtill Monuments, to teſtify how far ſhe exceeded moſt Princeſſes, not only in her own Age, but in any Age or Nation. Nor was her Wit and Judgment leſs than her Beauty and Comlineſs; for at her firſt coming to her Kingdom, ſhe was ſo careful to preſerve Peace, that ſhe did not endeavour to make any Diſturbance about Religion, only that ſhe might have private Worſhip for herſelf, and ſuch of her Subjects as continu'd of the Church of *Rome*.

Secretary *Lethington* ſent Ambaſſador to Queen *Elizabeth*.

After ſome time ſpent in ordering Affairs of the Nation, ſhe ſent *William Maitland* of *Lethington*, her Secretary, with Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*; wherein ſhe promis'd to take all poſſible Care, to preſerve Peace and Amity with her and her Subjects: The Nobility wrote Letters alſo to Queen *Elizabeth* at the ſame time, which were to the ſame Purpoſe; but that they ſignify'd, that the moſt certain Means to preſerve the Peace and Tranquality of the two Nations, would be, that Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould, by Authority of Parliament, declare Queen *Mary* her neareſt Relation, and next Heir and Succeſſor, in caſe that ſhe had no Iſſue.

The Nobility of *Scotland*'s Letters to Q. *Elizabeth*.

When Queen *Elizabeth* receiv'd the Letters, ſhe ſeem'd ſurpriz'd to find, that inſtead of the Ratification of the Treaty of *Leith*, which ſhe expected, there were new Requeſts of ſettling the Succeſion of the Crown of *England* upon Queen *Mary*; and when *Lethington* had his firſt Audience of Queen *Elizabeth*, he urg'd the Nobilities Deſire of ſettling the Crown of *England* upon the Queen of *Scotland*, in caſe that the Queen of *England* died without Iſſue: So that all the Anſwer he could obtain was, That ſhe had expected other Satisfaction from *Scotland*, which was the Ratification of the Treaty of *Leith*; and wonder'd how the Nobility of that Nation could forget their Promiſes, and ſend ſuch a Meſſage to her at the firſt landing of their Queen.

Some Days after, Queen *Elizabeth* again call'd the Secretary of *Scotland*, and declar'd to him her Reaſons for not making any Settlement of the Succeſſion; the Sum of which was, *That ſhe would do nothing of herſelf to*

the

the Prejudice of the Queen of Scotland's *Right to the Crown of* England; *but that her declairing her Succeſſor while ſhe had Youth and Hopes of Iſſue, might be the only Means to breed Diſcord between them; for it is common to the apparent Heirs to wiſh for the Death of ſuch as detain them from Poſſeſſion: And beſides, that Declaration would remove the Good-will and Affection of her People from her, to her Succeſſor; according to an old Proverb,* That many obſerv'd the Riſing-Sun, but few the Setting-Sun. *Adding many Examples of the Mutability of Subjects Behaviour towards their Soveraigns, according to their different Circumſtances of Life: That as in all Courts there were ſome Perſons, whoſe Loyalty and Fidelity depended upon the Opportunities they had to gratify their own covetous Humour, ſo that when their Hopes are fruſtrated by the immediate Soveraign, they direct all their Thoughts, Wiſhes, and good Offices, to advance the Intereſt of the next Succeſſor, or any having Pretention, whom they may eſteem moſt anſwerable to their Ends: Therefore freely ſaid, that ſhe could never think her own Life and Condition ſafe, after ſhe had declair'd her Succeſſor.* A. D. 1561. Q. Elizabeth's Anſwer.

Lethington having his Audience of Leave in a few Days after, he ask'd the Queen, what Anſwer ſhe would give to his Commiſſion from the Queen and Nobility. She ſaid, *That ſhe had no Anſwer at that time, as their Requeſt was a Matter of ſuch great Importance, ſhe could not directly declare her Reſolution in that Caſe: That when the Queen of* Scotland *had perform'd her Promiſe concerning the Treaty of* Leith, *it would then be a more proper Time to require any further Proof of her Affection; but till then, ſhe could not with Safety of her own Life and Honour gratify Queen* Mary *in any Thing.*

Lethington reply'd, "That as to that Treaty he had no Commiſſion, and "as to ſettling the Succeſſion, he had declair'd his own Sentiments of it, "more than what the Queen his Miſtreſs had deſir'd of him to ſay: As for "the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Leith*, he did not look upon it to be "of ſuch Importance, as to delay or refuſe to declare, that the Queen of *Scot-*"*land*, or her Iſſue, ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of *England*. Neither "would he then enquire, by whom, at what Time, in what Manner, and "by what Authority, and for what End, that Treaty was concluded; for "he had no Commiſſion to ſpeak of it; yet might affirm, that if the Queen "had follow'd the Direction of her Husband and had ratify'd the Treaty, "that ſhe would have ſoon found herſelf under the Neceſſity to deſire it to be "broken: And as for the Nobility, they had reaſon to put a Stop to all fur-"ther Debates, that Controverſies might ceaſe, ſo that firm and perpetual "Peace and Tranquility might be eſtabliſh'd." The Secretary having had a long Conference about the Treaty with Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe at laſt agreed, That the Treaty ſhould be revis'd by ſome Commiſſioners, and that all the former ſhould be alter'd to theſe Articles: *That the Queen of* Scotland *ſhould thenceforth forbear to uſe the Title or Arms of* England *or* Ireland, *during the Lifetime of Queen* Elizabeth *or her Poſterity: That on the other Part, the Queen of* England *ſhould oblige herſelf, and the Children begotten of her, to do nothing in Prejudice of the Queen of* Scotland's *Succeſſion*; with which Anſwer *Lethington* return'd to *Scotland*. *Lethington's* Reply to Q. *Elizabeth.* The Sum of the Articles of the Treaty of *Leith.*

At this time the Queen, accompany'd by ſeveral of the Nobility, made a Progreſs over the Country, went from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling*, from thence to *Perth*, *Dundee*, *Montroſe*, *Aberdeen*, and return'd to St. *Andrew*'s; in all which Towns her Majeſty was receiv'd with the utmoſt Reſpect and Demonſtrations of Joy: But at her return to *Edinburgh*, ſhe found, that at the Feaſt of *Michaelmaſs* (which is the Time the Citizens have their Election of annual Magiſtrats, and enact ſuch Laws and Statutes as they find neceſſary for the Government of the Town) they had made an Act, whereby they publiſh'd an Inhibition of *any Adulterer*, *Fornicator*, *Drunkard*, *Maſs-Prieſt*, *or obſtinate Prieſt*, *to be receiv'd within the Town or Suburbs*, *under ſuch Pains as the Law did preſcribe.* Which Act the Queen interpreted to an Uſurpation of the Royal Power; whereupon *Archibald Douglaſs*, the Lord Provoſt, was ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle, and Orders given to the Town Council The Queen makes a Progreſs over the Kingdom.

A. D. 1561. Council to renew the Election; which they obey'd, by electing *Thomas Hume* Lord Provoſt. Mean time a Proclaimation was publiſh'd by the Queen's Authority, granting *Liberty to all good Subjects to repair to, and remain within the Town at their Pleaſure, about their lawful Buſineſs.*

The Queen choiceth a Privy-Council.

The Queen upon this Occaſion took for her Privy Counſellors, the Duke of *Chattlerault*, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Morton*, *Marſhall*, *Glencairn*, *Montroſe*, and *Errol*; the Lord *Erskine*, the Lord *James Stewart*, and Mr. *John Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſs*; and the Earl of *Huntly* was at the ſame time made Lord Chancellor: He being a zealous Profeſſor of the Church of *Rome*, his being admitted to that high Office gave great Offence to the Proteſtants, eſpecially the Preachers, who, upon the late Proclaimation, begun to exclaim againſt the Queen and all the *Roman* Catholicks, ſtom their Pulpits: However their Words were little regarded, for the Chancellor gave more Liberty to the Prieſts than they had had for ſome Time paſt.

Huntly made Chancellor.

The Council finding great want of Money to defary the Court Charges, enter'd into Conſultation, how to ſupply the Queen with ſuch Sums as were wanting; and after long Conſideration, they found no Way could anſwer, unleſs ſome part of the Church Rents could be apply'd to that Uſe; which being repreſented to the Prelates and other Churchmen, they enter'd into Conſultation, how they might deny the Requeſt; but in Conſideration that their Rents depended upon the Sovereign's Favour, they fear'd, that by refuſing a Part, they might looſe the whole; therefore agreed to contribute one third Part of their Benefices towards defraying the Queen's Expences, to be uplifted by her Majeſty's Collectors, at her Pleaſure, upon Condition, that they ſhould not be liable to pay Maintainances to the Proteſtant Preachers.

The Third of all Church Rents granted to the Queen for publick Uſe.

The Earl of *Arran* looking upon himſelf to be the moſt proper Perſon in the Kingdom to propoſe Marriage with the Queen, as being the next aparent Heir to the Crown; which Conſideration gave Way to his moſt paſſionate Love to her Majeſty: Yet durſt not venture to make it known, for fear it ſhould offend her; therefore (as 'tis alledg'd) he thought with himſelf, that by ſurprizing and carrying her to his Caſtle, he might prevail with her to conſent to marry him; which Deſign, it ſeems, was reported or made up by ſome of the Earl's Enemies at Court: Whereupon the Queen order'd a Guard of Horſe and Foot to be levied for the Safety of her Perſon. The Proteſtants form'd Apprehenſions of Danger from theſe Guards, as if they were levied on purpoſe to diſturb their Religion: But of theſe Rumours the Queen took no Notice, for her chief Care was to keep the Country in Peace and Quietneſs; therefore us'd all Means to ſuppreſs ſuch as had committed any Outrages: And, as there happen'd ſome Diſturbance in the Border, ſhe ſent Lord *James*, with the Commiſſion of her Lieutenant; which he having executed to her Satisfaction, ſhe created him Earl of *Mar*: But, as the Lord *Erskine* had claim'd Title to that Country, the Queen chang'd his Title to that of *Murray*; and the Lord *Erskine* was, at the ſame time, created Earl of *Mar*.

A Report of the Earl of *Arran*'s Deſign to ſurprize, and force the Queen to marry him.

Horſe and Foot Gnards levied for the Queen's Perſon.

The Creation of the Earls of *Mar* and *Murray*.

The Earl of *Huntly* having had Poſſeſſion of the Countries of *Mar* and *Murray*, ever ſince the Death of the late King *James*, was offended at thoſe new Creations, yet could not redreſs himſelf; but this bred ſuch a Hatred in *Huntly* of the Earl of *Murray*, that ('tis ſaid) he ſtudied Means to bring him to Deſtruction; for, ſeeing he had ſuch great Influence over all the Queen's Actions, he look'd upon his Ruin to be the only Means to give others the greater Share of the Government. The Earl of *Huntly* knowing the ill Opinion that the Duke of *Chattlerault* had of the Earl of *Murray*, endeavour'd to make the Duke the chief Inſtrument of his Ruin; therefore told the Duke, that *Murray* ſtudied all Means to fruſtrate him and his Poſterity of Succeſſion to the Crown; and had great Hopes to bring the Queen to ſettle the Succeſſion on himſelf, failing her and her Children: But the Earl finding the Duke unwilling to breed any Diſturbance, he found out *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwel* (a Man who had impair'd his Circumſtances by extravagant

extravagant Living) fit for his Purpoſe; and ſo prevail'd with him to breed Diviſion between the Duke and Earl of *Murray*; whereupon *Bothwel* wrought upon the Duke, ſo that he believ'd himſelf in Danger, unleſs the Earl of *Murray* were diſpatch'd, which *Bothwel* undertook: But this Contrivance being diſcover'd by the Earl of *Arran*, eldeſt Son to the Duke; the Earl of *Bothwel* and *Gawin Hamilton*, Abbot of *Kilwining*, were apprehended; and the Earl of *Arran* being call'd before the Council to be examin'd, he was afraid of diſcovering his Father the Duke to be too deep in the Plot; therefore equivocated in his Declaration, ſo was diſmiſs'd at that Time: But he wrote ſoon after to the Queen, wherein he accus'd *Bothwel* and the Earl of *Huntly*; but not giving Proof of his Accuſation, he was confin'd into the Cuſtody of the Officers of the Court. It is reported, that the Earl of *Huntly* ſtill purſued his Deſign of deſtroying the Earl of *Murray*; and when he found all Means ineffectual at Home, he procured Letters from the Pope, and Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Guiſe*, recommending him to the Queen's Favour, as the fitteſt Perſon to reſtore the Catholick Religion, and at the ſame Time, they ſent a Liſt of the greateſt Enemies of that Religion in *Scotland*; of which Number the Earl of *Murray* was the chief: And that they likewiſe gave the Earl of *Huntly* great Hopes of having his ſecond Son *John Gordon*, married to the Queen. Yet theſe Letters did not prevail with the Queen, to ſhew more Favour to the Earl of *Huntly*, or leſs to the Earl of *Murray*.

A. D. 1562.

James Hepburn Earl of *Bothwel* employ'd to deſtroy the Earl of *Murray*.

Bothwel's Deſign diſcover'd by the Earl of *Arran*.

The Earl of *Arran* confin'd.

Huntly procures Letters in his Favour from Abroad to the Queen.

About the Beginning of *May* 1562, there was great Talk of an Interview between the Queen, and Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*; ſo that ſeveral Meſſages were carried between them: The Time appointed was the laſt of *June*, and the Place of Meeting, to be the City of *York*: But whilſt they were preparing for their Journey, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent Letters excuſing herſelf from meeting at that Time, and deſired to put off the Interview till the next Year. At which Requeſt the Queen was well pleas'd, as ſhe then apprehended, that if the Interview had held, it would have offended the *French* King, and her Uncles.

An Interview propos'd between the Queen and Queen of *England*,

but broke off.

The Journey into *England* being put off, the Queen intended a Progreſs into the North; and taking her Journey from *Edinburgh*, ſhe ſtay'd ſome Time at *Stirling*, where the Proteſtant Preachers preſented Petitions, deſiring her Majeſty to aboliſh Maſs, and other Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*; and that no Popiſh Church-Men ſhould have Place in the Council and Seſſion. The Queen, having perus'd the Petition, gave her Anſwer, *That ſhe would do nothing to the Prejudice of the Religion ſhe profeſs'd*: And, being offended at their Preſumption, ſhe left the Town, taking her Journey towards *Aberdeen*, where ſhe arriv'd about the Midſt of *Auguſt*. Here the Queen was met by all the Nobility of both Sexes, and entertain'd with the utmoſt Reſpect and Honour. Among all the Queen's Attendance, none was more obſequious in waiting, than the Counteſs of *Huntly*, who, being alone with her Majeſty, entreated Favour for her Son *John Gordon*, who, having wounded the Lord *Ogilvy*, upon the High-Street of *Edinburgh*, was impriſon'd for the Offence; but, finding Means, he made his Eſcape: Wherefore his Mother pleaded, that the Queen might pardon the Crime, and permit him to attend her Majeſty: But the Queen deny'd her Requeſt, telling her that ſhe would not ſhew him any Favour, unleſs he return'd to the Priſon from whence he had eſcaped. The Lady promis'd that he ſhould obey her Majeſty, if ſhe would be pleas'd to order the Place of his Confinment to be in *Stirling* Caſtle, inſtead of *Edinburgh*. To this the Queen agreed, and the Lord *Glames* had *John Gordon* deliver'd to his Cuſtody, to convoy him to *Stirling*: But, being come ſo far as the Lord *Glames*'s Houſe, he made his Eſcape, and return'd with all Speed to the North, and rais'd a ſtrong Party of near 1000 Horſe, beſides ſeveral Companies of Foot, and drew near to the Town of *Aberdeen*.

The Queen takes a Journey to the North.

The reformed Preachers Petition to the Queen.

Her Anſwer.

John Gordon, having broke Priſon, his Mother the Counteſs of *Huntley*, pleads for Pardon.

The Queen's Anſwer.

John gives himſelf up to the Lord *Glames*.

But makes his Eſcape, and goes to the North, where he raiſes a Rebellion.

The Queen was highly offended at this ſecond Eſcape; however, had no Notice yet of his raiſing Forces, ſo proceeded on her Journey towards

A. D. 1562.

Inverneſs. She lodg'd the firſt Night with *John Leſly* of *Buquhain*, the next, at *Rothemay*, and the third Day was invited by the Earl of *Huntly*, to his Caſtle at *Strathbogy*: But the Queen deny'd that, or any Favour to him, or his Family, till his Son had given Obedience to her Command; ſo kept on her Journey. The next Day ſhe arriv'd at *Inverneſs*, and intended to have lodg'd in the Caſtle, but was deny'd Admittance by *Alexander Gordon* the Keeper thereof; who, by that Time, had Notice of the Deſigns of the Earl of *Huntly*, and his Son; they having raiſed all the Forces they could, and had charg'd all ſuch as were under Vaſſalage to him, to aſſiſt him with their Servants and Arms.

The Queen comes to *Inverneſs*, and is deny'd Leave to lodge in the Caſtle.

We find mention'd in the ſeveral Accounts of this Reign, that this *John Gordon* (deſign'd of *Finlater*) ſecond Son to the Earl of *Huntly*, being one of the moſt comely, and beſt accompliſh'd Men of the Age, was ſo much belov'd of his Father, that he took great Care to make him Maſter of a plentiful Eſtate; and being often at Court, admir'd the Queen's Beauty, which he made known to his Father, who flatter'd him with Hopes of obtaining her Majeſty in Marriage; and finding that all fair Means prov'd ineffectual to get the Queen to countenance his Addreſſes: They moſt imprudently reſolv'd to raiſe ſuch a Number of Forces, as would frighten her unto a Compliance with his Deſire of Marriage; and proceeded, with all Haſte, to muſter all their Vaſſals, Tenants, and Relations, intending to approach the Queen's Preſence, and make their Requeſts, when they had ſuch an Army by them, as would extort Forgiveneſs of their paſt Crimes, and grant their further Requeſt. In this Manner had the Earl and his Sons proceeded, when the Queen, by their Orders was kept out of the Caſtle of *Inverneſs*.

Huntly's Deſigns to obtain the Queen's Conſent to marry his Son.

Mean Time, the Queen finding her Authority contemn'd, ſhe deſir'd to know the Reaſon, which was ſoon made known by Meſſengers, who brought Notice that *Huntly* and his Sons, were at the Head of an Army of their Kinſmen, Vaſſals, and Tenants. Whereupon the Queen order'd Watches to be ſet, to guard the Paſſages into the Town, and to ſtop all Ships and Boats from going out of the River; ſo that, in caſe of Neceſſity, ſhe might have them in Readineſs to tranſport herſelf to ſome other Place. The Inhabitants of *Inverneſs*, tho' Vaſſals to the Earl of *Huntly*, yet came to the Queen with the utmoſt Obedience; and having ſet Guards on all the Roads and Avenues to the Town, they diſcover'd ſeveral Spies coming privatly to the Town; who being taken, and carried before the Queen's Council, gave an Account of the Number, and Strength of the Earl of *Huntly*'s Party. This Diſcovery made a great Noiſe over the Town, and neighbouring Country; whereupon ſeveral of her Majeſty's Loyal Subjects, came from the Shires of *Roſs*, *Sutherland*, and *Cairhneſs*, with great Numbers of *Highlanders*, from *Loquhaber* and *Strathſpey*. The *Clan-Cattans*, or *Macintoſhes*, tho' Vaſſals to *Huntly*, and in his Army; yet when they heard that his Enterpriſe was againſt the Queen, they left him, and came to her Majeſty at *Inverneſs*.

The Earl of *Huntly*'s Spies taken by the Queen's Guards.

The *Clan-Cattans* leave the Earl of *Huntly*, and joyn the Queen's Army.

The Queen's Forces, being now increaſed to a good Number, they aſſaulted the Caſtle, which was ſoon taken, and the Captain or Governor of it, with the chief Officers were executed; but the common People were ſpar'd. After ſome few Days ſtay in the Caſtle, the Queen ſet out for *Aberdeen*, where ſhe arriv'd in four Days after, accompanied by all the Noblemen, Ladies, and Gentry of the Country: And, being come to the City, the Counteſs of *Huntly* came there, with Offers of Submiſſion from her Husband, but was denied Acceſs.

Inverneſs Caſtle taken, and the Governor executed.

The Earl, finding Matters happen contrary to his Expectation, aſſembled his Friends, and reſolv'd to approach the Town of *Aberdeen*; he having great Hopes to attain the Queen's Pardon, for his being in Arms, by the Interceſſion of *John Gordon* Earl of *Sutherland*, and *John Leſly* of *Buquhain*, who were with the Queen, and kept a cloſe Correſpondence with the Earl of *Huntly*: But, their Letters being intercepted, the Earl of *Sutherland* made his

his Escape: But *Buquhain*, being brought before the Council and examin'd, confess'd what he knew; whereupon, he was pardon'd, and continu'd in the Queen's Service. The Earl of *Huntley*, upon this News, would have dismiss'd his Forces, and return'd Home; but, hearing that the Earl of *Murray* was approaching with a Party of the Queen's Forces, rais'd out of *Lothian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, and *Strathern*; he resolv'd to give them Battle. The Earl of *Murray*, having with him the Earl of *Morton*, and Lord *Lindsey*, came forward; and finding the Earl of *Huntly* resolv'd to fight, he seem'd to retire by bringing his Men to some Ground of greater Advantage, which Retreat, being mistaken for a Flight, by *Huntly*'s Party, they advanc'd precipitately, and coming disorderly to an Engagement, were soon worsted with great Slaughter. In the Conflict, the Earl of *Huntly* received many Wounds, whereof he died the next Day. His Son *John* and *Adam* were taken, and brought Prisoners to *Aberdeen*. *John* was beheaded the next Day on a Scaffold in the High-Street of *Aberdeen*; *Adam*, on Account of his Youth, was pardon'd: And the whole Estate of the Earl of *Huntly* was forfeited to the Crown. *George* the eldest Son, having escap'd from the Battle, went to the Duke of *Chettlerault*, his Father-in-Law, for Shelter; but the Duke soon after deliver'd him up to the Queen, by whose Order he was sent Prisoner to the Castle of *Dunbar*.

A. D. 1563.

The Battle of *Corrichie*.

The Earl of *Huntley* dies of his Wounds.

John Gordon beheaded at *Aberdeen*.

As this Victory, obtain'd by the Earl of *Murray*, gave him a greater Title to meddle in Matters of Government, he took Opportunity to perswade the Queen to suppress the Church of *Rome*, and establish the Protestants, with full Power to dispose of all Ecclesiastical Matters. Tho' the Queen did not comply with his Request, to abolish the Church of *Rome*, yet the Protestants us'd greater Freedom than formerly, in prosecuting the *Roman* Catholick Clergy: For upon an Information given in against the Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s, that he had publick Mass, he was, by Order of Council apprehended, and committed Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *January*, 1563. and several other Clergymen, of his Religion, were prosecuted with great Severity, during the Months of *February*, *March*, and *April*. The Queen was very much concern'd, that the Clergy of the Religion she profess'd, should be thus prosecuted: But as the Earl of *Murray* had the chief Management of Affairs, and was assisted by the Earl of *Morton*, who was made Chancellor, after the Death of the Earl of *Huntly*; she found, it would be dangerous to shew them any Favour, therefore refer'd Matters to the Meeting of the Parliament, which met at *Edinburgh* on the 20th of *May*.

The Archbishop committed Prisoner for hearing Mass.

On the first Day of this Parliament, the Queen (attended by the three Estates) went to the Parliament-House, with the Crown on her Head, in Royal Robes, and all other Marks of Soveraignty; and some Days after, the Protestant Lords, formerly call'd of the Congregation, came upon their Knees before the Throne, and deliver'd a Petition, beseeching her Majesty to pass an Act of Oblivion, according to the Articles of the Treaty of *Leith*; which the Queen agreed to, without any Notice of the other Articles of that Treaty, nor could her Majesty be brought to acknowledge that Treaty at any Time after. Several other Statutes were past in this Parliament, in Favour of the Protestants, and other Matters of Government, as may be seen in the publick Acts of this Reign. The remaining Part of this Summer, the Queen spent in *Athole* and *Argyle*, in the Diversion of Deer-Hunting, being constantly attended by the chief of the Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes.

The Queen goes in State to the Parliament.

An Act of Oblivion, according to the Articles of the Treaty of *Leith*, past in Parliament.

When the Queen was upon her Return to *Edinburgh*, there happen'd great Disturbance in her Family, at the Palace of *Holy-rood-House*; for as her Majesty was allow'd the Use Chaplains, for private Worship in her Family; when some of them were about to perform their Office, in the Chappel, there came a Mob of the common Citizens to the Palace Gate, desiring to enter; which, when they were deny'd, broke the Gates open, and rush'd into the Chappel; but finding the Priest, who was about to say Mass, had made his

A Mob brakes into the Queen's Chappel to inter upt Mass.

A. D. 1563. Escape at a Back-door, they seiz'd some of those who were come to their Devotion, and carry'd them to Prison. When the Queen had Notice of the Riot, she was so much offended, that she deny'd going near *Edinburgh*, until the Persons who had been the Cause of the Tumult, were punish'd: But the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencairn* having promis'd to give her Majesty all Satisfaction, she continu'd on her Journey; and being come to *Edinburgh*, the Council examin'd the Circumstances of that Riot, and found that it was caus'd by the Protestant Preachers, who were offended to find so many of the Citizens frequent the Queen's Chapel, therefore resolv'd to disturb them; and when they had met and consulted, the Action committed, was done by the Advice or Command of *John Knox*, who upon that Account was brought before the Council, wherein the Queen was present: He was accus'd of having been the only Author of this Sedition; as likewise, of having, by his missive Letters, conveen'd the Subjects at his Pleasure. To this he answer'd, *That he was never a Preacher of Rebellion, but had receiv'd Command from the Church to advertise his Brethren when he saw any Necessity for their Meeting, especially if he saw Religion in Danger.* Then directing his Speech to the Queen, with a wonderful Boldness, said, *I conjure you, in the Name of the Almighty GOD, as you expect to escape his heavy Wrath, to forsake the Idolatrous Religion that you profess, and by your Authority maintain, against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm.* As he was going on with his Speech, the Earl of *Morton*, then Lord Chancellor, commanded him to hold his Peace and be gone; which the Earl did for fear of offending the Queen, tho' he was well-pleas'd to find *Knox* so resolute in maintaining the Protestant Religion. After this Religion made not much Noise for some time, for as the Earl of *Murray* then had such great Power in governing the Nation, he still prevail'd with the Queen to grant such Petitions as he thought proper to present, in Favour of the Protestants.

John Knox charg'd with the Cause of the Disturbance.

His Answer.

And Speech to the Queen.

In *December*, this Year, *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*, by the Queen's Permission return'd to *Scotland*, and the next *January* 1564. was, by Act of Parliament, restor'd to his Estate and Honour, which he had forfeited in the second Year of the Queen's Minority, while the Earl of *Arran* was Regent; he having liv'd 22 Years in *England*, where he was married to the Lady *Margaret Dowglass*, Daughter to *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*, by *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland*, mother to King *James* V. eldest Sister to King *Henry* VIII. of *England*; by which Marriage the Earl of *Lenox* had a Son, nam'd *Henry*, who (by his Father's Titles) was call'd Lord *Darnly*. He also came to *Scotland* in the Month of *February*; and being then in the 21st Year of his Age, was more noted for his Beauty of Countenance, and Form of Body, than any Man in the Isle of *Britain*: He also was of a mild and pleasant Disposition, having all other Accomplishments, of Mind as well as of Body, to render him a compleat Nobleman, every Way, answerable to his Birth. At his coming to *Scotland*, he went to make his Compliment to the Queen, who was then at *Weems*, making a Progress through *Fife*. The Queen receiv'd him with great Respect and Honour: And, as his Relation to her, and excellent Accomplishments, merited the Favour and Respect of the Nobility, he was no less taken Notice of by her Majesty, who could not forbear to admire his Person and Behaviour. Nor was it many Days before it was whisper'd about, that the Queen would take him for her Husband.

The Earl of *Lenox* returns to *Scotland*, and is restor'd to his Estate and Honour. 1564.

Henry Lord *Darnly* comes into *Scotland*.

He is receiv'd into great Favour with the Queen.

Some time before this, Offers of Marriage were made to the Queen, by *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, for his Son the Infant *Don Carolos*; and by the Emperor *Maximilian*, for his Brother *Charles*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*. And about this Time the Queen of *England* propos'd her own great Favourite, *Robert Dudly*, whom she had created Earl of *Leicester*: But as the Queen had refus'd the two former, would not accept of the latter; he having been but a private Gentleman some time before.

Marriage propos'd to the Queen, by the King of *Spain* and the Emperor.

Here I find the great Statesman, Sir *James Melvil* of *Hallhill* (who had several Opportunities to know Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mind) says, That when the Earl of *Leicester* had first Hopes of being married to the Queen of *Scotland*,

land, he wrote ſeveral Letters to the Earl of *Murray*; which at laſt made Queen *Elizabeth* afraid that the Marriage would be concluded; whereas ſhe could not part with the Earl of *Lieceſter*; therefore ſhe readily gave Leave to the Lord *Darnly* to go into *Scotland*, as he would be a more proper Match for the Queen. Yet when Queen *Elizabeth* had Notice of the Reports that were ſpread, that the Queen intended to marry the Lord *Darnly*, ſhe ſent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* Ambaſſador, to diſſuade her from the Match, or at leaſt, that ſhe ſhould not be too forward to conclude the Marriage: However the Queen at laſt reſolv'd upon the Match; whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* charg'd the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son to return to *England*; pretending they were only then in *Scotland* by a limited Permiſſion: And finding her Commands diſobey'd, ſhe ſent a Meſſage to the Proteſtant Lords of *Scotland*, deſiring they might endeavour to put a Stop to the Marriage; or at leaſt, if the Queen would not be diſſuaded from it, that they might hinder the Marriage till ſuch time as the Lord *Darnly* would ſubſcribe a Bond to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, he being himſelf of the Church of *Rome*.

A. D. 1564.

Q. *Elizabeth* ſends an Ambaſſador to Queen *Mary*, to diſſuade her from marrying *Henry* Lord *Darnly*.

She ſends a Meſſage to the Proteſtant Lords to ſtop the Queen's Marriage.

Thoſe who were moſt obedient to the Queen of *England*'s Commands, were the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle*, *Rotheſs*, *Glencairn* and *Murray*, with ſeveral Barons of the Nation; who finding that the Queen was determin'd to marry the Lord *Darnly*, they endeavour'd to take him from her Company by Force; and to that End conveen'd their Friends: Whereof when the Queen had Notice, ſhe rais'd a Party of her Forces, and purſu'd them, till they fled into *England*; they having had Promiſes from Queen *Elizabeth*, that in caſe they ſhould be in any Danger by oppoſing the Marriage, ſhe would hazard her Crown in their Defence: Yet when they were driven into *England*, and went to *Newcaſtle*, they ſent the Earl of *Murray* to her, to entreat Aſſiſtance; ſhe dealt ſo with the Earl, that he confeſs'd upon his Knees, before the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, that her Majeſty had never done any thing to induce them to oppoſe the Marriage, or offend their Queen. After which Confeſſion ſhe diſmiſs'd the Earl, without any Aſſurance of Aid or Favour, further than Leave to reſide in *Newcaſtle*, till they could obtain Pardon from their Queen, for ſuch Crimes as (ſhe ſaid) ſhe would not countenance or encourage, leſt it might be an Example to her own Subjects to rebel.

The Lords conveen to confine the Lord *Darnly*.

They are purſu'd by the Queen, and fly into *England*.

The Queen, by this time, reſolv'd upon the Marriage with the Lord *Darnly*; yet would not proceed without the Approbation of the Nobility who were then in the Kingdom; who, tho' generally well affected to the Queen, and ready to comply with her Deſires; yet ſome of them made ſeveral Objections againſt the Marriage. In ſome of their Conſultations, it was put to the Queſtion, Whether or not the Queen might, of herſelf, make Choice of a Husband; or whether it belong'd to the Eſtates of Parliament to appoint whom they judg'd proper; as it was, in a Manner, electing a King to govern the Nation? But it was carry'd againſt them, That the Queen could not be deny'd the Liberty which was allow'd the meaneſt of her Subjects. The next Objection was, That her Marriage with the Lord *Darnly* was not lawful, according to the Canon Law; his Mother being the Siſter by the ſame Mother, to the Queen's Father. Wherefore, to obviate that Objection, *William Chiſholm*, Biſhop of *Dunblain*, was ſent to *Rome*, for a Diſpenſation; which being obtain'd, ſo ſoon as the Biſhop return'd, the Queen determin'd to conclude the Marriage: And accordingly they were married in the Royal Chapel of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, upon the 28th Day of *July*: And the next Day they were publickly proclaim'd by the Lyon King at Arms, by the Names and Titles of *Henry*, and *Mary*, King, and Queen, of *Scotland*.

The Queen reſolves to marry the Lord *Darnly*.

She is married to him.

He is proclaim'd King.

After the Marriage, the Queen commanded that all Reſpect and Honour ſhould be done to her Husband the King, according to his Title; which, for ſome time, was obſerv'd by all Ranks of People; and his Demeanour was ſuch, as merited the utmoſt Reſpect and Obedience of all the Subjects.

A. D. 1564. About this time the Queen ſet *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*, at Liberty, and reſtor'd him to his Eſtate and Honours; as alſo call'd home *John Gordon*, Earl of *Sutherland*, and the Earl of *Bothwell*, from their Baniſhment in *France*; ſo that they might be of uſe againſt the Lords who ſhelter'd themſelves in *England*.

The Earl of *Huntly* ſet at Liberty, and the Earls of *Sutherland* and *Bothwell* return from Baniſhment.

Queen *Elizabeth* finding that the Queen was married againſt her Will, and the Earl of *Lenox* his Father having deny'd Obedience to her Command, in not returning to *England*; ſhe therefore caus'd the Counteſs, his Wife, to be confin'd to the Tower of *London*, a cloſs Priſoner, where ſhe remain'd long Time after.

The Lords return from *England*.

The before-mention'd Lords having found no Means to obtain Pardon for their Deſigns in oppoſing the Marriage, came into *Scotland*, and made themſelves ſecure in *Hamilton* Caſtle, they having drawn the Duke to their Faction: Whereof when the King and Queen had Notice, they went, accompany'd with 5000 Forces, to *Glaſgow*, to purſue the Lords; and ſent an Herald to ſummon them to ſurrender the Caſtle; which they deny'd, and return'd Anſwer, that they would diſpute their Strength in Battle, the next Day: But finding few in Readineſs to aſſiſt them, they fled from *Hamilton* to *Edinburgh*, where they were Cannonaded from the Caſtle, and ſo forc'd to leave the City, and took their Courſe towards *Drumfries*; where they were diſappointed of the Hopes of Shelter and Aſſiſtance, they had from the Lord *Herris*; who, inſtead of joining them, advis'd them to go into *England*; which they did.

They fly again to *England*.

The King and Queen having left the Earl of *Lenox* as their Lieutenant in the Weſt, and iſſu'd a Proclamation, commanding all the Subjects to meet at *Bigger* in the Shire of *Lanark*, upon the 9th of *October*; they made a Progreſs over *Fife*, and in their Way gave Orders to puniſh all ſuch as had aſſiſted the Lords; whereupon ſeveral Lairds of that Shire fled, and others were fin'd and impriſon'd.

The Duke of *Chattlerault*, Earls of *Argyle*, *Glencairn*, *Rotheſs*, and *Murray*; the Lord *Ochiltree*, and ſeveral others, apply'd to Queen *Elizabeth* for her Interceſſion; whereupon ſhe ſent a Gentleman of her Bed-chamber with Letters, deſiring that the Earl of *Murray* and the other Lords might be taken into Favour: But, the Gentleman having taken no Notice of the King, nor had Mention'd his Name in the Commiſſion, the Queen would not admit him into her Preſence, but ſent her Anſwer in Writing, wherein ſhe ſaid, *That Queen* Elizabeth *ſhould not meddle with the Subjects of* Scotland, *ſince ſhe, nor her Husband did not trouble themſelves with the Subjects of* England.

Q. *Elizabeth* ſends a Meſſage to Queen *Mary*.

Qneen *Mary*'s Anſwer.

The Duke of *Chattlerault* finding how deceitful ſome of his Confederates acted, he reſolv'd to deſert them, and entreat the Queen's Pardon; therefore ſent the Abbot of *Killwining*, with ſome others, to Court: Who having made it appear, that the Duke was drawn into that Rebellion by the Earl of *Murray*, whoſe deceitful Dealings he hated, and would rely on the King and Queen's Goodneſs for Pardon, which if they granted, he ſhould for the future continue loyal and obedient: Whereupon the Queen freely forgave him, and he return'd to *Scotland* in the Month of *November*, and was receiv'd into Favour by the King and Queen, to whom he diſcover'd the Treachery of the Earl of *Murray* and others.

The Duke of *Chattlerault* is pardon'd, and receiv'd into Favour.

In *December*, this Year, the Proteſtant Miniſters held an Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, and ſent Petitions to the King and Queen, deſiring ſhe would entirely aboliſh the Maſs, and all other remaining Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*; and to divide all Church Rents among the Reform'd Preachers. To which Petitions the Queen gave modeſt Anſwers, without either denying or promiſing the Requeſts of their Petitions.

Whilſt the Earl of *Murray* was with the other Lords in *England*, he had his faithful Friend the Earl of *Morton* ſtill at Court; who, tho' entruſted by the King and Queen as Lord Chancellor, and in managment of Matters of the greateſt Conſequence; yet was ſo attatch'd to the Earl of *Murray*, that he

he always obſerved his Directions in whatever he intended. And as at this Time, they found ſuch a good Agreement between the King, Queen, and Subjects, they could not eaſily find any fair Opportunity to encreaſe their Party, without ſome new Diſturbance could be devis'd: For ſome Time they could not ſee any Occaſion, but at laſt they hatch'd a wicked Plot, to breed Diviſion, and to ruin both King and Queen. *A. D.* 1565.

David Rizio, a Muſician, his coming to *Scotland*.

At this Time the Queen had for her *French* Secretary, one *David Rizio* a Native of *Turin* in *Savoy*; he had accompanied Signior *Moretius*, who having been ſent Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Savoy* to *Scotland* ſome time before. This *David Rizio*, being an expert Muſician, became acquainted with the Queen's Muſicians; and they repreſented his Ability in that Science to her Majeſty, who having heard him perform (as ſhe was a great Judge of Muſick) did find him to exceed others in his Skill; he had the Offer of a yearly Salery: So that when the Ambaſſador return'd, he remain'd at the Court of *Scotland*, where he was very much taken Notice of for his Skill in his Employment, and Knowledge of the Forreign Languages, which he ſpoke fluently, and wrote to great Perfection. It happen'd that the Queen's Secretary, for the Tongue, being oblig'd to return to *France*, this *David Rizio* was employ'd in that Office, which he executed to the Queen's Satisfaction, and gave ſuch Proof of his Judgment in weighty Matters of State, that ſhe confided very much in his Fidelity, and uſed to confer with him upon many Occaſions. And as ſhe had at that Time found ſeveral of the Nobility of the Nation to be intereſted in the Cauſe of the baniſh'd Lords, and kept ſtill a ſecret Correſpondence with *England*; this oblig'd the Queen to employ *Rizio*, who, being a Forreigner, could have no Intereſt in ſerving either the Court of *England* or the Factious Lords of *Scotland*. But as the Nobility found him ſo much regarded, it raiſed their Envy and Malice againſt him, ſo much that they exclaimed againſt him, calling him, an up-ſtart Forreigner, and that he was a Penſioner, and Agent from the Pope.

He has a yearly Salery from the Queen.

He is made Secretary for the *French* Tongue.

The King and Queen, having hitherto liv'd in the greateſt Harmony and Affection imaginable; the King thinking himſelf happy, in being the Husband of the moſt beautiful Woman in the World, and had every Thing neceſſary to afford every Diverſion that gave him Pleaſure; therefore liv'd contented, without deſiring to meddle with the Government of the Nation, further than being preſent in all Councils, and having his Name before the Queen's in all publick Writes; being always ready to be directed by the Queen and Council, in what was incumbent on him to do in Matters of Government. But as the Earl of *Murray*, and the other baniſh'd Lords, had the Earl of *Morton*, and the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindſay* at Court; they ſent their Inſtructions from Time to Time, and kept a cloſs Correſpondence with them. The Earl of *Morton* was ſtill Chancellor; but as the Queen had ſome Ground to ſuſpect his Fidelity, ſhe made the leſs Uſe of his Advice in Matters of State, and at the ſame Time conſulted *David Rizio*: At which the Earl was ſo enrag'd, that nothing elſe but *Rizio*'s Deſtruction could ſatisfy him: Therefore conſulted his Correſpondent in *England*, how that might be accompliſh'd. The Earl of *Murray*, having had always ſome Secret Hopes of the Crown, thought this would be a fair Opportunity to advance his Expectation; ſo adviſ'd the Earl of *Morton* to breed Diviſion between the King and Queen, and to repreſent *Rizio*, as the Cauſe of whatever happen'd. According to this Advice, the Earl of *Morton* took Opportunity to tell the King, *That whilſt the Queen govern'd the Realm, he had nothing but the empty Title of King, without any Part of the Power and Authority that belong'd to his Title.* Whereupon the King ſuddenly took ſuch Meaſures, as were very far contrary to the Duty and Reſpect, with which he had always behav'd himſelf to the Queen; and having committed ſome raſh Actions, without ſo much as acquainting the Queen or Council; the Queen was highly offended, and freely told him of his Ungratitude and Inſolence. As this, ſo far anſwered the Earl of *Morton*'s Expectation, he, on the other

The Earl of *Morton* reſolves to deſtroy *David Rizio*.

The Earl's Advice to the King.

A. D. 1559. His Advice to the Queen.

Hand, told the Queen, *That it would produce dangerous Conſequences to give way to the King, in ſuch unruly Actions, which muſt certainly be very offenſive to the Subjects: Therefore, her Majeſty ought to chaſtiſe his Raſhneſs, and aſſume her Prerogative of Birthright, and govern the Kingdom at her own Pleaſure; whereby the Subjects might be freed from the Apprehenſion of Danger, they might be expos'd to under the Government of an imprudent young Prince.* To this Advice the Queen gave Ear, and abridg'd the Power that was formerly allow'd the King in Matters of Government. So when the Earl of *Morton*, and his Confederates, found their Expectation anſwer'd in this, they next took Opportunity to repreſent *David Rizio*, as the only Perſon who had influenc'd the Queen in what ſhe had done; and told the King that whilſt *Rizio* was alive, and ſo much reſpected by the Queen, that his Majeſty could not expect any Fovours, but by *Rizio*'s Permiſſion and Advice; ſo that if *Rizio* were remov'd, he might recover the Queen's good Opinion, and former Love and Reſpect.

Here ſeveral Authors have been ſtrangely partial, in following *George Buchannan*'s malicious Reflections againſt the Queen's Reputation, wherein they would needs repreſent Signior *Rizio*, as being ſo much in the Queen's Favour, that for Love of him, the King was entirely neglected; and that he was made chief Secretary of State, and ſat as Chancellor. But yet we find, that he never had any Office about the Queen, higher than Secretary for the *French* Affairs: But as his Skill in Muſick was extraordinary, he was more frequently in Attendance than any other Secretary, which gave the Queen Opportunity to converſe with him; and finding him of a penetrating Judgment, and a zealous Profeſſor of the Church of *Rome*, ſhe repos'd more Confidence in him than in any other of her Servants, whereby he became more familiar with her Majeſty than was approv'd by the Proteſtant Nobility, and what added to their Hatred of him, was, that when the Earl of *Murray*, and his Confederates, by their Friends ſolicited the Queen for Pardon, there came Advice from the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and other *French* Potentates, deſiring the Queen to call a Parliament, and to forfeit, and for ever baniſh thoſe Lords, as they were the chief of the Proteſtants. And it is ſaid, that *David Rizio* had Advice at the ſame Time from the Pope, to prevail with the Queen to baniſh the Lords for ever, and had perſwaded her to call a Parliament for that End: Which, when the Earl of *Morton* underſtood, he employed *George Douglaſs* (a natural Son of the Earl of *Angus*, who, after that Manner, was Uncle to the King, and was his moſt intimate Companion) to poſſeſs the King with the utmoſt Rage againſt *Rizio*, in ſo much, that he gave Conſent to witneſs and aſſiſt his Slaughter: Whereupon the Earl of *Morton* employ'd the Lord *Ruthven*, and *George Douglaſs* to execute the Murder; and having given Notice to the Earl of *Murray*, and his Companions, they prevail'd with the King to agree to their Appointment, of meeting on *Saturday*'s Night, at the Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*. While the Queen ſat at Supper with the Counteſs of *Argyle*, and *David Rizio* ſtanding at the Side-Board, they having plac'd their Guards, the King went through his own Appartment into the Queen's, being followed by the Lord *Ruthven*, and *George Dowglaſs*: When they enter'd, the King lean'd over the Queen's Chair, and the Lord *Ruthven* (being in full Armour, ſat down with his Helmet on, in the Queen's Preſence, for which ſhe reprov'd him. He anſwer'd, *They intended her Majeſty no Harm, but that they intended to cut off that Villain* Rizio, *who had uſurp'd ſuch Power over all the Subjects of* Scotland. Whereupon *George Dowglaſs* drew the King's Dagger, and ſtabb'd *Rizio*, and was ſeconded by ſeveral others, who ruſh'd in upon the firſt Blow. The poor defenceleſs *Rizio* took hold of the Queen's Robe, begging Mercy, but they immediately diſpatch'd him with many Wounds, and dragg'd his Body to the Court. Upon the firſt Blow, the Queen and Lady *Argyle* cry'd aloud for Help, but the King took hold of the Queen in his Arms, and proteſted that no Harm was intended to her; Yet *George Ruthven* had the Impudence

The King conſents to *Rizio*'s Murder.

David Rizio ſtabb'd by *George Douglaſs*.

Impudence to hold a Piſtol to her Majeſty's Breaſt, and threaten'd her Majeſty to be ſilent. *A. D.* 1565.

The Earls of *Athole*, *Huntly*, and *Bothwell*, hearing ſo great Noiſe in the Palace, and having ſome Account of Murder, they leap'd out of a Window in the back Part of the Palace, and ſo made their Eſcape, not doubting but their Lives might be in Danger.

The Earls of *Huntly*, *Athole*, and *Bothwell* make their Eſcape.

The Queen's Officers of the Houſhold were confin'd by Guards, and eighty Centinels were plac'd by the Murderers, on all Paſſages of the Palace, even the Queen's Appartment, were ſecur'd; ſo that her Majeſty could not ſee, nor ſpeak to any of her Friends or Servants.

The next Day, the Earl of *Murray*, with the other baniſh'd Lords came to *Edinburgh*, and went to the Parliament-Houſe, and took Witneſs, that they were come to ſurrender themſelves to the Laws of the Nation. We find that before this Murder, the Earl of *Morton* had prevail'd with the King to enter into Articles of Agreement, *That upon Condition thoſe Lords would maintain him in Power, and Authority, as King; he promis'd to procure them a Pardon of all paſt Crimes, that the ſame ſhould be confirm'd by Parliament, and that they ſhould be receiv'd as loyal and faithful Subjects, and defended, by his Authority, in all Time coming.* After theſe Articles had been ſign'd, they wanted *Rizio* to be put out of the Way, which they propos'd by impeaching him before the Parliament, which had been call'd at that Time, and ſo might have him hang'd: But at laſt, they concluded to kill him, and according to the Manner of the Murder, it may be imagin'd, that it would not have been any Surprize to ſome of the Conſpirators, if the Queen had ſuffer'd Violence at the ſame Time: But yet, when the King ſaw the Lord *Ruthven*'s Son preſent a Piſtol to her Majeſty, he ſpeedily oppos'd it, by beating his Arm and Piſtol aſide.

The baniſh'd Lords return from *England*.

I find various Relations of this tragical Story, by different Authors, therefore ſhall paſs over it, without ſaying any Thing further than giving my Opinion with others, that there was not the leaſt Shadow of Probability of Truth, in the malicious Reports of *George Buchannan*, of *Rizio*'s having any further Freedom with the Queen, but that his Fidelity and Judgment had gain'd greater Favour and Credit with the Queen, than could be ſuffer'd by thoſe Factious Peers, who ſtudied the Queen's Deſtruction. As for ſuch unlawful Familiarity, as is ambiguouſly inſinuated; nothing could be more inconſiſtent with Reaſon, than that any one ſhould believe or imagine, that the Queen, who was then married to one of the moſt comely and agreeable Men in the World, ſhould have ſuch a deprav'd Fancy, as to neglect her Husband, for an old ill-favour'd, nay even decrip'd Servant. I refer my Sentiments of this Story to the Judgment of the World; whether or not a Queen, who was allow'd, by her greateſt Enemies, to be a Woman of excellent Judgment, and modeſt Behaviour, could think of ſuch vile Actions; or that they could paſs unperceiv'd by all her Attendants: Yet, behold the Perſons who accuſe, and cenſure *Rizio*'s Death, are ſuch as never had Opportunity to know the Queen's private Behaviour. Thoſe Conſpirators were not wanting, in uſing their utmoſt Endeavours, to have Evidences to ſwear to their ſurpriſing, and killing *Rizio* in the Act of Adultery with the Queen; but finding that altogether impracticable, they reſolv'd to kill him. And notwithſtanding of all their Treachery, in repreſenting Matters to the King; all the Familiarity that could be ſeen between the Queen, and this uſeful Servant, was that he ſtood by the Side-Board, while the Queen and the Counteſs of *Argyle* ſat at Supper. And as we find, that the King, inſtead of falling upon *Rizio*, at his firſt entring, lean'd on the Queen's Chair, for ſome little Space, while the Lord *Ruthven* enter'd, ſat down, and was reprov'd, and anſwer'd by telling the Queen the Cauſe of their coming in that Poſture. It would ſeem, as if he could not find Cauſe to believe their villainous Informations, by the Queen and *Rizio*'s Behaviour; ſo neglected to execute his promis'd Revenge, till *George Dowglaſs*, perceiving Delay, ſnatch'd the King's Dagger from his Side, aud gave the firſt Blow to *Rizio*, which was ſeconded by his Aſſiſt-

Buchannan's Report of *Rizio* confuted.

A. D. 1565. ants, as before mention'd. This cruel Fact was committed on *Saturday* the 9th of *March*, 1565.

The Murder being committed at Night, the Palace was guarded till next Day, at which Time the Town was alarm'd; and having arm'd themſelves, they came to the Palace, where the King took Opportunity to ſhew himſelf with the Queen, that they were ſafe.

The Earl of *Murray* comes to the Queen.

When the Queen had Notice that the Earl of *Murray* was in the City ſhe ſent for him; whereupon, he immediately came, but with ſuch Privacy, that it ſhould not be known to the King. The Queen receiving him with great Affection; he, to deceive her the more, exclaim'd againſt the Murder, loading the Contrivers with the greateſt Reproach, at the ſame Time entreated her Majeſty's Pardon, for ſuch Crimes as he had been under her Majeſty, and the Governmant's Diſpleaſure; promiſing all Fidelity and Obedience in Time coming, as alſo advis'd the Queen to pardon the other Lords, as the only Means to engage them to her Aſſiſtance in the preſent Danger.

He obtains the Queen's Pardon.

The Queen told him ſhe was willing to do every Thing that could contribute to the Peace and Felicity of her People; and alſo told him, that altho' he had us'd her with more Severity than became a Brother, yet ſhe was ready to forgive, and receive him into Favour; adding, *That her Heart was free from Gall.*

The King is offended at *Murray*.

The King having Notice that the Earl of *Murray* was with the Queen, he came to her Appartment; whereupon the Earl inſtantly withdrew; and the Queen, pereeiving him diſpleas'd at his Preſence, ſhe ſaid to him, *Is this, Sir, what I have deſerv'd for loving you above all Men in the World? muſt I be forc'd to ſeek the Aſſiſtance of my Enemies, to defend me from your Cruelty? if I have deſerv'd Death for doing you all the good that lay in my Power; yet, what hath this little Innocent in my Womb committed, whom I preſerve to encreaſe your Power? the Exceſs of ſuch violent Proceedings will ſoon take away the Life of the Mother and Childe; and then, I am afraid, you'll diſcover, when too late, the Treachery of thoſe who perſwade you to deſtroy that which you ſhould hold moſt dear, and to Bury your ſelf in my Ruin.*

The Queen's Speech to the King.

As the Queen ſpoke theſe Words, ſhe ſhed Abundance of Tears, which ſo wrought upon the King, that he, upon his Knees, with Tears, begg'd Pardon for his Offences, and declared the whole Conſpiracy, with every Circnmſtance of it; at the ſame Time declar'd to her, that he would for ever abandon their Counſels, and live or die with her. The Queen was overjoy'd at this Diſcovery, and after having exhorted him, to implore Mercy and Forgiveneſs of God, for imbruing his Hands in innocent Blood; ſhe entreated he might not let the Conſpirators perceive any Thing of their being reconcil'd, or what he had diſcover'd, leſt they ſhould turn all their Malice and Fury againſt him for diſcovering their Plots. Yet the Conſpirators (whether upon Suſpicion of the King's keeping the Secret or not) fled the next Day after the Murder. The Earl of *Morton*, Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindſay*, and young *Lethington* fled to *England*, and took Shelter at *Newcaſtle*, where the Lord *Ruthven* ended his Life in a violent Fever, in few Days after. Mr. *James Macgill*, Clerk-Regiſter, with ſeveral others, left the City of *Edinburgh*, and went to their Friends in *Fife*, where they lurk'd for ſome Time.

The King confeſſes the Conſpiracy, and is reconcil'd to the Queen.

Upon *Munday* the 11th of *March*, the Queen, finding the Conſpirators Guards remov'd, by the Earl of *Murray*'s Orders, ſhe went that Night (having the King in her Company) to *Seaton* Houſe, and from thence to *Dunbar*, where they remain'd four Days, and return'd to *Edinburgh*, accompanied by the Duke of *Chattlerault*, Earls of *Athole*, *Huntly*, *Bothwell*, and many others of the Nobility. Whereupon the Court of Juſticiary ſat to examine Witneſſes, of the Murder of *David Rizio*; and *Thomas Scott*, Sheriff-Depute of *Perth*, and Servant to the Lord *Ruthven*, *Henry Yair*, formerly a Prieſt, who had turn'd Proteſtant, *William Harlaw*, and *John Moubray*, Burgeſſes of *Edinburgh*, were found guilty, and ſentenced to Death. The two former were hang'd, bur the two latter were repriv'd at the Place of Execution. The Lairds of *Calder*, *Ormiſton*, *Halton*, *Elphingſton*, *Brunſton*, *Whittingham*, *Sheriffhall*, and many

The Murder examin'd, and two are executed for it.

many others were ſummon'd as Witneſſes of the Murder; but not appearing, they were denounc'd Rebels: The Office of Clerk-Regiſter was given to Sir *James Balfour*; and the Lords of Juſticiary had Charge given them to proſecute ſuch of the Murderers as they could diſcover from time to time. *A. D.* 1565.

The King and Queen continu'd now in Friendſhip and Affection; but as the Earl of *Murray* knew that the King had no Good-will towards him, he therefore labour'd the more to avoid his Preſence; fearing he might ſome time make him feel the Effects of his Paſſion: However the Earl laid Hold on all Opportunities to make the Queen have a good Opinion of himſelf; and as ſhe had receiv'd *Lethington* again into Favour, as her Secretary, he was Agent for the Earl of *Murray*, in ſolliciting whatever he deſir'd at the Queen's Hands.

The Queen finding the Time of her Reckoning to be Deliver'd approach, ſhe call'd a Council, and order'd the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* to be ready for her to lie in Child-bed: And as the Earl of *Arran* was then confin'd in the Caſtle, ſhe order'd him to be remov'd to his Father's Caſtle of *Hamilton*, with Liberty of two Miles round the ſame.

The Apartments of the Caſtle being furniſh'd, the Queen went thither to lodge, and order'd Lodgings for the King, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle*, and *Murray*, and others; And upon the 19th Day of *June*, between nine and ten a-Clock at Night, her Majeſty was deliver'd of a Son. The ſame Night Sir *James Melvil* of *Hallhill* was ſent Expreſs to *England*, to give an Account of the Prince's Birth to Queen *Elizabeth*. 'Tis ſaid that ſhe was at *Greenwich*, when the firſt Notice of the Queen of *Scotland*'s being brought to Bed of a Son was brought her, and was dancing Country Dances after Supper, being very cheerful; but upon the News of the Prince's Birth being whiſper'd into her Ear by Secretary *Cicill*, ſhe left off her Mirth, and ſat down, with her Hand under her Cheek; and when the Ladies ſeem'd to take Notice of her ſudden Change of Countenance and Temper, ſhe freely told them, That ſhe had great Reaſon to be dejected, to hear that the Queen of *Scotland* was the happy Mother of a Prince, while ſhe continu'd a barren Stock. However ſhe receiv'd Sir *James Melvil* the next Day very cheerfully, and expreſs'd great Joy for the Birth of the Prince; and made many Proteſtations of Affection and Good-will to the Queen his Mother; but yet never took Notice of the King, for ſhe had never vouchſaf'd to call him ſo; nor would ſhe allow any of her Ambaſſadors to take any Notice of him by that Title, or ſhew him any Reſpect more than a Subject: For Sir *Henry Killigrew* having been ſent by Queen *Elizabeth* to viſit the Queen when with Child, was forbid to ſalute the King, or addreſs him by that Tilte; which being made known to the Queen, ſhe ſeem'd at firſt diſatisfy'd; but was very willing to keep a good Underſtanding with the Queen of *England*, who had then made ſome Propoſals of declaring Queen *Mary* her Succeſſor: And, at the Queen of *Scotland*'s Requeſt, ſhe had diſcharg'd any of her Subjects to entertain the Earl of *Morton*, Lord *Lindſay*, or any of the *Scots* Rebels.

K. *James* VI. born.

The Queen being recover'd, ſhe took a Journey to *Alloway*, a Seat of the Earl of *Mar*'s, where ſhe ſpent ſome Days, being attended by the King, and the Earls of *Athole*, *Huntly*, and *Murray*. Here the Earl of *Murray* took Opportunity to ſollicite the Queen to pardon the Earl of *Morton*, and Lord *Lindſay*; which being made known to the King, he was offended at the Earl, and entreated the Queen that ſhe might not give Ear to his Advice; telling her how great an Enemy he was to them both. But the Earl had ſuch Credit with the Queen, that ſhe gave Ear to his Advice; which was of great Diſadvantage to the King, who finding the Effects of the Earl's Malice, he determin'd to take his Life; which he could not conceal from the Queen: But as ſhe abhorr'd all impious Actions, ſhe entreated the King to lay aſide all Ill-will and Revenge, and to be reconcil'd to the Earl: But her good Advice was entirely neglected, and he ſtill continu'd in his Reſolution; whereat the Queen was ſo offended, that ſhe could not be eaſy while the Earl was in Company, leaſt another Murder might be committed.

The King intends to kill the Earl of *Murray*.

A. D. 1565. The Earl of *Murray* having Notice of the Malice, he reſolv'd to be before-hand with the King, if poſſible; therefore he ſtudied all Means to breed Diviſion between the King and Queen: And as he had not yet given over his ſecret Hopes of obtaining the Crown, he took that Opportunity to advance his Deſigns; ſo he made it his chief Study to be as much as poſſible in the Queen's Favour, and to make her Majeſty leſſen the King's Authority upon all publick Occaſions.

The Earl of *Murray* ſtudies Revenge.

The Earl of *Bothwell* being at this Time in great Favour at Court, and the intimate Friend of the Earls of *Huntly* and *Athole*; the Earl of *Murray* found him a fit Perſon to be employ'd in his future Deſigns; therefore begun a more intimate Friendſhip with him than formerly, and took Opportunity to recommend him to the Queen, as a Perſon who merited Reſpect, upon Account of his being very ſerviceable to the late Queen her Mother, as alſo very loyal and well affected to her Majeſty; therefore deſerv'd to be rewarded by ſome publick Employment: And, as the Queen at that time took a Journey into the South Country, to hold Juſtice Courts, there was Notice brought of ſome Troops of Robbers, who had been in Arms for ſeveral Days, having plunder'd ſeveral Towns and Gentlemens Seats in *Liddiſdale*: Whereupon the Queen ſent a Party, under the Command of the Earl of *Bothwell*, to ſuppreſs them: But they were ſo ſtrong, that when they had Notice of the Earl's Party being come into the Country, they drew out, and attack'd him with ſuch Fury, that they put his Party to Flight, and wounded himſelf. The chief Perſon of the Party was *John Elliot* of *Park*, who is ſaid to have wounded the Earl with his own Hand. The Queen hearing of the Earl's Misfortune, went with her Retinue to *Hermitage* Caſtle, where he lay of his Wounds: But finding that he was not in ſo great Danger as had been reported, ſhe went from thence, the ſame Night, to *Jedburgh*; it being then towards the latter end of *October*, and extreme cold, the Queen, by that Night's riding, contracted a violent Fever, which made every one about her deſpair of her Recovery: She was ſo ill the firſt two Days, that ſhe remain'd Speechleſs; but the third Day ſhe recover'd her Speech, and the Uſe of Reaſon; yet being ſtill very weak, and apprehenſive of Death, ſhe call'd the Nobility, and others who attended her, and told them, with a compos'd Countenance, *That ſhe expected in a few Hours to be remov'd from this to a better Life; that altho' ſhe had been fond enough of Life, yet found no Difficulty to reſolve to die: Tho' ſhe had not ſpent her Time ſo well as ſhe might have done, yet had great Comfort in knowing, that as her Creator was infinitely juſt, he was infinitely merciful: She thank'd GOD, who had given her Time to prepare for her Death, and pray'd heartily for Strength to continue in the ſame Faith wherein ſhe was educated: And at the ſame Time repeated the Creed and Sum of the Catholick Religion before all that were preſent.*

The Earl of *Bothwell* in Favour at Court.

He is ſent with a Party to ſuppreſs Robers in the Borders.

The Queen falls ill of a Fever.

The Queen's Thoughts of Death.

She recommended to her Subjects and Servants the ſpiritual and temporal Advantages of Peace, Concord and Unity; and entreated them to protect and keep her young Son from his domeſtick Enemies, and take care to educate him in the true Principles of the Chriſtian Faith.

Her Advice to her Subjects and Servants.

She freely forgave and pray'd for all ſuch as had offended her, particularly her Husband the King; and deſir'd that if the Baniſh'd Lords return'd after her Death, that they ſhould not have Acceſs, at any time after, to the young Prince. She earneſtly beg'd they would give Leave to the *Roman* Catholicks to have the Exerciſe of their Religion, as ſhe had been ſo indulgent, not to compel any one to embrace a Religion againſt their Conſciences.

She call'd the *French* Ambaſſador, and recommended to him the Care of her *French* Servants, deſiring the King his Maſter would allow one Year's Rent of her Dowry, for the Payment of their Wages, after her Death.

The King comes to viſit the Queen.

Mean time the King her Husband, having been with his Father the Earl of *Lenox* in the Weſt, ſo ſoon as he had Notice of the Queen's Illneſs, went ſtraight where ſhe was; but at his coming was but coldly receiv'd, which was owing (as is alledg'd) to the Earl of *Murray*'s Contrivance, or to the Fear the Queen was under of his killing the Earl in her Company: Where-

upon

upon the King return'd, and went to *Stirling*, where he ſtaid till the Prince was baptiz'd. *A. D.* 1566.

The Queen being recover'd, return'd to *Edinburgh*, and from thence went to *Stirling*, having the Earls of *Huntly*, *Athole*, *Bothwell*, *Mar* and *Murray* in her Company: She there gave Orders to make due Preparation for the Prince's Baptiſm; which being notify'd at the Courts of *England*, *France* and *Savoy*, the Queen of *England* ſent to *Scotland* the Earl of *Bedford*, attended by Mr. *Carry*, Son to the Lord *Hunſdon*, Mr. *Hatton*, Mr. *Ligniſh*, and ſeveral Gentlemen from *Yorkſhire*, and the Officers of *Berwick*; they being come to *Coldingham*, the Queen ſent Sir *James Melvil*, with a good Company of Gentlemen, to receive and conduct the Earl to the Court at *Stirling*. About the ſame time came to *Scotland*, Monſieur *la Crote*, Ambaſſador from the King of *France*; and Count *de Brian* from the Duke of *Savoy*, to repreſent their Maſters as Godfathers for the Prince; as did the Earl of *Bedford* for the Queen of *England*: Who had ſent by the Earl a Font of Gold, weighing 335 Ounces; and nominated the Counteſs of *Argyle* to ſtand Godmother in her Name.

Orders given to prepare for the Prince's Baptiſm.

Ambaſſadors from *England*, *France* and *Savoy*, arrive in *Scotland*.

A Font of Gold ſent by Q. *Elizabeth*.

Upon the 15th Day of *December* the Prince was baptiz'd, according to the Rites of the Church of *Rome*, by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Dunkell*, *Dunblain* and *Roſs*, in the Preſence of the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *France* and *Savoy*; the Earls of *Athole*, *Huntly*, *Eglington*; Lords *Semple* and *Roſs*; being all *Roman* Catholicks, aſſiſted at the Baptiſm. And immediately he was publickly proclaim'd by the Herald, with the Sound of Trumpets, JAMES CHARLES, *Prince and Stewart of* Scotland, *Duke of* Rothſay, *Earl of* Carrick, *Lord of the Iſles*, *and Baron of* Renfrew. The remaining Part of the Day and Night was ſpent in ſolemn Mirth at Court: But as the King did not appear at the Baptiſm, it occaſion'd great Diſpleaſure to ſeveral of the Nobility, who were his Relations. The Cauſe of his Abſence is variouſly repreſented: As ſome will have it, that he was Sick; others, that the Queen had never been reconcil'd to him after the Murder of *Rizio*: But what ſeems to be moſt probable is, That as Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* had never conſented to his Marriage, nor acknowledg'd him King, the Queen conſider'd that it might creat new Difference between them, if the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador ſhould (according to his Queen's Command) appear in the King's Preſence, without taking Notice of his Title or Dignity: Therefore it was given out, that he was indiſpos'd, and kept his Lodgings for ſome Days, and afterwards went to *Glaſgow*, where he fell ill of a ſtrange Diſtemper, which ſome alledg'd to be the Effects of Poiſon. When the Queen had notice of his Condition, ſhe went ſtraight to him.

The Prince is baptiz'd.

His Titles proclaim'd.

The King's Abſence from the Baptiſm ill taken by his Relations.

The King goes to *Glaſgow*, where he falls ill of a ſtrange Diſtemper.

It may be conſider'd, that whatever had been given to the King, was by the Directions of thoſe, that by this time were buſy plotting his Death, by one Means or another, as will be ſeen hereafter. For when the Queen came to him, which was about the latter end of *January*, 1567. ſhe ſtaid with him until he was in a Condition to travel: And as ſhe had Reaſon to ſuſpect Treachery intended him, ſhe thought her Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe* would be the ſafeſt Place for him. But, as by that Time his Death was reſolv'd upon, there were ſeveral of the Conſpirators about the Queen, who propos'd to her Majeſty to let the King lodge in the Suburbs of the City, for the Advantage of the Air, ſince the Palace ſtood in ſo low a Part of the Town; ſo a Houſe was prepar'd for his Lodging in the *Kirk-field*. Mean time the Queen viſited him daily, and ſtaid generally late at Night. The Conſpirators having now contriv'd their Horrid Plot, they appointed the 9th of *February* for the Execution of it; and accordingly they convey'd ſome Gun-Powder to the under Part of the Houſe where the King lay, and after the Queen was retir'd to the Palace, they blew up the Houſe where he lay.

The Queen goes to the King, and brings him on his Way to *Holy-rood-Houſe*, but is adviſ'd to lodge him in the Suburbs.

He is lodg'd in the *Kirk-field*.

The Houſe where he lay blown up with Gun-powder.

'Tis ſaid that the Earl of *Morton*, who had lately return'd from Exile, with his Couſine *Archibald Dowglaſs*, were the chief Managers of the Plot: But the Earl of *Murray*, who was equally guilty, that Night had wiſely left

A. D. 1567. Town, and gone to *Fife*; yet had left his ſecret Inſtructions with the Earl of *Morton* and his Confederates; ſo about Midnight the Houſe being blown up, yet the King was not ſlain by the Blow, but only ſurpriz'd; however, they who were concern'd in the Execution, finding him in that Condition, ſmother'd him, and threw his Body into an adjacent Field. Others ſay, that the Conſpirators enter'd his Lodgings, and ſtrangl'd him and his his Servant, and after carrying the Body into a Field near, they blew up the Houſe.

The King murder'd.

Next Day, when the News of the Murder was brought to the Queen, ſhe was ſurpriz'd with Horrour and Amazement; and was almoſt diſtracted with the greateſt Agony of Grief and Confuſion, expecting every Moment to find the bloody Tragedy end in her own Life. Orders were given to examine the Circumſtances of the Murder, which by Enquiry appear'd, that the King was not kill'd by the Force of the Powder, but had been ſtrangl'd, or rather ſmother'd or ſuffocated, and carried to the Place where he was found; for there appear'd no Mark of Fire, or Bruiſe by a Fall, upon his Body. A Proclamation was publiſh'd, offering a Reward to any who could diſcover the Authors of the Murder.

Altho' the common Report, and many concurrent Circunſtances laid the Contrivance of the Plot on the Earl of *Murray*, and Execution of it on the Earl of *Morton* and his Aſſiſtants, yet they had Agents enough in the City of *Edinburgh*, and all other Places, to charge the Earl of *Bothwell* (and ſome others engag'd by him for that Purpoſe) with the Murder, as if committed by the Queen's Advice and Conſent; but that Allegation ſeems very ill grounded. However the Earl of *Bothwell*'s Enemies took Opportunity to ſpread a Belief of his Guilt; and to that end, employ'd ſeveral Preachers to poſſeſs the Congregations with ſuch Aſſurance of his being the Murderer of the King, that ſeveral Libels were diſpers'd, and Placades affix'd in the Night in publick Places of the City, naming the Earl *Bothwell*, Sir *James* and *Gilbert Balfours*, and others, to be the Murderers.

After the King's Body had been embalm'd, it was put in a Lead Coffin, and depoſited by the Bodies of King *James* V. and Queen *Magdalen*, in the Royal Vault of the Abby of *Holy-rood-Houſe*.

His Character

'Tis ſaid, that King *Henry* was one of the comlieſt Men of that Age, being taler than the common Size, and withal excellently well ſhap'd, having fine Hair. He was accounted an excellent Horſeman, and beſt skill'd of any of his Time in all other Warlike Exerciſes: But ſo credulous in his Temper, that he was eaſily advis'd to ſeveral Things which contributed to leſſen his Character.

Whilſt the Reports paſs'd current about the Earl of *Bothwell*, the Earl of *Lenox* was daily importun'd to proſecute him; but he delay'd it, till it was loudly declar'd from the Pulpits: Whereupon the Earl of *Bothwell* conſider'd himſelf under the utmoſt Neceſſity to take Notice of that, which not only blaſted his Character, but likewiſe endanger'd his Life. He thereupon made many Proteſtations of his Innocence, and declar'd that he would have himſelf clear'd by legal and publick Trial, which he was willing to undergo; and having ſurrender'd himſelf Priſoner, the Earl of *Argyle*, Lord Juſtice-General, appointed the 28th of *March* for his Trial; But the Earl of *Bothwell* fore-ſeeing that his Enemies might object againſt the Shortneſs of the Time allow'd them to conveen their Evidences, therefore petition'd the Juſtice-General to prorogue the Court to the 12*th* of *April* following.

The Earl of *Lenox* having Notice of the Time, came to *Edinburgh* with a numerous Attendance, compleatly arm'd, which were forbid to enter the Town in that Poſture: The Earl took no Notice of their Commands, but came to the Trial. The Court being met on the Day appointed, thoſe of the Aſſize or Jury were, *Andrew*, Earl of *Rotheſs*; *Gilbert*, Earl of *Caſſils*; *George*, Earl of *Caithneſs*; *John*, Lord *Hamilton*; *Lawrence*, Lord *Oliphant*; *John*, Lord *Herris*; *James*, Lord *Roſs*; *Robert*, Lord *Semple*; *Robert*, Lord *Boyd*; *John*, Maſter of *Forbes*; the Lairds of *Lochinvar*, *Barnbugill*, *Boyn*, *Langton*,

Langton, and *Cambuſnethen*. The Trial was carried on according to the Accuſations, but not ſo much as one probable Circumſtance being aduc'd againſt him, he was acquitted by the Jury of all Suſpicion, as well as the Action of Murder. *A. D.* 1567.

The Earl of *Bothwell* tried for the Murder of the King, and acquitted.

In a few Days after the Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, where he was likewiſe acquitted, and carried the Royal Scepter to the Houſe. Yet being once declar'd guilty by the Voice of the Populace, (who take the Alarm ſooner from the Pulpit than the Throne) he was hated by moſt People, which Hatred was ſtill fomented by his ſecret Enemies. The Earl of *Lenox* fore-ſeeing Troubles like to ariſe in the Nation, withdrew from *Edinburgh*, and went by the weſt Seas to *England*, where he remain'd for ſome Time.

The Earl of *Bothwell* having now, as he imagin'd, defeated all the private, as well as publick Deſigns of his Enemies, he began to form Hopes of obtaining the Queen in Marriage; which at firſt was propos'd to him by thoſe who were then plotting the Queen's Deſtruction, whereby they might procure the Government to themſelves; therefore they us'd all Means to recommend the Earl to the Queen's Favour; extoling his great Valour and loyal Behaviour to her Mother and herſelf; and that his Power was of great Advantage, in caſe any civil Broil ſhould happen. But as the Queen did not imagine what they intended by thoſe Recommendations, they proceeded further to addreſs her Majeſty in his Favours, telling her, how reaſonable and neceſſary it would be to take him for her Husband, ſince by his Conduct ſhe might be made ſafe in the Poſſeſſion of the Throne, without the Fear of forreign or domeſtick Enemies.

The Conſpirators adviſe the Queen to marry the Earl of *Bothwell*.

The Queen did not object againſt the Earl's Merit, but ſeem'd, at firſt, ſurpriz'd, to find them propoſe Marriage ſo ſuddenly, eſpecially to a Perſon who was then married. In anſwer to the firſt Objection, they urg'd the daily Danger of domeſtick Troubles, which her Majeſty could not ſo eaſily prevent or ſuppreſs, being ſingle, as when aſſiſted by the moſt potent Peer of the Nation: And as to his Marriage, he then had a Proceſs depending before the ſpiritual Court, commenc'd by himſelf, for a Divorce from his Wife the Lady *Jane Gordon*, Siſter to the Earl of *Huntly*; in which Proceſs the Earls of *Murray*, *Morton*, and their Faction us'd great Intereſt, ſo that Sentence was pronounc'd for their Divorce, upon Account of Conſanguinity. The Judges were, *Robert*, Biſhop of *Dunkell*, (for the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s); *William*, Biſhop of *Dunblane*; Mr. *Archibald Crawford*, Parſon of *Egilſham*; Mr. *John Manderſton*, Canon of the College Church of *Dunbar*; Mr. *Alexander Creighton*, and Mr. *George Cooke*, Canons of the Church of *Dunkell*.

About this Time, the Earls of *Murray*, *Morton*, and their Faction, having proteſted the utmoſt Friendſhip to the Earl of *Bothwell*, rais'd his Ambition, ſo that nothing could oblige him to delay the obtaining his Wiſhes, either by Force or fair Means; ſo, having Notice of the Queen's coming from viſiting the Prince at *Stirling* to *Edinburgh*, he rais'd all his Friends and Followers, to the Number of 800 Horſe, and ſurpriz'd her, as ſhe was on her Journey, with the Earl of *Huntly*, Secretary *Lethington*, and a ſmall Guard, and carried her Majeſty ſtraight to the Caſtle of *Dunbar*. This Inſolence enrag'd the Queen, ſo that ſhe upbraided him with his diſloyal and diſreſpectful Treatment of her, who was his Soveraign, when ſuch Behaviour to a Subject, would render him guilty of a Crime againſt the Law. The Earl ſeeing her Majeſty in ſuch a Paſſion of Grief, threw himſelf upon his Knees before her, asking her Pardon, in the moſt ſubmiſſive Manner, for that Crime, which his violent Paſſion had hurried him to commit, ſince he doubted the Succeſs of his own Addreſſes, or the Solicitations of his Friends, in making his Paſſion known, or obtaining her Conſent; he had at laſt reſolv'd to ſurprize her Majeſty, with no other Deſign than to diſcover the Violence of his Love, which he could no longer conceal from her Majeſty, who then had Power to take his Life, as the juſt Demerit of his Crime: Yet if ſhe would pardon his Guilt, and look upon him with the ſame Favour as ſhe had

Bothwell ſurprizes the Queen, and carries her to *Dunbar*.

The Queen upbraids him with his Crime.

The Earl's Anſwer.

A. D. 1567.

had done to the Lord *Darnly*, who was likewiſe her Subject; ſhe might be aſſur'd of a Husband, who would employ the laſt Drop of that Blood that ſhe had graciouſly ſpar'd, to make her abſolute in the Kingdom; tho' then her rebellious Subjects had reduc'd her Authority, which he could the more eaſily accompliſh, having obtain'd the Conſent of the Plurality of the Peers of the Nation, which had never been done to the late King. Whereupon he produc'd an Inſtrument of Conſent or Contract of Marriage, being ſubſcribed and ſeal'd by the Earls of *Murray*, *Morton*, and all ſuch as they could prevail with. He added many ſolemn Promiſes of Submiſſion to her Majeſty, and that the great Honour ſhe might do him, ſhould never raiſe his Ambition, ſo far as to look upon his Advancement to be any wiſe owing to his own Merit; but ſhould always acknowledge it owing to her Majeſty's generous Goodneſs; nor ſhould the Greatneſs of his Fortune ever make him forget, that he was her Majeſty's Subject and Servant.

He produces a Contract of Marriage ſign'd by the Peers.

The Queen's Anſwer.

To this the Queen anſwered, "That ſhe was ſurpriz'd at what ſhe had "heard, and ſeen from him; that ſhe would not give her Conſent after any "ſuch diſhonourable Manner, as out of Apprehenſion of her then immedi- "ate Danger; nor would ſhe give any Anſwer till ſhe was at Liberty, in "her City of *Edinburgh*, where ſhe ſhould be ready to do what would be "eſteem'd moſt conducive to the Safety and Proſperity of the Nation and Sub- "jects; but not without their Advice and Approbation.

Here the Queen remain'd for ten Days, being every Day importun'd by the Earl, and ſolicited by his Friends, who were the only People at that Time about her; yet ſhe gave no further Anſwer, than that ſhe would not do any Thing without further Advice, which the Earl took to be, in a Manner, to give Conſent. He then order'd every Thing for her Journey to *Edinburgh*, where they went with a ſmall Guard. When the Queen enter'd the Town, the Earl being afraid, that the Inhabitants of the City would ſurprize him, upon Account of the late Report of his having impriſon'd the Queen: He took her Horſe by the Bridle, and led her to the Caſtle, of which Sir *James Balfour* (a Creature of his own) was the Governor.

The Queen brought to *Edinburgh*.

When the Earl of *Murray*, and ſeveral other Peers came to wait upon her, ſhe charg'd them with having given their Conſent to the Earl of *Bothwell*, to commit the Crimes he had done; whereupon the Earl of *Murray* told the Queen, *That he knew no other Way for her to ſupport her Intereſt, but by marrying the Earl of* Bothwell: And, at the ſame Time us'd ſuch other Arguments, as prevail'd with her to conſent; and upon the 15th Day of *May* they were publickly married by the Biſhop of *Orkney*, whereupon the Earl was created Duke of *Orkney* and *Zetland*.

The Queen is married to the Earl of *Bothwell*.

All thoſe who were ſecret Enemies to the Queen condemn'd the Marriage, and even thoſe who had appear'd moſt forward to promote it, began to make Objections againſt the Manner of it, and contrary to their late ſeeming Deſire to have it haſten'd, now ſolemnly proteſt againſt it, and form'd Aſperſions, which they induſtriouſly ſpread among the Subjects; that the Queen and Earl of *Bothwell* intended to ſeize the young Prince, and to diſpoſe of him as they thought good. Whereupon the Earls of *Marr* and *Glencairn*, the Lords *Lindſay*, *Boyd*, and many others, met at *Stirling*, and ſubſcrib'd a * Bond of Aſſociation to defend the Prince from his Mother and Stepfather. Tho' this Bond had been dictated by the Earl of *Murray*, yet he would not ſubſcribe it himſelf, leſt it might leſſen his Credit with the Queen.

* The Bond of Aſſociation, whereby the Lords are called Aſſociators.

Mean Time the Queen and Earl of *Bothwell* fearing a Rebellion, they drew an Inſtrument to be ſign'd by the Nobles to ſupport the Queen's Dignity, and ſecure her Perſon with her Husband. This was freely ſign'd by all the Peers to whom it was offer'd, except the Earl of *Murray*, who conſider'd how contrary it was to his Intentions: However he excus'd himſelf with ſuch plauſable Reaſons, that the Queen never ſuſpected his Diſloyalty, but look'd upon him ſtill as her moſt faithful Friend: But now he begun to conſider, that as the aſſociated Lords had undertaken to accompliſh his Ends, he deſir'd Leave from the Queen to go Abroad for ſome Time, ſince all Mat-

Another Aſſociation ſubſcrib'd to defend the Queen and E. of *Bothwell*.

ters

ters were quiet in the Kingdom. The Queen at firſt refus'd, but as he urg'd her to grant him that Favour, as a Reward of his paſt Service, ſhe at laſt conſented, and he retir'd to *France*, from whence he convey'd ſecret Letters to the Earl of *Morton*, inſtructing him and his Confederates to carry on his Deſigns. *A. D.* 1567.

The Earl of *Murray* deſires leave to go abroad.

He goes over to *France*.

The Queen finding by ſeveral Accounts that her late Marriage was diſagreeable to ſeveral of her forreign Friends, ſhe ſent over the Biſhop of *Dunblain* to *France*, as her Ambaſſador, to acquaint the King of *France*, and her Uncle's Family of *Guiſe*, with the State of the Affairs of *Scotland*; and with the Manner and Reaſons of her Marriage. She, at the ſame Time, choſe a new Privy-Council, conſiſting of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s the Earls of *Crawford*, *Errol*, *Caſſils*, *Argyle*, *Rotheſs*, *Athole*, *Mariſhal*, *Morton*, *Caithneſs* and *Huntly*, who was Chancellor; and the Lords *Fleming*, *Oliphant*, *Herris*, *Roſs*, and *Boyd*; the Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Roſs*: And appointed four of them to attend the Court, a Month, by ſucceſſive Turns; thinking by this Means ſhe ſhould remove their Diſcontentments, and by ſhewing ſhe could truſt them, they would become her Friends. But of all the aſſociated Lords, none return'd to the Queen's Service with ſincere Reſpect and Loyalty, but the Earl of *Argyle* and the Lord *Boyd*; who never had any other Quarrel with the Queen, but upon Account of Religion: And they advis'd at this Time, that ſhe might iſſue a Proclamation, to declare all former Tollerations given to the *Roman* Catholicks, to be void and of no Effect; and to grant no further Freedom to them than private Worſhip, according to the firſt Act, made at her return from *France*.

The Queen ſends the Biſhop of *Dunblain* to excuſe her Marriage to the King of *France* and her Uncle.

A new Privy Council choſen.

Some Borderers having committed ſeveral Outrages among their Neighbours, the Queen caus'd iſſue a Proclamation, ordering the Subjects to arm and accompany her with fifteen Days Proviſion (according to ancient Cuſtom) to ſuppreſs thoſe Tumults.

The Queen iſſues a Proclamation to raiſe Forces to ſuppreſs the Borderers, which is miſinterpreted by the factious Nobles.

The aſſociated Lords having conſulted the Purport of this Proclamation, they gave it out, that the Queen, and the Duke of *Orkney* her Husband, intended nothing leſs than to employ the Forces now to be levied, to take the young Prince from the Earl of *Marr*, and to diſpoſe of him as they might think moſt for their Intereſt.

The Queen being very much afflicted to find that her Enemies had miſrepreſented her Intentions ſo to the People, gave over her intended Expedition to the Borders, and iſſu'd a third Proclamation, or rather Declaration, wherein ſhe aſſur'd her Subjects of her Good-will to them; and that ſhe never deſign'd to do any thing againſt the Laws of the Kingdom, nor meddle with any thing of publick Matters, without the Advice of her Council. And as for her Son, ſhe had given him into the Hand of a good Governor, that her motherly Care and Affection ſhould be always for his Safety, and good Education, when capable of it.

A ſecond Proclamation by the Queen.

The Queen having retir'd to *Borthwick* Caſtle with her Husband, the aſſociated Peers conveen'd all their Friends at *Stirling*; and having reſolv'd to ſuppreſs the Queen before ſhe could have Forces in readineſs, they directed their March towards the Caſtle, but as the Duke of *Orkney* had gone to *Dunbar* before he had Notice of their March, the Queen wanting a ſufficient Guard to Defend herſelf, made her Eſcape out of the Caſtle in Diſguiſe, and went ſtraight to *Dunbar*, where being once ſhelter'd, reſolv'd to ſtay till ſhe might have the Aſſiſtance of her loyal Subjects.

She goes to *Borthwick*.

The Aſſociators conveen at *Stirling*, and intend to ſurpriſe the Queen.

The Queen makes her Eſcape, and goes to *Dunbar*.

The Rebels finding their firſt Attempt fruſtrated, they retir'd to *Edinburgh*, and there fortify'd the City, and employ'd the Preachers to proclaim from the Pulpits, that their Deſigns were to revenge the late King's Murder, committed by the Earl of *Bothwell*, to make way for his Marriage with the Queen: By this Means they perſuaded the ignorant Multitude to believe all that they invented for their Purpoſe.

The Rebels return to *Edinburgh*.

Mean time ſeveral loyal Subjects came in to the Queen at *Dunbar*, and offer'd to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in her Majeſty's Defence; whereof when the Rebels had Notice, they conſider'd, that as their Rebellion was

A. D. 1567. ſo publick, they could make no other Defence but by open Force, therefore publiſh'd a Manifeſto, wherein (after a Preamble of pretended Grievances) they made a long Narration of the Circumſtances of the King's Murder, committed by the Earl of *Bothwell*, who had afterwards us'd violent Means to compel the Queen to marry him, and that he intended to deſtroy the young Prince, to ſecure the Throne to his own Children; or, leſt he ſhould (when of Age) call him to account for his Father's Murder: For thoſe Reaſons, they intended to ſecure the Perſon of the Prince, to deliver the Queen, and to ſecure and eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion; wherefore they charg'd all loyal Subjects to be ready in three Hours, to march where there might be Occaſion out of the City. This Manifeſto, or Proclamation, was publiſh'd at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, by the Sound of Trumpets, upon the 12th Day of *June*.

This Pretence of Religion and Loyalty to the Queen and Prince, gain'd ſo upon the Mob, that all the Rebels were huzza'd through the Streets, and their Names ſo cry'd up in City and Country, that People flock'd unto them from all Places ſo ſpeedily, that they had a powerful Army to diſpute the Soveraignity againſt the Queen, and all ſuch as had employ'd their Intereſt in raiſing Forces to her Aſſiſtance.

The Ringleaders of the Rebels were, the Earls of *Morton*, *Marr*, *Glencairn*, and *Athole*; the Lords *Semple*, *Sanquhar*, and *Lindſay*; Secretary *Lethington*; the Lairds of *Drumlanrig*, *Tullibarden*, and *Grange*: Of whom, the Earl of *Athole* and ſome of his Friends abandon'd their Party, and was going to join the Queen, but *Lethington* manag'd him ſo, that he brought him back to join them again.

At this Time the Reform'd Preachers were buſy in all Places to perſuade the People to credit the Rebels Manifeſto; and as Mr. *Knox*, the moſt eminent among them, was engag'd in their Cauſe, he exerted himſelf with the utmoſt Zeal for their Succeſs.

The Queen being adviſ'd to ſhew herſelf in the Field with her Friends, ſo as not only to hinder the encreaſing of the Rebels Army, but likewiſe to encourage her Friends to come to her Aſſiſtance: Whereupon ſhe left *Dunbar*, and came to *Seaton*, from whence ſhe went to *Carberry-hill*; where ſhe, with her Husband the Duke of *Orkney*, and ſeveral other Noblemen, at the Head of a ſmall Army, witneſs'd the reading of a Proclamation, wherein it was narrated, *That the Rebels having in vain endeavour'd to ſeize her Majeſty at* Borthwick-*Caſtle*, *they had retir'd to* Edinburgh, *where they had publiſh'd a ſcandalous and ſeditious Paper; pretending that they meant no more than revenging of her late Husband's Murder, and to relieve her out of the Hands of the Duke of* Orkney *her Husband, whom they affirm'd to be the Author of the ſaid heinous Crime, and that he intended to commit the like upon the Perſon of her Son. Whereas their real Intention was no more than to make the Safety of the Infant Prince a Pretence to rebel againſt their Soveraign the Queen; ſo that after dethroning her, they might rule the Nation at their Pleaſure; the Truth of which appear'd by the Duke of* Orkney's *Innocence, he having voluntarily ſurrender'd himſelf Priſoner, and undergone a fair Trial, and was acquitted both by the Judge and Jury, as alſo by the Eſtates of Parliament: And as for that Captivity from which they pretended to relieve her, they themſelves, and many more knew, that her Marriage was contracted and ſolemniz'd publickly, even with their own ſpecial Conſent, under their Hands and Seals, which remain'd as a Teſtimony againſt them: Having therefore out of Neceſſity, and not Choice, taken Arms for her own Defence, ſhe doubted not of the Aſſiſtance of her good Subjects, and the Courage of thoſe who were preſent, promiſing a Reward to all ſuch as would fight in her Defence againſt the Rebels.*

A Proclamation by the Queen at *Carberry-hill*.

The Rebels hearing of the Queen's Proclamation, they left *Edinburgh* upon the 14th of *June*, and came ſtraight within Sight of the Queen's Army; whereupon Monſieur *la Crote* the *French* Ambaſſador came and met them.

He

He endeavour'd to accomodate Matters, by giving them Aſſurance, that the Queen was inclin'd to Peace, and would freely forget the preſent Inſurrection and all paſt Offences. But the Earl of *Morton* (who was the Leader of the Rebels) anſwer'd the Ambaſſador, *That as they had not taken Arms againſt the Queen, but the Murderer of the late King, no Peace could be made, unleſs ſhe deliver'd him into their Hands, to be puniſh'd according to his Merit.* The Ambaſſador us'd ſeveral Arguments to bring the Earl to peaceable Terms, but all prov'd ineffectual. He at laſt told the Ambaſſador, *That they had no need to ask Pardon for their own Offences, but could rather give Pardon to thoſe who had offended them.* So the Ambaſſador left the Rebels, and went to *Edinburgh*. *A. D.* 1567.

The Rebels Army being far ſuperior to the Queen's, and well ſupply'd with Proviſions, they ſtood firm to their Deſigns, and reſolv'd not to loſe the Opportunity of obtaining their Ends: Whereas the Queen's Forces, who were few in Number, and wanting ſufficient Store of Proviſion, they begun to drop off; therefore ſhe deſir'd her Husband, the Duke of *Orkney*, to retire to *Dunbar* for Safety, ſince the Rebels were ſo intent upon his Deſtruction: To which Advice he gave Obedience, and departed from the Army and went to *Dunbar*. So ſoon as he was gone, the Queen ſent for the Laird of *Grange* out of the Rebels Army, and being come to her Majeſty, ſhe told him, "That there were Puniſhments inflicted on Rebels in another "World as well as this: That all indifferent Perſons would look upon the "Revenge of her late Husband King *Henry*'s Murder, as a bare-fac'd Pre- "tence, ſince they themſelves had not only voted the Duke her Husband in- "nocent, but likewiſe preſs'd her to marry; and if now by Force they "ſought to diſannul the Marriage, it was contrary to Juſtice or Reaſon: "But ſhe found that they aim'd at nothing leſs than her Ruine, ſo that du- "ring the long Minority of her Son, they might be abſolute Maſters of all "Things. Yet Juſt Heavens would never let ſuch Wickedneſs eſcape unpu- "niſh'd: That tho' then ſhe was too weak to reſiſt their Power, yet doubt- "ed not the Aſſiſtance of Friends at home, and from abroad, to reſent this "Treachery. That as Rebellion would produce conſtant Wars and Tu- "mults, ſhe would be ſo indulgent to her People, as not only to forget what "was paſt, but likewiſe to enact ſuch Laws, as would ſecure the Proteſtant "Religion from all future Danger.

The Laird of *Grange* comes to the Queen.

Her Speech to him.

The Laird of *Grange*, who was zealous for the Rebels Intereſt, replied to the Queen, "That all that they intended was for her Advantage: That if "the Duke her Husband would undergo a new Trial, it would be great Sa- "tisfaction to the Publick: That they were willing to preſerve the Privi- "leges of Birth-right, which had been maintain'd by their Predeceſſors; "and tho' then the People were prone to change, yet they would aſſiſt and "ſtand by her Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes.

His Anſwer.

The Queen being deſtitute of all Friends about her, to have their Advice, ſhe was ſo very credulous as to believe the fair Speeches of her Enemies, and diſpelling all Thoughts ſhe had entertain'd of their Diſloyalty, ſhe now re- ceiv'd them all as Friends, and not as Conſpirators and cruel Enemies; and hoping to be generouſly us'd, ſhe went freely with the Laird of *Grange*; who return'd with the utmoſt Joy to the Rebels, that he had the Queen his Priſoner: And ſo ſoon as her Majeſty came to the Front of the Rebels Army, being receiv'd by the Noblemen and principal Officers of the Party, ſhe made the following ſhort Speech:

The Queen gives herſelf up to the Rebels.

I am come to you (my Lords) but not out of any Fear I had of my Life, nor deſpairing of Victory, if Matters had gone to the utmoſt; but becauſe I abhor the ſheding of Chriſtian Blood, eſpecially that of my own Subjects; 'tis for that Reaſon I freely yielded unto you, and will be hereafter rul'd by your Councils, truſting you will uſe me as a Princeſs, and one that was born your Queen.

Her Speech to them.

About ſeven a-Clock that Night they brought her to *Edinburgh*, where, inſtead of letting her lodge in her own Palace, they carried her Majeſty to the Lord Provoſt's houſe, fronting the High-ſtreet; and as ſhe enter'd the

The Queen is carried to *Edinburgh*.

A. D. 1567. City cover'd with Duſt, they caus'd the Mob to inſult her with the moſt opprobrious Language, charging her with the Death of her late Husband, which made her burſt out into Tears. Yet this Piece of moſt baſe Inſolence ſhe bore with ſuch Patience and Fortitude of Mind, as became a Queen and Chriſtian. But what was moſt afflicting to her was, when ſhe open'd her Windows next Morning, ſhe ſaw a ſtrong Guard plac'd about the Houſe, having their Banner diſplay'd in the Street, whereon they had painted the late King her Husband lying dead beneath the Shade of a Tree, with his Son the young Prince by his Side, and the Motto, *Judge and revenge my Cauſe O LORD.*

She is barbarouſly us'd by the Rebels.

At this afflicting Sight ſhe burſt out into Tears and loud Complaints, againſt the Treachery and Malice of her Enemies; and beg'd of the People who guarded her, to take her miſerable Life to ſatisfy their Cruelty, or to relieve her from the Hands of ſuch inhumane and perfidious Tyrants. The better Sort of People were poſſeſs'd with ſo much Compaſſion, and knew ſo much of the common Fame of the Rebels, that they intended to ſet the Queen at Liberty, if the Conſpirators had not immediately come and diſpers'd the People; and going up to the Room where ſhe ſtood, they came before her, and proteſted that they were ſorry for having given her any Cauſe of Complaint: That they never intended to deprive her Majeſty of Freedom, but would inſtantly reſtore her to her Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, and to full Power and Authority over her Subjects as ſhe had formerly been. By this Means they perſuaded her to appear pleas'd to the People, whereupon they were entirely diſpers'd; ſo the Rebels, to prevent any further Danger of her being reſcu'd, and the more eaſily to diſguiſe their Deſignes, they firſt carried her to the Palace, where they being conveen'd in Council, among themſelves determin'd, to ſend her Majeſty Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Lochleven* in *Fife*, where ſhe might remain during her Life, and that the Royal Authority ſhould be transfer'd to her Son the Infant Prince: Whereby they might have the Managment of all Affairs to themſelves. The Reaſon of their condeſcending upon this Place for her Impriſonment was, that the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was ſtill kept in the Queen's Name by Sir *James Balfour*; and that *George Dowglaſs* of *Lochleven*, who dwelt then in that Caſtle, being married to the Earl of *Murray*'s Mother, was very much in her Son and the Earl of *Morton*'s Intereſt, and was an inveterate Enemy to the Queen; therefore would be the more watchful over her Actions, and guard her from eſcaping. This Caſtle is ſituated in the Loch, and almoſt half a Mile from the neareſt Part of Land to it. Yet, tho' *George Dowglaſs* was ſo much in the Rebels Intereſt, he would not, at firſt, conſent to the Queen's Impriſonment, nor would he agree to take her into his Caſtle, until the Earl of *Morton* us'd many Arguments, and oblig'd himſelf and all the other Members of the Aſſociation by a Bond, under their Hands and Seals, to indemnify him from all future Danger upon that Account.

The Citizens intend to releaſe her.

The Night that the Queen was convey'd privately by the Lords *Lindſay* and *Ruthven* to the Loch, the Lords of *Seaton*, *Yeſter*, and *Borthwick*, with the Lairds of *Waughton*, *Baſs*, *Ormiſton*, *Wedderburn*, *Blackadder*, and *Langton*, muſter'd their Servants and Tenants, in order to reſcue the Queen, but the Rebels having Notice of their March, ſent her Majeſty privately away, with the two Lords before-mention'd.

The Queen carried Priſoner to *Lochleven* Caſtle.

The Queen was no ſooner impriſon'd than the Rebels gave out, that ſhe had hinder'd their uſing Means to find out the late King's Murderers; therefore to make good this Pretence, they caus'd ſhut all the Gates of the City of *Edinburgh*, and made diligent Search in all Parts of the Town, and Suburbs; whereupon two Men were ſeiz'd, the one a *Frenchman*, nam'd *Sebaſtin de Villars*, the other Capt. *William Blackadder*. The Rebels order'd their Trial to be expeditious, and appointed ſuch a Judge and Jury as ſhould by any Means find them guilty. While they were bringing to their Trial, the *Frenchman* made his Eſcape, but Capt. *Blackadder* was ſentenc'd to be hang'd. When he was brought to Execution, many People flock'd

flock'd about the Scaffold, expecting to have heard ſome great Diſcovery; but inſtead of that, he only pray'd to GOD to pardon the Sins of his paſt Life; and deſir'd the Standers-by to put up their Prayers in his Behalf; declaring his Forgiveneſs of all Men, eſpecially thoſe who had unjuſtly put him to Death; for he ſolemnly proteſted before GOD and his Angels, that he was innocent of the Crime for which he was to ſuffer; and that he believ'd the Earls of *Morton* and *Murray* were the Authors of the King's Murder. *A. D.* 1567. Capt. *Blackadder* executed. *Cambd.* B. 1. p. 97.

At this Time the Earl of *Glencairn*, with a Party, broke open the Queen's Chapel of the Abby of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, and broke down the Altar, with all other Things belonging to it; and carried away all the Veſſels, and other Things of Value. This Action was very grateful to the Common-people and all the Reform'd, yet very offenſive to the Earl of *Atholl* and ſeveral other of the aſſociated Lords. They having been brought in to join the Rebels under Pretence of Relation to the late King, whoſe Death they pretended to revenge; but upon the Confeſſion of Capt. *Blackadder*, ſome of them forſook their Faction: However the Aſſociators were reſolv'd to purſue their Deſigns with ſuch Vigour and Activity, as would deprive all the Queen's Friends of any Means or Hopes of doing any Thing for her Relief.

Notwithſtanding of Capt. *Blackadder*'s Confeſſion, yet the Earl of *Morton* (who acted in Truſt for the Earl of *Murray*) who was chief of the Aſſociators, order'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd in all the Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, offering a Reward to any who would apprehend the Duke of *Orkney*, ſometime Earl of *Bothwell*; who was therein declar'd to be ſole Author of the late King's Murder. A Proclamation by the Rebels.

The Noblemen of the Kingdom who had ſtood neuter all this Time, now ſeeing the Aſſociators uſe ſuch Violence againſt the Queen, they begun to conſider it their Duty to appear in her Majeſty's Cauſe; but as they had but a ſmall Party to aſſiſt them, againſt ſo many Enemies, they found it would be dangerous to make any Appearance. The chief Perſon of thoſe who were loyal, was the Duke of *Chattlerault*, and his Kindred of the Name of *Hamilton*. The Queen having ſent the Duke over to *France* the Year before, to take Care of her Dowary and other Affairs in that Nation, ſhe now ſtood more in need of his Service and Aſſiſtance at home, than any where elſe.

Mean time the Rebels, or Aſſociators, found nothing wanting to carry on their Affairs but Money, wherefore they broke open the Queen's Palace, and ſeiz'd her Majeſty's Plate, to the Bulk of 256 Pound Weight; which they melted down, and caus'd it to be coin'd, according to the current Species of the Kingdom.

Whilſt thoſe Things were thus illegally acted, the Queen of *England* ſent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, as her Ambaſſador, with a Pretence of making Peace between the Queen and her Subjects, tho' her chief Aim was to have Intelligence how Matters ſtood in the Nation, ſo that ſhe might manage both Parties, as either of them ſhould prove moſt anſwerable to her Intereſt.

The aſſociated Lords having ſuch Succeſs in their Proceedings then, that nothing could put a Stop to their Intentious of laying aſide the Queen, and inveſting the Infant Prince with the Name of King; ſo that they might make their Rebellion appear to be carry'd on by a pretended Authority of Law; whereby they might be ſcreen'd from the publick Cenſure of their own, and other Nations. But they found, that unleſs the Queen conſented to have herſelf depos'd, and her rebellious Subjects warranted from under her own Hand to do ſo, their Actions might be ſome Time call'd in Queſtion: Therefore they appointed the Lords *Lindſay* and *Ruthven* to go to the Queen, to deſire a voluntary Reſignation of the Crown to her Infant Son. The Queen receiv'd their Meſſage with the utmoſt Amazement at firſt; yet upon Conſultation with her beſt Friends, and their telling her, that a Reſignation extorted from her Majeſty during her unjuſt Captivity, could noways prejudice her Right; and as the Lord *Lindſay* had come a ſecond Time, and had

A. D. 1567. threaten'd her Majeſty with no leſs than danger of her Life, ſhe at laſt ſign'd an Inſtrument, wherein they appointed their chief Director the Earl of *Murray* Regent during the Prince's Minority; and in caſe he ſhould decline the Office; the Duke of *Chattlerault*, the Earls of *Lenox*, *Argyle*, *Morton*, *Glencairn*, and *Marr*, were appointed conjunct Governors of the Nation. The Aſſociators having once obtain'd this Commiſſion, they ſummond all the Nobility of the Nation to repair to *Stirling*, to aſſiſt at the Coronation of the young King; and to make this Summons the more forcible, they caus'd the Reſignation and Commiſſion to be proclaim'd at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, upon the 26th of *July*.

The Queen is compell'd to reſign the Government to her Son.

The Aſſociators ſummon the Subjects to the Coronation of the young Prince.

As by this Reſignation (however ſo unjuſtly obtain'd) the Queen gave up all her Pretenſions to the Sovereignity to the Rebels; they deſpis'd all ſuch as made any Objection againſt the Legality of their Proceedings: And altho' 'tis true, that ſome of the Queen's beſt Friends once adviſ'd her Majeſty to comply with their Deſires, to prevent ſuch Plots as they might contrive againſt her Life, yet could not diſanul it afterwards.

The end of Queen *Mary*'s Reign.

Here ends the unhappy Reign of this good, tho' moſt unfortunate Queen, over her Kingdom of *Scotland*. Her Captivity and Releaſe in her own Kingdom, as alſo the Continuation of her more deplorable Captivity, lamentable Sufferings, and Death in *England* will be the Subject of a great Part of the ſucceeding Reign of her Son, who in his Infancy was made uſe of to paliate all the Treachery and Rebellion of his Mother's Enemies.

JAMES VI. *The* 108. *King of* Scotland.

James VI. Crown'd King.

JAMES, the Son of *Henry* and *Mary* King and Queen of *Scotland*, was Crown'd at *Stirling* the 29th of *July*, 1567. by *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkney*, aſſiſted by the Earl of *Atholl*, in the Royal Chapel. The Earl of *Atholl*, carried the Crown, the Earl of *Glencairn* the Sword of Honour, and the young King was carried by the Earl of *Marr*, he being then a Year, a Month, and ten Days old.

The Queen had no ſooner been compell'd to ſign this Reſignation than the Earl of *Murray* had Notice thereof at the Court of *France*, and immediately deſir'd Leave of the King to return to *Scotland*, to aſſiſt the Queen as he pretended, tho' he himſelf was her greateſt Enemy, and preſcrib'd Means to the Aſſociators how to accompliſh his Deſigns, while he abſented himſelf. He arriv'd firſt in *England*, where he was receiv'd with all Marks of Friendſhip by the Queen and Court, and concerting ſome further Deſigns, he ſet forward for *Scotland*; and coming to *Berwick*, the Aſſociators ſent Sir *James Melvil* of *Hallhill*, to meet and welcome him; deſiring him to take the Government upon him, according to the Tenor of the Commiſſion: He at the ſame time had Letters of Advice from ſome of his Confederates in the late Murder; wherein they intreated him not to attack the captive Queen in any Heat or Reſentment, but rather to appear courteous and thankful to her for the Honour ſhe had done him, in truſting the Nation to his Care. By this Means they thought that they might prevail with the tender Hearted Queen, to forgive all that they had done againſt her Honour and Intereſt.

The Earl of *Murray* then in *France*, deſires leave to return to *Scotland*.

The Earl, out of feign'd Modeſty, ſeem'd at firſt to decline the great Charge of the Government; but finding the Earl of *Morton* his Co-partner, he was very willing to accept of it, or a ſhare of it; and told them he would be ready to do any thing in his Power, that could contribute to the felicity of the Nation and Subjects. Upon the 11th of *Auguſt* the Earl of *Murray* arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, where he was receiv'd by the Aſſociators with the utmoſt Teſtimonies of Joy, and upon their firſt Meeting they pre-

prefix'd him to take the Government upon him: Whereupon he again feign'd ſome Reluctance, and deſir'd ſome Days to Conſider; which was no more than Policy, to have Time to try what was to be done with the Loyaliſts. He in the firſt Place wrote ſeveral Letters to them, declaring that tho' all that were careful of the young King's Safety had perſwaded him to accept of the Regency; yet conſidering how great and dangerous a Burden it was, he wou'd decline accepting of it, until ſuch Time as they and all good *Scotſmen* might meet, and come to a Reſolution, in ſuch Methods as they might find moſt neceſſary, to govern the Kingdom; ſince the Kingdom and People had no other Head than an Infant. The Loyaliſts return'd no immediate Anſwer to his Letter, but told the Meſſengers that they would conſider of it, and deliver their Mind in ſhort time. Mean time the Earl of *Murray* went to viſit the captive Queen in *Lochleven*; and notwithſtanding of the Advice, of his ſomewhat more moderate Confederates, he inſtead of ſhewing her Majeſty, ſuch Reſpect as was due to her Dignity, inſulted her with moſt opprobrious Language, charging her to her Face, with the moſt heinous Crime of Murder, of which he himſelf had been the Author. And told her, before all thoſe that waited upon him, that her Afflictions, were no more than the juſt Puniſhments, of her Sins againſt GOD; and that what ſhe had ſuffer'd, was no more than an Earneſt of what ſhe might expect to come. *A. D.* 1567.

The Earl of *Murray*'s Inſolence to the Queen.

The afflicted Queen hearing this, and much more ſuch inſolent and unjuſt Accuſations; ſhe burſt out into Tears, and conjur'd him by all the Promiſes and Proteſtations, of Fidelity and Loyalty, he had ſo often repeated, and the Reſpect due to a Siſter, that he would not Stain her Reputation, ſince ſhe was innocent of all thoſe Crimes, moſt maliciouſly invented againſt her by her Enemies; and told him, it was his Duty to defend her Character and Life. To which he inſolently reply'd, *Your Reputation is already loſt, as for your Life the Parliament muſt look to that*; and ſo without the leaſt Reſpect, flung out of the Room. While the Queen complain'd to thoſe that attended her, of this moſt barbarous and unexpected Uſage, of the Earl of *Murray*, ſhe was no leſs inſulted by his Mother, in whoſe Cuſtody ſhe then was: For ſhe told the Queen, that ſhe was the lawful Wife of her late Father, King *James* V. and her Son *Murray* was the only lawful Heir of the Crown, tho', ſhe ſaid, *He is too Honeſt to ſay ſo himſelf.* This Lady who pretended being married to King *James*, was *Margaret Erskin*, Daughter to the Lord *Erskin*; and Married to *George Dowglaſs* of *Lochleven*, and was upon her marriage Night carried away by the King and kept till ſhe was brought to Bed of the Earl of *Murray*; and return'd to her Husband, to whom ſhe bare *William Dowglaſs*, who was afterwards Earl of *Morton*, *Robert Dowglaſs* who by marrying the Heireſs, became Earl of *Buchan*, and *George Dowglaſs*, whoſe Aſſiſtance to the Queen will be mention'd in its Place.

The Earl of *Murray* declar'd Regent.

Whilſt the Queen continu'd in this deplorable Captivity, the Loyaliſts aſſembled at *Hamilton* Caſtle, and inſtead of anſwering the Letters, ſent by the Earl of *Murray*; they reſolv'd to adhere to the Queen, according to their dutiful Allegiance, without acknowledging the uſurp'd Power of the Aſſociators. But the Behaviour of the Loyaliſts did not diſcourage the Rebels, ſo they met at *Stirling* upon the 22d of *Auguſt*, and unanimouſly Elected the Earl of *Murray* ſole and lawful Regent of the Kingdom during the Minority of *James* VI. King of *Scotland*. His firſt Care was to get all the Caſtles, and places of Strength of the Kingdom into his Hands; and finding the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* had been ſtill kept by Sir *James Balfour* in the Queen's Name, he ſent to offer him large Gifts upon his Surrender. Sir *James* knowing the Earl's Cruelty, was glad to accept of his offers, and ſurrender'd it upon the Conditions, 1. *That he ſhould have a free Remiſſion of all Crimes that would be lay'd to his Charge.* 2. *That he ſhould have the Donation of the Priory of* Pittenweem. 3. *That his Son ſhould have a yearly Penſion out of the Revenue of St.* Andrew's. 4. *That he ſhould have* 5000l. *paid*

Sir *James Balfour* gives up the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* to the Regent.

A. D. 1567. *paid down upon his March out of the Caſtle, which ſhould be given to the Laird of* Grange.

The Regent comes to *Edinburgh* Caſtle.

The ſame Night that the Caſtle was given up, the new Regent went with ſeveral of his Friends into it, and lay in the ſame Bed where the Queen had been ſome time before deliver'd; and in the ſame Room where the good Queen had refus'd to Impriſon the Earl of *Murray* at the requeſt of the Earls of *Bothwell*, *Huntly* and Lord Biſhop of *Roſs*, who declar'd to her Majeſty that the Earl had reſolv'd to bring home the Lords who were baniſh'd for the Death of *David Rizio*, and had other Plots againſt her Majeſty's Intereſt: But the Queen had ſuch a good Opinion of his Profeſſions of Loyalty and Readineſs to ſerve her; that ſhe was unfortunately incredulous to true Informations of his Treachery, which if ſhe had prevented, would have remov'd the greateſt Cauſes of her Calamities.

Grange ſent with Ships to purſue the Earl of *Bothwell*.

The Regent hearing about this time, that the Duke of *Orkney* (who after ſome Days ſtay in the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, had gone to the Iſles of *Orkney* by Sea with a few Ships) was deny'd Acceſs to enter the Caſtle of *Kirkwall*, and that he then kept the Seas; the Laird of *Grange* was appointed by the Council to take Ships, and purſue and take him; ſo that he being once out of the Way, they might not be in any Danger of being charg'd with the late King's Murder.

Grange went North with ſuch Expedition, that he came to the *Orkneys* before the Duke had any Notice of his coming as an Enemy; and being then at Anchor with all his Ships, he ſet to Sea, and was ſo cloſe Purſu'd by *Grange* (whoſe Ships and Forces were twice his Number) that he run ſome of his Ships upon a Sand Bank, where the Ship call'd the *Unicorn* of *Leith* was taken by *Grange*, and ſeveral of the Men hang'd as Pirates, and the reſt very ſeverly us'd.

Bothwell is eſcap'd from *Grange*, but is taken and carried Priſoner to *Denmark*.

The Duke having eſcap'd to Sea, he was for ſome Days upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, where he ſaw a *Turky* Ship which he thought to make a Prize of; but there came ſeveral *Norwegians* to aſſiſt the Merchant Ship, and ſet upon the Duke's Ships, ſo that after a ſtout Reſiſtance, he was at laſt forc'd to yield himſelf Priſoner, and was carried to a Goal, where he was made cloſe Priſoner. The Regent hearing of his being taken and ſecur'd, ſent over Commiſſioners to the King of *Denmark*, deſiring he might ſend the Earl of *Bothwell* over to *Scotland*, that he might ſuffer examplary Puniſhment for the Murder of the King. The King of *Denmark* knowing by what Authority he had come to the Power he then enjoy'd; told the Commiſſioners, *That he knew no Authority the Subjects could have to demand any Priſoner from him; that if the King had been murder'd, the Queen was the moſt proper Perſon to order the Murderers to be proſecuted and puniſh'd.* This Denyal the Regent took as a great Affront, yet was not in a Capacity then to reſent it.

The Regent deſires to have him ſent to *Scotland*.

The K. of *Denmark*'s Anſwer to the Regent.

His Death. and Character.

The unfortunate Duke was ſtill confin'd Priſoner for the Space of near ten Years, and at laſt died a natural Death, tho' by ſome alleg'd that he died mad. He was one of the handſomeſt Men of his Time, and a Man of undoubted Courage, notwithſtanding of the falſe Aſperſions of his Enemies. He had been General of the Army under the Queen-Regent, and acquitted himſelf with great Bravery. He was always a conſtant Loyaliſt, and being the Chief of an ancient Noble Family, had many Followers and Dependers which made his Power great, which rais'd his Ambition. He had been very laviſh in his Expence, which brought his Circumſtances to be low for ſome time, and made him liable to be led into wicked Meaſures by crafty Perſons. It was generally believ'd that the Earls of *Morton* and *Murray* had brought him into the Plot to Murder the King, tho' the Fact was never prov'd againſt him. It was affirm'd by good Authority, that during his Impriſonment in *Denmark*, and at his Death, that he declar'd ſolemnly, *That the Queen was innocent of the knowledge of the King's Murder, or of any thing charg'd againſt her by the Rebels:* Whereupon her Enemies gave it out, that he died Mad, and did not know what he then ſaid.

His Declaration of the Queen's being innocent of the King's Death.

The

The Queen finding that the Regent and his Confederates put all her Enemies in publick Employment; and none that had at any time appear'd in her Intereſt, were to be employ'd in any publick Office, ſhe might well foreſee, that they had no deſign to reſtore her to Liberty: Therefore ſent to thoſe of the Nobility who had forſaken the Aſſociators, ſuch as the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lords *Boyd*, *Livingſton* and Commendator of *Kilwining*, deſiring that they would repreſent to the Regent and his Aſſociates, *That her Conſent to Crown the Prince, or make the Earl of* Murray *Regent, was not Spontaneous, but Extorted: And that if there were a Neceſſity for a Regent, none could be ſo fit, nor had ſo good a Right, as* James *Duke of* Chattlerault. *A. D.* 1568.

The Queen ſends a Meſſage to the Regent.

The above-mention'd Perſons went to the Regent, and repreſented the Matter to him, and enter'd into a Treaty for the Queen's Liberation: But the Regent dealt ſo ſubtily with them, that he would not give any Cauſe of Offence either to the Queen or them. So told them, *That as the Duke was then Abroad, it would not be proper to Reſign what he had been oblig'd againſt his Will to accept of*; *and as for the Queen's Liberty, that Matters were then ſo very tickliſh, that it would endanger her Life to be at Liberty, or to appear publickly. Nor could thoſe who had ſworn Oaths to her Son, periure themſelves, after they had taken Oaths to maintain his Government.* This Anſwer the Regent gave to procure Time to deliberate his Deſigns, ſo that he might not be ſuddenly put to a Nonplus, and fearing the ſpeedy return of the Duke of *Chattlerault*, he call'd a Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh* the 19th of *December*; and to ſtrengthen his Intereſt in the Government, he ſtudied to have all the Caſtles and Places of Strength, in his Hands by that Time.

The Regent's Anſwer.

The firſt Place he ſummon'd was the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, which was held by the Laird of *Whitelaw* for the Queen, nor would he, for ſome Time ſurrender upon any Terms: But finding no Appearance of Supply, he was oblig'd to give it up; whereupon the Regent caus'd carry all the great Guns from it to *Edinburgh* Caſtle, and caus'd demoliſh *Dunbar* Caſtle, with ſeveral other Places of Strength in the Kingdom, eſpecially where he imagin'd they would be of Service to the Queen's Party.

The Loyaliſts, hearing of the Time appointed for the Meeting of the Parliament, they ſent the Commendator of *Kilwining* immediately over to *France*, to haſten Home the Duke of *Chattlerault* to head their Party: But he did not come over at that Time, nor ſome Time after; however his ſecond Son, Lord *John Hamilton*, was the moſt active Man among the Loyaliſts, and acted very honourably with Regard to the Queen.

The Parliament being met at *Edinburgh* the Day abovemention'd, the Aſſociators had their Election of the Earl of *Murray* as Regent confirm'd and regiſter'd. In this Parliament they caus'd proclaim the Duke of *Orkney* (who was Earl of *Bothwell* before) a Traitor and Murderer, and to be reputed ſo by all the King's good Subjects. The Loyaliſts, who were deſirous of Peace, and the Queen's Freedom, ſent ſome of their Party to the Earl of *Murray*, telling him, *That they were reſolv'd to attend the Parliament, and would agree, that all Matters ſhould be legally decided by a Majority of Voices: But conſidering, that the City and Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *were poſſeſſed by their Enemies, whoſe Party were numerous and ſtrong, they could not ſafely venture, without reaſonable Security for their Perſons, during the Time of their Stay in the City.*

Though this Propoſal was judg'd reaſonable by the better Sort of Perſons among the Aſſociators, yet the Regent and his chief Adherents exclaim'd againſt it, as being a Means to creat Diviſions and Jealouſie among the King's good Subjects; therefore threw the Repreſentation out of Doors: Which being made known to the Loyaliſts, they again met at *Hamilton*, and drew up, and ſubſcrib'd the following Bond of Aſſociation to relieve and defend the Queen.

Bond of Aſſociation by the Loyaliſts to deliver the Queen.

FORASMUCH as the Queen's Majeſty, our Sovereign, is detain'd at Loch leven *in Captivity*; *ſo that the moſt Part of her Majeſty's Subjects cannot have free*

A. D. 1568. *free Access to her Highness: And seeing it becomes us of our Duty, to seek her Liberty and Freedom; we Earls, Lords, and Barons under subscribing, promise faithfully to use the utmost of our Endeavours, by all reasonable Means, to procure her Majesty's Freedom and Liberty upon such honest Conditions, as may consist with her Majesty's Honour, the common Well of the whole Realm, and Security of the whole Nobility, who at present have her Majesty in keeping; whereby this our native Country may be govern'd, rul'd, and guided by her Majesty and Nobility, for the common Quietness, the Administration of Justice, and the Well of the Country. And in case the Noblemen, who at present have her Majesty in their Hands, refuse to set her at Liberty, upon such reasonalle Conditions as said is, in that Case, we shall employ our selves, our Kindred, Friends, Servants, and Partakers, our Bodies and Lives, to set her Highness at Liberty, as said is: And also to concur to the Punishment of the Murder of the King, her Majesty's Husband; and for sure Preservation of the Person of the Prince, as we shall answer to God, and on our own Honours and Credit; and to that Effect, shall concur every one with another to the utmost of our Power. And if any shall set upon us, or any of us, for the doing as aforesaid; in that case, we promise faithfully to espouse one another's Interest, under Pain of Infamy and Perjury, as we shall answer to God. In Witness whereof, we have subscrib'd these Presents, at* Hamilton, *the 25th of* December, 1567.

St. Andrew's.	Fleeming.
Argyle.	Herries.
Huntly.	Skirling.
Arbroath.	Kilwinning.
Galloway.	William Hamilton of
Ross.	Sanquhar, Knt.

This small Number, who at first subscrib'd, were soon joyn'd by many more Noblemen and Barons of the best Estates of the Nation; and when the Earl of *Murray* had Notice thereof, he order'd a Proclamation commanding all the Subjects to attend him in Arms, in *January* next, upon Pretence of suppressing some Disorderers in the Borders: But to have a more ready Account of the Proceedings of the Loyalists, he went to *Glasgow* to hold Justice Courts.

A Proclamation by the Regent.

In the Beginning of the Year 1568. there was such great Scarcity of Corn in the Kingdom, that the poorer Sort of People were in great Want thereof: The Cause of it was, that the Regent finding great Occasion for Money, and good Markets for Corn Abroad, he and his Confederates caus'd export all they could procure, or purchase in any Part of the Kingdom, without any Regard to the Wants of the People, which ought to have been the chief Consideration of a faithful Governor: But when the People made great Complaints of the constant Exportation of Corn, notwithstanding of the Famine; yet the Regent impos'd no Penalty on such as would transgress that Way, further than seizing of what they could apprhend in the Ships, in Order to be exported after a Prohibition had been for some Time publish'd over the Kingdom.

Great Scarcity of Corn caus'd by the Regent.

In *April*, Monsieur *Beaumont*, Ambassador from the King of *France*, arriv'd in *Scotland*, and went to the Regent, who was still at *Glasgow*, watching the Motions of the Loyalists. When the *French* Ambassador had Audience of the Regent, he put him in Mind of the Promise he had made to the King his Master, of setting the Queen at Liberty, so soon as he could arrive in *Scotland*; therefore it was in his Power, as being Regent, he expected his Promise would be perform'd by that Piece of Justice. The Regent answer'd, *That it was out of his Power to relase the Queen, since she was the Parliament's Prisoner; and as there had been a Meeting of the Parliament, so very late, he could not again conveen them upon that Account; nor could he now, as being Regent, do any Thing, but what he must be accountable of to the next Parliament.*

The King of *France* sends an Ambassador to the Regent, to procure the Queens Liberty.

The Regent's Answer.

By

By this the Ambaſſador ſaw how Matters went, therefore conſider'd it in vain for him to inſiſt on his former Promiſe; therefore gave over any further Solicitation. Mean Time, the Queen having made her Complaint to *George Dowglaſs*, youngeſt Son to the Laird of *Lochleven*; he was ſo much concern'd for her Majeſty's Sufferings, that he freely offer'd his Service in any Thing that might contribute to her Relaſe; whereupon the Queen took Opportunity to tell him, that for the preſent, he ſhould have a Part of what Gold and Jewels ſhe had; and upon her being reſtor'd, he ſhould have the largeſt Rewards that might be in her Power. Upon this Promiſe he engag'd to deliver her Majeſty's Letters to one *John Beaton*, who carried them to *Hamilton* where the chief of the Loyaliſts were, and others to *Seaton*, where an other Party of the Queen's Friends were, with the Lord *Seaton*. At laſt, when they had ſet a Day, being on *Sunday*, the 2d of *May*, *George* Lord *Seaton*, the Lord *Herries*, and *James Hamilton* of *Redbank*, were ready, with a few Attendants well mounted, at the neareſt Part of the Land to the Loch; and the Queen took Boat from a Back-Door, when the whole Family, except *George*, were at their Devotion, in Time of Evening-Service, having none but *George* and two Servants with her, ſhe came ſafe to Land, where they inſtantly mounted her upon a Horſe, and went with the utmoſt Speed towards *Hamilton*. Her Majeſty lay the firſt Night at a Houſe belonging to the Lord *Seaton*, in Weſt *Lothian*, and the next Day came to *Hamilton*, where ſhe was joyfully receiv'd by the Earls of *Argyle*, *Rotheſs*, *Caſſils*, and *Eglington*; the Lords *Somervil*, *Teſter*, *Borthwick*, *Livingſton*, *Herries Maxwel*, *Sanquhar*, *Roſs*, and many other Noblemen and Barons of Diſtinction, with their Friends and Followers, to the Number of a thouſand good Men. Yet tho' they had rais'd this Strength, they ſtill deſir'd to come to an Agreement, ſo that if the Queen might be reſtor'd; therefore ſent a Commiſſioner to the Regent, deſiring he would reſign his Regency, and that the Queen might have Leave to exerciſe her Authority. The Commiſſioners having been admitted, the Regent told him that he was reſolv'd to defend the King's Authority, and his own Office; and inſtead of returning Anſwer by him, he was confin'd to Priſon, and then caus'd Proclamations to be publiſh'd, deſiring all Subjects to be in Readineſs to defend the King's Authority. The Queen likewiſe caus'd a Proclamation to be iſſu'd to the ſame Purpoſe, and ſent Mr. *Beatone* from *Hamilton* to *France* to inform the King how Matters ſtood in *Scotland*, deſiring his Advice and Aſſiſtance. Her Majeſty, having call'd a Council of all the Nobles and Barons who adher'd to her, ſhe ſolemnly declar'd upon Oath, in their Preſence, that the Reſignation of the Government was extorted from her by the Lord *Lindſay*, who had threaten'd her Life in caſe ſhe did not comply with their Requeſt; therefore it was void and of no Effect, as by Law, all Deeds made by Compulſion, or under Captivity, are void and null.

A. D. 1568.

George Dowglaſs offers to aſſiſt the Queen's Eſcape,

which he accompliſhes.

She comes to *Hamilton*.

The Queen's Party deſires the Regeut to reſign.

The Meſſenger imprion'd, and a Proclamation iſſu'd by the Regent.

Another by the Queen.

Upon this Declaration the Nobles unanimouſly determin'd, that the Queen ſhould take Poſſeſſion of *Dunbarton* Caſtle, to remain there, till her faithful Subjects might come to her Aſſiſtance; and that ſhe might call a Parliament to reſcind thoſe illegal Acts of the former, call'd by the Earl of *Murray* and the Rebels, who had aſſiſted him; and to concert ſuch Meaſures as might be neceſſary for the Safety of her Majeſty and the young Prince; as alſo to preſerve Peace for the Good of the Nation.

The Queen proceeds towards *Dunbarton*.

Is met by the Regent with an Army.

Upon the 13th of *March* the Queen begun her March from *Hamilton* towards *Dunbarton*; whereof when the Regent had Notice, he march'd his Army to interrupt her Paſſage. Tho' the Queen at that Time had an Army of near 6000, and the Regent had not above 300, yet; as that 300 were well arm'd from the publick Magazines, and the Queen's were almoſt deſtitute of Arms and Amunition, they were not in any Condition to engage the Regent's Army in Battle; but as he had poſted himſelf in her Way, they could not prevent a Battle, unleſs they had made a ſudden Retreat.

The chief Perſons of the Queen's Army were, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle*, *Rotheſs*, *Caſſils*, *Eglinton*; Lords *Claud* and *John Hamiltons*; the Lords

A. D. 1568. *Herries*, *Seaton*, *Sommervil*, *Fleming*, *Roſs* and *Boyd*; beſides many other Nobles and Gentlemen of good Account. And of the Regent's Army the chief Perſons were, the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencairn*, the Lords *Hume*, *Lindſay*, *Semple*, *Ruthven*, *Graham*, and *Ochiltree*. Both Armies being come in Sight of one another, at a little Village call'd *Langſide* at eight Miles diſtance from *Glaſgow*, they reſolv'd on both Sides to fight; whereupon the Regent ſent the Laird of *Grange* with a ſtrong Party, well arm'd, to attack the Queen's Van guard, and comming upon them ſuddenly, whilſt they were among ſome Ditches and broken Ground, put them into great Confuſion. The Earl of *Argyle* having the chief Command, brought up the whole Strength of their Army, but as they were deſtitute of Ammunition, they were very much worſted by the Regent's ſmall Shot, which continu'd ſome Time with ſuch great Slaughter, that they gave Way, and were totally defeated; which when the Queen ſaw, ſhe, with a few Noblemen and Servants, took her Journey towards *Dumfrees*, where ſhe got the next Day ſafe without Interruption.

They reſolve to fight.

The Queen's Army defeated at *Langſide*.

The Regent purſu'd his Victory the Space of four Miles, and took ſeveral Priſoners, among whom were the Lords *Seaton* and *Roſs*, the Maſters of *Caſſils* and *Eglington*, the Sheriffs of *Air*, *Linlithgow*, Sir *James Hamilton* of *Crawfordjohn*, Sir *James Hamilton* of *Avandale*, *Alexander Hamilton* of *Innerwick*, *James Hamilton* of Nether-*Garren*, *James Hamilton* of *Bothwel-Haugh*, *Alexander Baillie* of *Little-Gile*, the Laird of *Lachope*, *James Herriot* of *Crabtown*, and *William Scott* of *Ballweary*. There were ſeveral Perſons of Note ſlain, eſpecially of the Name of *Hamilton*: But of the Regent's Army few were kill'd, nor any Perſon of Note wounded, except the Lords *Hume* and *Ochiltree*.

The Priſoners taken of the Queen's Side.

After this Victory, the Regent went with all the Priſoners to *Glaſgow* the ſame Night, and the next Day to *Edinburgh*; where he was receiv'd with the utmoſt Demonſtrations of Joy: And ſome Days after he caus'd try and condemn ſeven of the Priſoners, but when they were brought forth to Execution, he ſent Orders to return them again to their former Priſon. Mean time the Regent hearing that the Queen was gone to *Dumfrees*, he publiſh'd a Proclamation, commanding all the Subjects to meet him at *Biggar*, in order to purſue her Majeſty.

When the Queen came to *Dumfrees*, ſhe conſider'd the Weakneſs of her Friends, and the Strength of her Enemies, whoſe Purſuit ſhe was afraid of; therefore conſidering the many repeated Promiſes of Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance, lately receiv'd from Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, ſhe propos'd going to accept of her kind Offers; which when ſhe mention'd to her Attendants, they were very much againſt it; eſpecially the Biſhop of *Roſs*, who, when the Queen preſs'd Expedition in her Journey, came upon his Knees, and entreated her Majeſty, not to truſt herſelf in that Nation, where ſhe had ſo many Enemies: But the Queen had ſuch Aſſurance of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Humanity, that nothing could diſſuade her from that Reſolution: So ſhe went from *Drumfrees* to *Kirkubright*, where ſhe had a Ship prepar'd, and upon the 17th of *May* ſhe landed in *Workington* in *Cumberland*; from whence ſhe ſent Sir *Robert Melvil* to the Queen of *England*, carrying with him a Diamond Ring, (ſent to Queen *Mary* by her Couſine Queen *Elizabeth*, with a ſolemn Promiſe to aſſiſt and ſerve her upon any Occaſion) with which the Queen wrote with her own Hand the following Letter.

The Queen goes into *England*.

Her Letter to Q. *Elizabeth*.

You are not ignorant (my very good Siſter) how ſome of my Subjects, whom I have rais'd to the higheſt Pitch of Honour, conſpir'd to impriſon me and my Husband; and how, at your Interceſſion, I nevertheleſs receiv'd them again into Favour, after they had, by the Force of Arms, been driven out of my Kingdom: Yet theſe very Men broke violently into my Chamber, cruelly murder'd my Servant before my Face, tho' I was then big with Child, and forcibly detain'd me in their Cuſtody. I nevertheleſs pardon'd them a ſecond Time; but they, behold, pretended a new Crime againſt me, which they plotted themſelves, and ſign'd with their own Hands, and were now ready with an

Army

Army in the Field to charge me. Truſting however to my Innocence, and deſirous to prevent ſhedding of innocent Blood, I willingly put my ſelf into their Hands; upon which they immediately thruſt me into Priſon, remov'd all my Servants from me, excepting one or two Waiting-women, my Phyſicians and my Cook; conſtrain'd me by Threats and Terror of Death to reſign my Kingdom; and in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, convocated by their own Authority, refus'd to hear me or my Advocates; deſpoil'd me of my Goods, and bar'd me from all Conference with any Man. Afterwards (by GOD's Guidance) I eſcap'd out of Priſon, and being guarded by the Flower of the Nobility, which gladly flock'd unto me from all Parts, I put my Enemies in mind of their Duty and Allegiance; I offer'd them Pardon, and propos'd that both Parties might be heard in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, that the Common-wealth might no longer be diſtracted with Civil Combuſtions: Two Meſſengers I ſent about this Matter, both of them they caſt into Priſon; thoſe who aided me they proclaim'd Traitors, and commanded them, by publick Proclamation, preſently to leave me. I pray'd them that the Lord Boyd *might, upon publick Faith and Aſſurance, treat with them about compoſing Matters; but this alſo they flatly deny'd: Yet I hop'd, by your Mediation, they might have been recall'd to their Duty. But when I ſaw that I muſt have undergone either Death or a new Impriſonment, I reſolv'd to go to* Dunbarton: *They in the Way oppos'd themſelves againſt me, kill'd and put my Men to Flight in Battle. I betook my ſelf to the Lords* Herries *and* Fleming, *with whom I am come into your Kingdom, truſting aſſuredly in your ſingular Friendſhip, that you will aſſiſt me, and excite others by your Example. I do therefore entreat you, that I may be forthwith conducted unto you, who am now in very great Straits, as I ſhall more fully inform you, when it ſhall pleaſe you to take Pity upon me. GOD grant unto you a long and ſafe Life, and to me Patience and Conſolation, which I hope and pray that I may obtain of Him, by your Means.*

A. D. 1568.

Inſtead of any Anſwer in Writing, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent down Sir *Francis Knolles* with an expreſs Command to *Lowther*, the Deputy-Governor of *Carliſle*, to convoy Queen *Mary* to the Caſtle of that City, there to remain till ſhe had Information of the Equity of her Cauſe.

Q. *Elizabeth* orders Queen *Mary* to be carried to *Carliſle* Caſtle.

When Sir *Francis Knolles* came to the Queen, and told her that Queen *Elizabeth* had deſir'd, that ſhe might retire to *Carliſle* Caſtle, inſtead of coming to her Court; ſhe could not forbear crying out, "And does the "Queen of *England* believe that I am an ill Woman, becauſe they have "repreſented me as ſuch, to excuſe their own Crimes." Sir *Francis* reply'd, "That the Queen, his Miſtreſs, was ready upon all Occaſions to approve "herſelf her Friend; but as the Matters charg'd againſt her were ſuch, that "unleſs they were diſprov'd, ſhe could not, without diſguſting her Subjects "of *England*, eſpouſe her Cauſe; nor could her Return to *Scotland* produce "a laſting Peace, ſince the Generallity of People are apt to credit the "worſt Account of the Actions of the Great, and judge Affairs of the "greateſt Importance by the Out-ſide only.

Queen *Mary* complains of that Uſage.

The Queen now repented that ſhe had rejected the Advice of the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and the other Noblemen at *Dumfrees*; but, yet this Interpretation of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reaſons, by Sir *Francis Knolles*, gave the Queen ſome Hopes of better Treatment ſoon after.

The Regent, after the Victory over the Queen's Army, rais'd an Army, which he muſter'd at *Biggar*, but hearing that the Queen was gone into *England*, he return'd to *Edinburgh*; where having diſmiſs'd moſt of them, he went with the reſt to *Hamilton* Caſtle, which he plunder'd, and brought all the Goods and Plate to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to be kept there for his own Uſe. About this Time he receiv'd Notice from *England* of the Queen's Confinement at *Carliſle*, whereupon he ſummon'd all that had been in the Engagement at *Langſide*, or had, at any Time appear'd to take the Queen's Part; to appear before the Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*, to anſwer to ſuch Crimes as ſhould there be objected againſt them: But as they contemn'd his

The Regent plunders *Hamilton* and other Places.

A. D. 1567. Authority, their Houſes and Tenants were harraſs'd, their Cattle and Goods were ſeiz'd, and ſold for the Regent's Uſe. He call'd a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *July*, where he ſummon'd all the Name of *Hamilton*, with all their Adherents (ſuch as had aſſiſted the Queen) to appear: But, as they did not obey the Summons, they were outlaw'd, according the common Form. Whereupon the Chief of them met, and after Conſultation, they ſent two of their Kinſmen to *London*, to repreſent the Circumſtances of their Cauſe before Queen *Elizabeth*, to vindicate the Queen from the falſe Accuſations of her Enemies, and to entreat Aſſiſtance for her Majeſty, and to redreſs their own Loſſes. Mean time they did not rely ſo much on the Succeſs of this Embaſſy, as to be idle at home; therefore endeavour'd to make what Intereſt they could, and to that End they join'd the Earl of *Argyle*, who had the Queen's Commiſſion as her Lieutenant in the weſt Country. In the North the Earl of *Huntly* appear'd for the Queen; and after having his Commiſſion publickly read at the Market-Croſs of *Aberdeen*, he invited all her Majeſty's Friends to join him.

The *Hamiltons* are ſummon'd to appear before the Council, which they denying, are outlaw'd.

The Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntly* appear for the Queen as her Lieutenants.

The Regent at this Time was ſomewhat uneaſy at the frequent Appearance of the Queen's Friends, and contriv'd all poſſible Means to engage the People to favour his Cauſe, by Pretences of Religion, and Defence of the young Prince; whoſe Life he always pretended was in Danger, while the Queen's Enemies had any Power.

When he went to *Stirling* to viſit the young King and Governor, he had Notice that *William Stewart*, *Lyon* King at Arms, had employ'd *Patrick Hepburn*, Parſon of *Kenmore*, to raiſe his Friends to appear for the Queen; wherefore the Regent took Opportunity to charge them both with a Plot againſt his Life; and having ſeiz'd them, brought them to a ſpeedy Trial; wherein they could not have any Evidence againſt the *Lyon*, but found Means to condemn the innocent Parſon, and had him executed upon a Gibbet: Whereupon the Reform'd Miniſters and Council proclaim'd a ſolemn Thankſgiving, for the Preſervation and miraculous Deliverance of the chief Pillar of their Church from the Jaws of Death.

While the Trial was at *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Huntly* rais'd many Forces in the North, and came ſo far as *Perth*, without any Oppoſition; but as he was about to paſs the River *Tay*, he had Notice that a Party, commanded by the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindſay*, ſent by the Regent, had guarded all the Fords and paſſable Places of the River, ſo could not proceed any further.

Mean time the Earl of *Argyle* and Lord *Claude Hamilton*, had laid Siege to the Town of *Glaſgow*, which made the Regent ſo very fearful of their Power, that he forthwith ſent a Repreſentation to *England*, to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhewing, "How great Danger the Proteſtant Religion was in, from thoſe "who ſtood up for the Queen; and that the young King would fall a Sacri- "fice to his Enemies: As for his own Life, he was reſolv'd to hazard in "Defence of the King and the Proteſtant Religion; therefore hop'd ſhe "would ſend ſuch Aſſiſtance, and uſe ſuch Means, as would prevent Queen "*Mary*'s Reſtauration, whereon depended the Eſtabliſhment of the idola- "trous Church of *Rome*.

The Regent ſends a Meſſage to Queen *Elizabeth*.

Beſides this Repreſentation to Queen *Elizabeth*, the Regent contriv'd Means to make ſome of the Queen's beſt Friends to adviſe her Majeſty to ſend expreſs Orders to her Lieutenants, the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argyle* to forbear all Hoſtiliy, and that her only beſt way would be to rely entirely on Queen *Elizabeth*'s Advice and Aſſiſtance, which would be the only Means to induce her to undertake it by her ſelf, ſo that the great Action might be entirely aſcrib'd to her Generoſity and good Conduct. After this manner the unfortunate Queen was prevail'd upon to be acceſſary to her own Ruin; for whilſt the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argyle* were in Arms, many People were coming into their Aſſiſtance from all Parts of the Nation; but upon receipt of the Queen's Orders, they disbanded their Forces, and return'd to their own Houſes. The Queen having this Hope of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Friendſhip, ſhe ſent the Lord *Herries* to her, deſiring to have a

The Regent's ſtratagem to make the Queen's Party lay down their Arms.

Hearing

Hearing in her own Preſence, where ſhe might clear her ſelf of the ſeveral falſe and malicious Accuſations of her rebellious Subjects; or if that could not be granted, that ſhe might have Leave to depart out of *England*, and not to be detain'd as a Priſoner, ſince ſhe came voluntarly thither, with Confidence of her Friendſhip ſo often promis'd by ſeveral Letters, and repeated Meſſages: Yet the Lord *Herries* could obtain no further Satisfaction from Queen *Elizabeth*, but a Promiſe to write to the Regent to delay any further Proſecution of thoſe who had been in Arms for the Queen in *Scotland*; and that he ſhould not aſſemble the Eſtates till Matters were conſider'd and decided between them. Notwithſtanding of this Promiſe, the Regent proceeded with the utmoſt Rigour againſt ſuch of the Subjects as had ſtood up for the Queen's Reſtoration: For he had certain Information from his Correſpondents at the *Engliſh* Court, that it was determin'd in Council; that the Queen of *Scotland* ſhould be detain'd as a Priſoner of War, for having aſſum'd the Arms of *England*, when ſhe was married to the Dauphin of *France*; and that ſhe ſhould anſwer for the Death of *Henry* Lord *Darnly*, who was a Subject of that Country; by this the Earl of *Murray* eaſily foreſaw how little Danger he was in of giving Offence to Queen *Elizabeth* by diſobeying her late Commands. *A. D.* 1568.

Queen *Elizabeth*'s Meſſage to the Regent.

However, ſhe ſent one *Midalemore* to acquaint the Regent, *That it was dangerous to ſuffer ſuch Rebellions quietly in her Neighbourhood, ſince by their Actions her own Subjects might take Example, therefore was reſolv'd not to ſee Royal Authority trampl'd on by thoſe whoſe Duty it was to obey; and if in* Scotland *they had forgot their Obedience to their Sovereign; yet ſhe could not but let them know, that ſhe knew what Offices of Friendſhip were due from her to a Queen, and to her Kinſmen in Diſtreſs: Withal, aſſuring him, that if he did not come himſelf, or ſend ſufficient Deputies to anſwer to the Crimes objected againſt him and his Confederates, and give Reaſons for what he had done againſt the Queen, ſhe would not only immediately reſtore her to Liberty, but would alſo aſſiſt her to the utmoſt of her Power againſt all Enemies.* But all this threatning was no Cauſe of Uneaſineſs to the Regent, while he had ſuch Aſſurance of Friends in the *Engliſh* Court, who gave him ſure Intelligence from Time to Time of all the private Reſolutions of the Queen and Council. Several Noblemen in *Scotland* told him of the Injuſtice he had done the Queen, as alſo what Danger he would be in by being the Cauſe of a Civil War, which would diſoblige all good Subjects and Well-Wiſhers of the Country; as alſo that he would be liable to be call'd to Account by the young King, when of Years. Of all theſe Remonſtrances the Regent took little Notice; but had ſuch Confidence in his Confederates both in *Scotland* and Court of *England*, that he had no Doubt of maintaining his Authority without any Trouble or Danger. Mean time he caus'd draw up a Commiſſion in the young King's Name, impowering himſelf, the Earl of *Morton*, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, the Lord *Lindſay*, and others to meet ſuch Commiſſioners, as the Queen of *England* would appoint to come to *York*, or any other Place where they, in the King's Name, might, according to their Commiſſion, declare the Reaſons why they, in the King's Name and Authority, had taken, detain'd, and ſequeſtrated the Queen's Perſon, with all the Cauſes, Actions, and Circumſtances of their Proceedings at all Times, preceeding the Date of that Commiſſion, wherein they, in the King's Name, and by his Authority, were to enter into a Treaty with the Queen of *England*, and to conclude on all ſuch Terms as might be agreed upon by them the ſaid Commiſſioners: This Commiſſion was dated at *Edinburgh*, the 18th of *September*, 1568.

The Regent expedes a Commiſſion in the King's Name.

To the Perſons above nam'd in the Commiſsion, were therein joyn'd as Aſſiſtants Mr. *James Macgill*, Mr. *Henry Balnaves*, Mr. *George Buchannan*, and Mr. *Wood* Secretary to the Earl of *Murray*; beſides thoſe nam'd in the Commiſſion, the Secretary *Lethington*, the Biſhop of *Murray*, Mr. *Nicholas Elphingſton*, the Lairds of *Pittarow*, *Northberwick*, and *Cliſh*. Such as wiſh'd well to the Queen endeavour'd to diſſwade the Regent from this Deſign, but he was ſo forward in that Affair, that he begun his Journey to *York*

The Regent and Commiſſioners ſet out for *York*.

A. D. 1568. the 5th of *October* after the Date of the Commiſſion; at which Time the Queen of *England* ſent down the Duke of *Northfolk*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Ralph Saddler*, Commiſſioners, with Power to hear, and determine all Queſtions, Controverſies, Debates, and Contention between her Siſter the Queen of *Scots*, and the Subjects adhering to her Intereſt; and the Earl of *Murray*, and others refuſing to acknowledge her Authority, and adhering to the Prince her Son.

They are met by the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners.

When the Queen and her Friends in *Scotland* had Notice of her Deſigns, ſhe appointed as her Commiſſioners to meet and vindicate her Character; *John Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſs*, *William* Lord *Livingſton*, the Lord *Herries*, the Lord *Boyd*, *Gawin Hamilton* Commendator of *Kilwining*, the Lairds of *Lochinar*, *Roſlin*, *Skirlin*, and *Gairntully*; and they went ſtreight to *York*, where, by that Time, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, as alſo the Earl of *Murray*, with his Aſſociates were come. The firſt Day of their Meeting, the Duke of *Northfolk* deſir'd the Regent to acknowledge the Crown of *England*'s Superiority over *Scotland*; and that he, in the young King's Name, ſhould do Homage, according to ancient Cuſtom; which Demand very much ſurpriz'd all the *Scots*, and put them into ſome Confuſion: But the Secretary, *Lethington*, reply'd to the Duke, *That if the Queen of* England *would reſtore the Counties of* Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmorland, Huntington, *and ſuch other Lands, as the Kings of* Scotland *had formerly poſſeſs'd, that Homage ſhould be readily paid to the Queen of* England *for them; but, as for* Scotland, *it was freer than* England *had been lately, when it paid St.* Peter's *Pence to the Pope.* Whereupon the *Scots* enter'd a Proteſtation, in Defence of the Freedom of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: But the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners refus'd the Proteſtation, alledging that it was inconſiſtent with the Claim of the Kings of *England* to the Crown of *Scotland*: However, it was agreed at laſt, that they ſhould enter into a Treaty, for the Accommodation of all Diviſions between the King and Subjects of *Scotland*, and to take away all future Feuds between both Nations, which was unanimouſly declar'd to be the Cauſe of their Meeting; whereupon Orders were given to the Commiſſioners of the Queen and Regent of *Scotland*, to proceed in their Debates. Both Parties being met, the next Day, and their Commiſſions being produc'd and read, an Oath was exhibited to each of them by the Judges, *That they ſhould act according to Juſtice, without Malice, or Affection, or any worldly View; but declare the Truth, according to their Conſciences.* But the Commiſſioners for Queen *Mary* (before taking the Oath) again repeated, that they deſir'd it might be recorded, *That tho' the Queen their Miſtreſs, was pleas'd to have the Differences between her and her rebellious Subjects, conſider'd and redreſs'd by her neareſt Siſter the Queen of* England, *or by the Commiſſioners appointed by her; yet ſhe acknowledg'd not her ſelf ſubject to any Judge on Earth, ſhe being a free Princeſs, and holding her Crown of God alone.* After which they gave in their Declaration, containing, "That *James* Earl of *Morton*, *John* Earl of "*Glencairn*, the Lords *Hume*, *Lindſay*, *Ruthven*, *Semple*, *Cathcart*, and *Och-*"*iltree*; and others their Aſſiſtants, had levied an Army in the Queen's "Name, againſt the Queen, taking her moſt Noble Perſon Priſoner; us'd "her in vile Manner, and thruſt her into Priſon in *Lochleven*, and forcibly "broke into her Mint-Houſe, taking away the Printing-Irons, with all the "Silver and Gold coin'd and uncoin'd, which was in the Houſe for the "Time; and going to the Caſtle of *Stirling*, had made a Faſhion to "Crown her Son the Prince, being then but thirteen Months old. That "*James* Earl of *Murray* taking upon him the Name of Regent, had uſurp'd "the Royal Authority, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the whole Caſtles, Forts, "Munition, Jewels, and Revenues of the Kingdom. And when it had "pleas'd GOD to relieve her out of that Priſon (wherein ſhe was ſo ſtraitly "detain'd, for the Space of eleven Months, where none of her loyal Subjects "were permitted to ſee nor ſpeak to her) and that ſhe had publickly de-"clar'd by a ſolemn Oath, in the Preſence of diverſe of the Nobility at "*Hamilton*, that whatſoever was done by her in Priſon, was extorted by

Queen *Mary* ſends Commiſſioners alſo.

The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners claim a Right of Superiority.

Lethington's Anſwer.

The Declaration given in by the Queen's Commiſſioners.

Forces,

" Force, Threats, and Fear of Death; ſhe, out of that Affection that ſhe carried to her Realm and Subjects, did appoint the Earls of *Argyle*, *Eglinton*, *Caſſils*, and *Rotheſs* to agree, and make a Pacification with the ſaid Regent and his Aſſociates: But they were ſo far from admitting any peaceable Treaty, that they did invade her in her paſſing to *Dunbarton*, with the Soldiers ſhe had hir'd with her own Money, kill'd diverſe of her faithful Subjects, led others away Priſoners, and baniſh'd ſome of the chief * Nobility, for no other Cauſe, but for ſerving faithfully their lawful Princeſs; and ſo, after a great many Injuries, had forc'd her to fly into *England*, to requeſt the Help of Queen *Elizabeth*, her deareſt Siſter, and in Blood the neareſt Couſin ſhe had in the World; for reſtoring her to her Eſtate, and compelling her rebellious Subjects to acknowledge their due Obedience to her Majeſty, which they in her Highneſs's Name, did moſt humbly entreat. *A. D.* 1568.

* The Earl of *Rotheſs* was baniſh'd for three Years after the Battle of *Langſide*.

This Declaration was preſented the 8th Day of *October*, and the next Day the Commiſſioners for the Infant King, preſented the Declaration, as follows.

The Declaration given in by the Earl of *Murray* and his Aſſociates.

" That King *Henry*, Father to their Soveraign Lord the King now reigning, being horridly murder'd in his Bed; *James Hepburn*, ſometime Earl of *Bothwell*, who was known to be the chief Author thereof, enter'd into ſuch Credit with the Queen, then their Soveraign, that within two Months after the Murder committed, he openly attempted a Rape of her Perſon, and carried her to *Dunbar* Caſtle, where he kept her as a Captive a certain Space, cauſing a Divorce to be led betwixt him and his lawful Wife; and upon the Concluſion thereof, did ſuddenly accompliſh a Marriage with the Queen; which inſolent Proceedings, together with the ſhameful Report, which paſs'd in all Nations of the King's Murder, as if the whole Nobility had been equally culpable thereof, ſo mov'd the Hearts of a good Number of them, that they thought nothing could be perform'd more honourable to themſelves, in Sight of the World, than by puniſhing the ſaid Earl, who had committed the Murder, to free themſelves of the vile Report that ſpread every where; to ſet the Queen at Liberty from the Bondage of that Traitor, who had ſo preſumptuouſly enterpriz'd the Rape, and Marriage of her, whoſe lawful Husband he could not be; and to preſerve the the innocent Perſon of the King, from the Hands of him who had murder'd his Father: For which Purpoſe, they taking Arms, when the ſaid Earl came againſt them with Forces, leading in his Company the Queen, to defend his Wickedneſs, they offer'd (for ſparing the Blood of innocent Men) to decide the Quarrel in a ſingle Combate, whereof himſelf, by Cartel and Proclamation, had ſeveral Times made Offer. But after many Shifts, he in the End directly refus'd the ſame; and the Queen preferring his Impunity to her own Honour, that he might have Leiſure to eſcape, came willingly to the Noblemen that were in Arms, and conferr'd with them a certain Space; after which they convoy'd her to *Edinburgh*, informing her of the true Cauſes, which mov'd them to that Form of dealing, and did humbly entreat her Majeſty, to ſuffer the ſaid Earl, and others, the King her Husband's Murderers, to be puniſh'd according to the Laws; and the pretended Marriage, wherein ſhe was raſhly enter'd, to be diſſolv'd, as well for her own Honour, as for the Safety of her Son, and Quietneſs of the Realm and Subjects: But having receiv'd no Anſwer but dagenerous Threats againſt the Noblemen, and ſhe avouching to be reveng'd upon all thoſe that had ſhewn themſelves in that Cauſe; they were driven by Neceſſity to ſequeſtrate her Perſon for a Seaſon, from the Company of the Earl of *Bothwell*, and the keeping of any Intelligence with him, as Murderer of the King her Husband. In the mean time, ſhe finding herſelf wearied of the Troubles of Government, and perceiving by Things that had paſs'd, before that Time, betwixt her and the People, that neither could ſhe well allow of their Doings, nor they like of her Forms. Upon theſe

A. D. 1568. " and other Conſiderations, ſhe voluntarily reſign'd her Kingdom, and tranſ-
" fer'd the ſame unto her Son, appointing the Earl of *Murray* (who was at
" that Time abſent forth of the Realm) to be Regent during her Son's Mi-
" nority; and in caſe of the ſaid Earl's Deceaſe, or not Acceptance of the
" ſaid Office, diverſe other Noblemen, whoſe Names are expreſs'd in the
" Commiſſion, ſign'd by herſelf, and ſeal'd with the Seal of the Kingdom.
" The King hereupon being duly, orderly, and rightly crown'd and anoin-
" ted; and the Earl of *Murray*, after his Return, lawfully plac'd and ad-
" mitted Regent; all theſe Things were ratify'd, and confirm'd by the
" three Eſtates of Parliament, moſt of thoſe who had withdrawn themſelves
" from his Authority being preſent, and giving their Conſent to the ſame:
" Nevertheleſs, when as Matters were thus eſtabliſh'd, and the King's Au-
" thority univerſally obey'd without Contradiction, certain Perſons, envy-
" ing the Publick Quietneſs, had by their ſubtle Practices, firſt brought the
" Queen out of *Lochleven*, and afterwards by open Force, againſt their
" promis'd Fidelity, gone about to ſubvert the Government receiv'd; where-
" in as they were proceeding, it pleas'd GOD to diſappoint their Enter-
" prize, and give to the King, and thoſe who ſtood for his Authority, a
" notable Victory, on the 13th Day of *May* laſt: Wherefore their Deſire
" was, that the King and Regent might peaceably rule and govern the Sub-
" jects, according to the Authority they had receiv'd of GOD; and that
" the ſame might be conſerv'd and eſtabliſh'd, againſt the Factions of tur-
" bulent Subjects.

The Commiſſioners for the Queen of *Scotland* having ſeen and perus'd this Declaration, gave in the following Reply.

A Reply, or ſecond Declaration given in by Queen *Mary*'s Commiſſioners.

" That the Pretence of having taken Arms againſt the Queen, becauſe the
" Earl of *Bothwell* was in ſuch Favour with her, could not warrant their
" Rebellion; ſince it never was made known to her Majeſty that he was the
" Murderer: But to the contrary, the Earl being indicted, and orderly
" ſummon'd to undergo the Trial at Law, he was, by the Judgment of his
" Peers abſolv'd, and that Abſolution ratify'd by the Authority of Perlia-
" ment; where, the Principals that now accuſe him, and had withdrawn
" themſelves from the Queen's Obedience, were preſent; and not only con-
" ſented to his Purgation, but ſollicited her to take him for her Husband, as
" the moſt worthy to bear Rule, of any other in the Realm; giving their
" Bonds to defend him againſt all that ſhould purſue him for the ſaid Crime,
" as their Subſcriptions will teſtify. And ſo neither before the Marriage
" with *Bothwell*, nor after, did they or any of them (which had been the
" Duty of true Subjects) ſo much as in one Word utter their Diſlike of it;
" or advertiſe her Majeſty of the Suſpicions that were taken of him, until
" they had drawn the Keeper of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the Provoſt
" of that City to their Faction: Then ſecretly putting themſelves in Arms,
" they ſuddenly, under Silence of Night, environ'd the Caſtle of *Borthwick*,
" where her Majeſty remain'd; and, after ſhe had eſcap'd to *Dunbar*, le-
" vied an Army, under Pretence to defend the Queen; wherewith invading
" her Perſon in the Way between *Dunbar* and *Edinburgh*, they did take her
" Majeſty Captive.

" And whereas they alledge, that her Majeſty preferring the Impu-
" nity of *Bothwell* to her own Honour, made him to be convoy'd ſafely
" away: The ſame was moſt untrue; for they themſelves ſent the Laird of
" *Grange* to her Majeſty, deſiring her to cauſe *Bothwell* to paſs out of the
" Field, as being ſuſpected of the King's Murder, till the ſame might be
" try'd, and that ſhe ſhould go with them, and follow the Counſel of the
" Nobility; which if ſhe would do, they would honour, ſerve, and obey
" her, as their Princeſs and Soveraign: Whereunto her Majeſty, for the
" Love ſhe bore to her Subjects, and to avoid the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood,
" did willingly aſſent. In Verification whereof, the ſaid Laird of *Grange*
" took the Earl of *Bothwell* at the ſame time by the Hand, and will'd him
" to depart, giving his Word, that no Man ſhould purſue him. So as no-
" thing

" nothing is more clear, than that he paſs'd away by their own Conſents; A. D.
" for if they had been inclin'd againſt him only, would they not have pur- 1568.
" ſu'd him, ſo long as he was in the Country? For he remain'd a great
" Space after that Time in his own Houſe, and might more eaſily have been
" taken there, than on the Seas; where they, in a collour'd Manner, did
" purſue him: From whence, all Men of ſound Judgment might perceive
" that they car'd not what became of him, ſo as they might advance their
" own ambitious Purpoſes and Deſigns.

" As to the Charge againſt the Queen, of *having us'd them with Threats*
" *and Menaces*, 'twas anſwer'd, That (if it was true) it could not be thought
" ſtrange, conſidering their undutiful Behaviour, and the rude and vile
" Uſage her Majeſty ſuffer'd by them. For when the Earl of *Morton*, at her
" Highneſſes firſt coming to them, had reverently (as it became him) ſaid,
" *Madam, here is the Place where your Grace ſhould be, and we will honour*
" *and ſerve you as truly as ever any of the Nobility of the Realm did any*
" *of your Progenitors in former Times*. Ratifying hereby the Promiſe
" made by the Laird of *Grange* in their Names to her Majeſty; and that
" ſhe truſting to their Speeches, had gone with him to *Edinburgh*; they firſt
" lodg'd her in a Citizen's Houſe, contrary to their Promiſe; did moſt
" rudely entreat her; whereupon ſhe ſent *Lethington* her Secretary, and
" made Offer unto them, That for any thing wherewith they, or any of
" the Subjects were offended, ſhe was content the ſame ſhould be reform'd
" by the Nobility and Eſtates of the Realm, her Highneſs being preſent, and
" permitted to anſwer for herſelf: Yet would they not once hearken to this
" Motion; but in the Night, ſecretly and againſt her Will, carried her to
" *Lochleven*, and put her in Priſon.

" *As to the Clauſe of her Majeſty's being wearied with the Toils of Govern-*
" *ment, and that thereupon ſhe did voluntarily reſign, or abdicate the Kingdom*
" *in Favour of the Prince her Son, and appoint the Earl of* Murray *his Re-*
" *gent, during his Minority: It was reply'd*, That the Falſhood thereof did
" many Ways appear: For, *firſt*, her Majeſty is neither decay'd by Age,
" nor weaken'd by Sickneſs; but (praiſe be to GOD) both in Mind and
" Body able to diſcharge the moſt weighty Affairs. As alſo, the Truth is,
" that the Earl of *Atholl*, the Lairds of *Tulibardine* and *Lethington* (who
" were of their Council) ſent Sir *Robert Melvil* to her Majeſty, adviſing
" her to ſubſcribe the Letter of Reſignation, and what elſe ſhould be preſen-
" ted to her, to ſave her own Life, and avoid the Death which was aſſured-
" ly prepar'd for her, if ſhe ſhould happen to refuſe the ſame: And at the
" ſame Time, the ſaid Gentleman did bring to her Majeſty a Letter, wri-
" ten by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Ambaſſador of *England*, requeſting her
" Highneſs, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, to ſet her Hand to whatever they
" ſhould deſire of her. To whom her Majeſty anſwer'd, That ſhe ſhould
" follow his Council; praying him to declare to her deareſt Siſter, the Queen
" of *England*, how ſhe was us'd by her Subjects; and that the Reſignation
" of the Crown made by her, was extorted by Fear, which her Highneſs
" doubted not but the ſaid Sir *Nicholas* perform'd.

" Further it is notorious, that the Lord *Lindſay*, at the preſenting of the
" Letters of Reſignation unto her Majeſty, did menace to put her into cloſer
" Priſon, if ſhe refus'd to put her Hand to the ſame; adding, that in that
" Caſe, worſe would ſhortly follow; and that her Higneſs never look'd
" what was in the Writings preſented, but ſign'd the ſame, with many
" Tears; proteſting, that if ever ſhe ſhould recover her Liberty, ſhe would
" diſavow that which he compell'd her at that Time to do. And to teſtify
" that the ſaid Reſignation was made againſt her Will, the Laird of *Lochle-*
" *ven*, who was then her Keeper, refus'd to ſubſcribe it as a Witneſs; and
" did obtain a Certificate under her Majeſty's own Hand, declairing, that
" he refus'd to be preſent at the ſaid Reſignation. Neither can that Re-
" nounciation, by any Reaſon, be thought good, conſidering that no Por-
" tion of Revenue was reſerv'd for her Majeſty to live upon; neither was

A. D. 1568. " her Liberty granted, or any Security given her of her Life. All which " weigh'd in the Ballance of Reaſon, will, to Men of indifferent Judgment, " make manifeſt, that the alledg'd Demiſſion, ſo unlawfully procur'd, can " never prejudge her Majeſty in her Royal Eſtate: Eſpecially conſidering, " that at her firſt Eſcape out of Priſon, ſhe did revoke the ſame; and in Pre- " ſence of a great Part of the Nobility at *Hamilton*, by a ſolemn Oath de- " clar'd, that what ſhe had done was by Compulſion, and upon juſt Fear " of her Life.

" *Concerning the Coronation of the young Prince it was urg'd*, That the " ſame was moſt unorderly done; becauſe there being in the Realm above " an Hundred Earls, Biſhops and Lords, having Voice in Parliament (of " whom the greateſt Part, at leaſt, ought to have conſented thereto, it being " an Action of ſuch great Conſequence) four Earls and ſix Lords (the ſame " that were preſent at her Apprehenſion) with one Biſhop, two or three " Abbots and Priors, were only aſſiſting: And of the ſame Number, ſome " did put in a Proteſtation, that nothing then done ſhould prejudge the " Queen or her Succeſſor, by reaſon ſhe was at that Time a Captive. Nor " can any Man think, if the Demiſſion had been willingly given by her " Higneſs, ſhe would ever have nominated the Earl of *Murray* Regent, " there being many others more lawful, and had better Right thereto, " than he, of whom ſome had been Governors of the Realm in former " Times *; and during her Majeſty's Minority had worthily exerced that " Office.

* The Duke of *Chattle-rault* who was Regent.

" *To the Ratification in Parliament, it was reply'd*, That the Principals " of the Nobility diſſented, and put in their Proteſtations, both to the " Lords of the Articles, and in open Parliament, againſt their Proceedings, " affirming, that they would never agree to any thing that might hurt the " Queen's Majeſty's Perſon, her Crown and Royal Eſtate, farther than her " Highneſs herſelf, being at Liberty, would approve.

" *Laſtly, as to the Pretence of being univerſally obey'd, and all Things being* " *juſtly adminiſtred, it was anſwer'd*, Both theſe were equally untrue, for " a great Part of the Nobility never acknowledg'd another Authority than " that of the Queen's, keeping and holding their Courts in her Majeſty's " Name. And for the Adminiſtration of Affairs, it is apparent, that Wic- " kedneſs did never reign more, and with leſs Controulment in the Realm; " Murder, Bloodſhed, with Theft and Robery, every where abounding; " Policy deſtroy'd, Churches thrown down, honourable Families ruin'd, " and honeſt Men bereft of their Goods, for ſatisfying the Soldiers hir'd by " them, to maintain the Regent's uſurp'd Authority; the like whereof " hath not been heard nor ſeen for many Ages before. In Regard whereof, " they, in Behalf of the Queen of *Scotland*, their Miſtreſs, did earneſtly " requeſt the Support and Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *England* her Couſin, " for reſtoring her to her Crown, and for ſuppreſſing the Rebels that had " attempted againſt her.

To theſe Reaſons they thought fit to add (the Original being then in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hands) an atteſted Copy of a Proteſtation, made by the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argyle*, immediately after King *Henry*'s Death, which was as follows.

" FORASMUCH as the Earl of *Murray* and others, to cloak their " Rebellion againſt the Queen (whoſe Authority they arrogate to themſelves) " do openly calumniate her, as guilty of the Murder of her Husband; we " do publickly proteſt, and witneſs theſe Things following. In the Month " of *December*, 1566. when the Queen ſtaid at *Craigmillar*, *Murray* and " *Lethington* acknowledg'd before us, that *Morton*, *Lindſay* and *Ruthven* " ſlew *David Rizio*, to no other Intent, than to ſave *Murray*, who was at " that Time to be proſcrib'd. Therefore that they might not ſeem unthank- " ful, they much deſir'd that *Morton*, and the reſt who liv'd in Exile, for " the Murder of *David*, might be brought home again: But this, they ſaid, " could not be effected, unleſs the Queen might be divorc'd from her Huſ-

" band;

" band; which they promis'd to bring to paſs, ſo as we would give our " Conſent. Afterwards *Murray* promis'd to me *(Huntly)* that my Inheri- " tance ſhould be reſtor'd unto me, and that I ſhould be in eternal Favour " with the Exiles, if I would favour the Divorce. Then we went to *Bothwell*, " that he might alſo conſent. *Laſtly*, We came unto the Queen, and *Leth-* " *ington* in the Name of us all, earneſtly entreated that *Morton*, *Lindſay* " and *Ruthven* might have their Baniſhment remitted. The King's Offen- " ces againſt the Queen and the Realm, he aggravated with ſuch Sharpneſs " of Words, and ſhew'd that it mainly concern'd the Queen and State, that " there ſhould forthwith be a Divorce; foraſmuch as the King and Queen " could not live together in *Scotland* with Security. She anſwer'd, That " ſhe would rather withdraw herſelf for a Time into *France*, until her " Husband did acknowledge the Errors of his Youth; for ſhe would not " that any Thing might be done, which might be prejudicial to her Son or " diſhonourable to herſelf. Hereunto *Lethington* reply'd, We, which are of " your Council, will look to that. But I command you (ſaid ſhe) that you " do nothing which may blemiſh my Honour or burden my Conſcience; " let the Matter remain as it is, till GOD remedy it from above: That " which you think will be for my Good, may perhaps turn to my Hurt. " To which *Lethington* ſaid, Leave the Matter to us, and you ſhall ſee no- " thing ſhall be done but what is juſt and approvable by Authority of Par- " liament. Hereupon, ſeeing the King was murder'd with wicked Hands " within few Days after, we, out of the inward Teſtimony of our Con- " ſciences, do hold it moſt certain, That *Murray* and *Lethington* were the " Authors, Contrivers, and perſuaders of this Regicide, whoſoever were " the Actors of the ſame."

A. D. 1568.

This long and juſt Reply for the injur'd Queen, put the Earl of *Murray* and his Aſſociates to the utmoſt Confuſion, ſo that they were at a Loſs what Anſwer to make in their own Defence: But as they had ſeveral Perſons of conſiderable Power at the Court of *England*, they were under no Apprehenſion of Danger from what had been here repreſented by the Queen's Commiſſioners againſt them; but deſir'd ſome Time to conſider of their Anſwer, which they promis'd to give in to the Judges in a few Days.

The Duke of *Northfolk* favours the Queen's Cauſe

At this Time the Duke of *Northfolk* ſeem'd to take great Notice of the Injuſtice done to the Queen of *Scotland*, and would willingly have a Stop put to the Accuſation, which the Regent and his Aſſociates had promis'd to produce before the Council: Therefore he conſider'd that it would be more ſafe to deal with the Regent and his Party by private Advice, than by ſhewing any publick Favour to the Queen's Cauſe, however ſo juſt, in caſe it might give Offence to the Queen of *England* his Miſtreſs, who he had Reaſon to believe, to have given too great Credit, upon ſeveral Occaſions, to the Queen of *Scotland*'s Enemies. In this Caſe, the Duke was at a great Loſs which of the Party to truſt, in an Affair of ſuch dangerous Conſequences, till at laſt he pitch'd upon *Lethington*, as the only Perſon who had greateſt Influence over the Regent; and having found a convenient Opportunity, he took him aſide, and after ſome Compliments, he ſaid to him, *I thought you always a Man of Judgment and Prudence till now, I find that you come without any Conſideration to accuſe your Queen before Strangers, as if* England *had a Power to judge the Princes of* Scotland. *How can you find in your Hearts to diſhonour your King's Mother? or, how can you anſwer afterwards what you do, ſince it may be a Means to hazard the King's Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of* England, *in ſo far as you bring his Legitimacy in Queſtion, by the Calumnies charg'd againſt his Mother? It ſhould be your Duty, as Subjects, rather to cover her Imperfections, if ſhe had any; and remit the Puniſhment to GOD, who is the only Judge over Princes.* Lethington anſwer'd the Duke, That for his Part, the Laird of *Grange* and others could witneſs, that he had endeavour'd (tho' to no Purpoſe) to ſtop the Accuſation before the Regent came from *Scotland*: But found him puſh'd on by ſome malicious Perſons; therefore entreated the Duke to have a better Opinion of him

The Duke ſpeaks to *Lethington*.

Lethington's Anſwer.

A. D. 1568.

him, than to think that he had any Malice againſt the Queen, for he would then teſtifie the contrary, by doing all he poſſibly could to hinder the Regent from going in the Accuſation.

This Aſſurance of *Lethington*, encourag'd the Duke to ask him if the Regent could keep a Secret, to which *Lethington* ſaid, he could; whereupon the Duke took an Opportunity to enter into a private Conference with the Regent, and after putting him in Mind of their former Acquaintance and Intimacy, firſt contracted at the Siege of *Leith*, in the Year, 1560. whereupon, each of them proteſted for a Continuation of future Friendſhip, and having given mutual Oaths and Promiſes of Secrecy to one another; the Duke ſpake to the Regent to the ſame Purpoſe as he had done to *Lethington*, adding his Concern that the Queen of *England* his Miſtreſs, had not at any time declar'd the Queen of *Scotland*, nor her Son's Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* after her Death, which if ſhe died, without doing, would be Cauſe of great Blood-ſhed. Mean time told the Regent, that he could not, nor Queen *Elizabeth* would not determine any Thing for or againſt Queen *Mary*, whither Innocent or Guilty of the Crimes which had been alledg'd againſt her: Therefore gave this Caution to him, that when he was call'd before the Court, to give in his Defence, and further Accuſation, *That he ſhould require the Commiſſioners to declare, whether or not they had Authority from the Queen of* England *to pronounce a definitive Sentence*; which Authority he might deſire to ſee from under the Queen of *England*'s Hand and Seal, otherwiſe not to give in any further Accuſation, until they could produce their Authority in that Manner.

The Duke enters into an Intimacy with the Regent.

The Duke's Advice to the Regent.

The Earl of *Murray* finding this Advice ſo much for his own Advantage; the next Day when he came before the Commiſſioners, of whom the Duke was the Preſident, he deſir'd to be inform'd, *if his Grace, and thoſe other Commiſſioners appointed with him by the Queen of* England, *to hear their Debates, had full Power to pronounce the Queen of* Scotland *guilty or not guilty; if her Crimes ſhould be made appear by the Papers he was to give in, whether ſhe ſhould be deliver'd into his Hands, or detain'd in* England; *and if Queen* Elizabeth, *would for the Future, maintain the Authority of the young King, and Regency, at preſent eſtabliſh'd in his own Perſon.* 'Twas anſwer'd, *That their Commiſſion did not extend ſo far as to enable them to diſpoſe of the Queen of* Scots, *or to anſwer every Article he propos'd; but that Queen* Elizabeth's *Royal Word and Promiſe, were ſufficient Securities.* The Earl of *Murray* reply'd, *That the Affair was of the laſt Conſequence, that his All lay at the Stake; and tho' he doubted not her Affection to the young King, and her good Intentions towards himſelf, as an honeſt Man, who had ventur'd his Life and Eſtate for his Preſervation, and the Safety of the Country; yet he thought it abſolutely neceſſary, for the Security of both, to have thoſe Queſtions he had now ask'd, poſitively and fully reſolv'd; and to ſee Queen* Elizabeth's *Hand and Seal, for the Performance of what he requir'd.*

The Regent denies to accuſe the Queen, but upon Conditions.

This Proceeding was moſt ſurprizing to all the Regent's Confederates, eſpecially the Earl of *Morton*, who interpreted it as a Contrivance of *Lethington*'s, as he ſeem'd to doubt his Sincerity to his Party: Mean time, this procur'd a Delay on both Sides, until the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners wrote to their Queen, and ſent a Copy of the Papers given in, and what the Earl of *Murray* had demanded.

During the Time of this Delay, the Duke of *Northfolk* took Opportunity to confer with the Regent daily; and had ſuch Aſſurance of his Friendſhip, that he communicated ſeveral Things to him, which afterwards contributed to his Ruin. Mean time, Queen *Elizabeth* being adviſ'd by her Council, ſent Notice to her Commiſſioners to return to *London*, deſiring the Earl of *Murray* to ſend ſuch as he thought fit to anſwer what had been charg'd againſt him, at the Inſtance of his Queen, and to give ſufficient Reaſons for what he had done, ſince what he had hitherto given in, did not plainly appear to be Matter of Fact. The Regent, in Obedience to this Letter, went

The Regent order'd to *London*.

went up to *London*, in Company with the Queen's and *Engliſh* Commiſſioners. When they were come to *London*, Queen *Elizabeth* added to her former Commiſſioners, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Leiceſter*, *Clinton* Lord Admiral, and Sir *William Cicil* her Secretary of State; and being met, theſe new Commiſſioners preſs'd the Regent to give in his Accuſation; but he anſwer'd as before at *York*, that he would do nothing, unleſs Queen *Elizabeth* gave him her Hand and Seal, for the Performance of thoſe Conditions he had mention'd, if he prov'd Queen *Mary* guilty. *A. D.* 1568.

The Duke's good Intention to Queen *Mary*, and Thoughts of marrying her diſcover'd.

This Delay was very ſurpriſing to all his Friends, except *Lethington*, who knew the Cauſe of it; but the Secret was ſoon made known to the Regent's Aſſiſtants, by ſome of thoſe in whom the Duke of *Northfolk* and Queen *Mary* repos'd too much Confidence; for the Duke having nothing more at Heart than a Marriage with Queen *Mary*, us'd all Means to defend her Character and Intereſt; and having too negligently told the Queen in the Hearing of thoſe who were plac'd as Spies on all her Actions, by her Enemies of the *Engliſh* Court: Notice was given to Sir *William Cecil*, who was a great Enemy to the Duke of *Northfolk*, and all others between him and the firſt Place of the Government; and having now diſcover'd enough to advance his Deſigns againſt the Duke and Queen *Mary*, he forthwith laid a Plot to bring the Regent to his Meaſures; and finding *Wood* the Regent's Secretary, a fit Tool for his Purpoſe, he gave him proper Inſtructions how to manage Matters from Time to Time, as they might have Occaſion; ſo that now the Earl of *Morton*, and all the Queen's moſt inveterate Enemies, being acquainted with the Cauſe of the Regent's Delay, they doubled their Diligence to haſten their Deſigns; and finding the Regent inſiſted upon the Security in Writing, they manag'd him ſo that he gave the Accuſation to *Wood*, who brought it to the Court, where, when the Regent deny'd giving it in, Secretary *Cicil* deſir'd to know if they had it in Readineſs; whereupon *Wood* ſaid here it is; (taking it out of his Boſom) but I will not give it till Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hand Writing be ſeen, as my Lord Regent demands. The Biſhop of *Orkney*, ſeeing the Writing, ſnatch'd it from *Wood*, and gave it into the Lord Chamberlain's Hands. *Wood* pretended to follow the Biſhop, to take it back, but made no Struggle that Way. The Duke of *Northfolk* was ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Sight, and could not refrain ſhewing ſome Notice of it; whereupon *Lethington* and Mr. *Henry Balnaves*, went to the Regent, whiſper'd in his Ear, *You've not only loſt your Reputation for ever, but have likewiſe endanger'd your Life.* The Regent repenting of this diſhonourable Deed, deſir'd the Writ might be return'd to him, pretending to have ſomething to add to it: But the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners told him, *They would keep what they had, and be ready to receive any Addition, when he ſhould think proper to give it in.* This Denial made the Regent pretend great Grief for what had happen'd; ſo that he went out of the Court in great Sorrow.

Morton and *Cicil* contrive to get the Accuſation.

The Sum of the Accuſation.

This Accuſation begun with a long Preamble, excuſing the unuſual Manner of proceeding againſt a Crown'd Head; and contain'd ſeveral improbable Circumſtances of the Queen's being guilty of ſuch Crimes, as their Malice had ſuggeſted, laying the Guilt of ſuch Treaſonable Practices, as they themſelves had acted in the Face of the World againſt the Queen on herſelf; charging her Majeſty moſt unjuſtly with ſeveral Love-Letters and Verſes to *Bothwell*, which Letters and Verſes are affirm'd to have been counterfeited by *Lethington*, with the Help of Mr. *George Buchanan*, who was employ'd upon this Occaſion, to uſe all his Art and Rhetorick againſt the Queen's Honour and Reputation.

Vid. *Camb.* B. 1. P. 117.

The Accuſation, tho' not credited, ſerves to excuſe the Queen's Impriſonment.

Tho' Queen *Elizabeth* nor her Commiſſioner could not give much Credit to thoſe Aſperſions; yet were well enough pleas'd to have ſuch Excuſes, for the Confinement of the Queen to the forreign Ambaſſadors, ſuch as thoſe of *France* and *Spain*, who had, at that Time receiev'd Orders from their Courts to enquire into the Caſe of the Queen of *Scotland*; ſo that now the Queen of *England* anſwer'd them, *That ſince ſhe had come into her Kingdom ſhe would*

A. D. 1568. *keep her in Safety, till Matters were accommodated between her and the Subjects.*

Queen *Mary* forbids her Commissioners to plead before the *English* Judges, and desires to be heard in Person; but deny'd.

All this While the Queen's Commissioners were surpriz'd to find that so many apparent Falshoods were muster'd up, and taken so much Notice of, they were ready to give in Answers to what had been last alledg'd, when they received Orders from their Queen, that she would not allow them to plead before such partial Judges, as favour'd her Enemies; unless she might be heard in Person, or have the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors added to the *English* Commissioners. This Proposal, however so very reasonable, was (after several Debates) rejected.

The Earl of *Murray*, by this Time, found, that altho' great Assurance of Friendship had been given him from the *English* Court, yet the Queen seem'd to neglect him so much, that notwithstanding of the secret Promises made him, of supplying him with Money to defray his Charges of coming, and while at *London*; yet he found himself in Debt, without Money to answer his Expence; whereupon he made his Case known to *Lethington*, who had still kept in the Duke of *Northfolk*'s Favour, so that *Lethington*, having made an Apology to the Duke for the Earl's late Breach of Promise, by laying the Blame on some subtile Persons in the *English* Court, who had dealt treacherously with him; the Duke was prevail'd upon to renew his Friendship and Intimacy with the Regent, and immediately supplied him with two thousand Pounds to clear his Debts: In Return of which Favour, the Regent promis'd to use his utmost Endeavours to make up the Match between the Duke and Queen *Mary*, upon the Conditions, *that she should do nothing to the Prejudice of the Queen of* England, *or to the Children born of her, in the Succession of the Kingdom of* England; *that she should enter into a League offensive and defensive betwixt the two Kingdoms*; *that she should establish the Protestant Religion in* Scotland, *and that she should receive those who were then her Enemies into Favour.* This the Regent not only promis'd to the Duke to agree to, but likewise write to Queen *Mary*, to assure her of his Assistance in the Match, which (as he said) would be so much for her Advantage and Safety.

The Regent's Promise to the Duke of *Northfolk*, as also to the Queen.

Whilst the Regent remain'd in *England*, the Queen's Friends in *Scotland*, sent a Message to the Duke of *Chattlerault*, (who resided still in *France*) desiring he might return to *Scotland* to joyn them. The Duke made no Delay, but return'd immediately Home, and at his Arrival was welcom'd by several Noblemen, and Persons of the first Rank, who desir'd he might take the Government upon him for the Queen, and assist them to restore her to the Throne: Whereupon the Duke us'd all Means to have the Regent degraded from his usurp'd Authority, and the Queen restor'd, and propos'd to the Queen of *England*, that if she would consent to assist him to depose the Regent, and give the Government to himself, he would speedily put an End to the Civil War, and restore his injur'd Queen, without any Blood-shed; and would in all Things acquit himself with that Honour and Fidelity, which became his Birth and Relation by legittimate Descent to the Queen, as he had done during her Minority. But Queen *Elizabeth* (who studied her Interest and Pleasure, more than any Regard to the Queen of *Scotland*, or her Subjects) knew the Duke to be too great a Lover of his native Country, and lawful Queen, to gratify her Ambition, or Interest as the Regent had done; therefore protested against his Designs, and declar'd that she would oppose him with Force of Arms, and maintain the young Prince, and Regent's Authority, until the Matters in Dispute between the Queen and the Regent were determin'd.

The Regent having now obtain'd Money and so great a Mark of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Favour, he studied all Means to shew himself grateful for such Favours; and as he had prevail'd with the Duke of *Northfolk*, to receive him again into his Friendship and Favour, he easily became Master of all that unwary Nobleman's greatest Secrets, concerning his intended Marriage with Queen *Mary*, and discover'd the same to Secretary *Cecil*, who

who was a moſt ſubtile and malicious Enemy to the Duke and the Queen of *Scotland*. Mean time, the Regent parted with the Duke, with many feign'd Proteſtations of Friendſhip and Fidelity; and having a ſafe Conduct through *England*, he arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, the 2d of *February*, 1569. His firſt Care was to muſter all the Troops then in Arms, and went to the Caſtles of *Draffen* and *Royſton*, and took them from a Party of the Loyaliſts, who had poſſeſs'd them in the Queen's Name. *A. D.* 1589.

The Duke of *Chattlerault* in the Queen's Name raiſes Forces, and is join'd by the Lord *Herris*, and other Noblemen.

By this Time, the Duke of *Chattlerault* had procur'd a ſecret Commiſſion from the Queen, to raiſe what Forces he could in the Kingdom in her Majeſty's Name, and to declare her Authority: The Lord *Herris*, and ſeveral other Noblemen join'd his Grace, and were daily join'd by more; but finding no Hopes of Help from *England*, and that a Civil War was like to break out in *France*; they therefore conſider'd that their beſt Way was to keep themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, until the Duke could obtain honourable Terms of Peace for himſelf, and all ſuch of his Friends as had aſſiſted in this Deſign: To which Purpoſe, the Duke ſent his Brother, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, to the Regent, with a Meſſage to procure a ſafe Meeting, in Order to accommodate all Differences; to which the Regent agreed, and they met, and enter'd into Articles, wherein the Duke, the Earl of *Caſſils*, the Lord *Herris*, were to give Hoſtages for their Obedience to the Regent, and the young King's Authority, till the 10th Day of *April*, when they were, by theſe Articles, oblig'd to meet in *Edinburgh*, in Peace and Safety, and with the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle*, *Atholl*, *Morton*, *Mar*, *Glencairn*, ſhould conſult and conclude on ſuch Terms as might be moſt agreeable to them for the Queen's Honour and Liberty, without Prejudice to the King's Authority. That all ſuch as had any Commiſſion from the Queen, ſhould diſband their Forces from the Date of that Agreement, till the ſaid tenth of *April*; and that none of their Adherents ſhould make any Uſe of the foreſaid Authority: And for the better Performance of thoſe Articles, the Regent promis'd, on his Word of Honour, that all the abovenam'd Noblemen ſhould return ſafe and unmoleſted, and meet without any Danger or Trouble.

They ſend a Meſſage to the Regent, and enter into Articles.

Theſe Articles agreed upon, being mutually ſign'd, the Duke, with the other Noblemen of his Party, went to *Stirling* to viſit the young King, and were ſplendidly entertain'd by the Regent; and according to the Articles, the Duke gave his Son, Lord *Claud*; the Earl of *Caſſils*, his Brother; the Lord *Herris*, his eldeſt Son, as Hoſtages; and they return'd with the Regent to *Edinburgh*, where they remain'd till the Time appointed for their Meeting. Mean time, the Regent ſet at Liberty all the Priſoners taken at the Battle of *Langſide*, except Sir *James Hamilton* of *Bothwell-haugh*, who made his Eſcape ſometime before.

The Priſoners taken at *Langſide* ſet at Liberty.

The Earl of *Huntly*, the Queen's Lieutenant in the North, diſbands his Forces.

Before this Treaty, the Earl of *Huntly*, having the Queen's Commiſſion, had rais'd Forces, and reduc'd the Shires of *Merns*, *Angus* and *Fife*; but upon Notice of the Articles enter'd into by the Duke, he disbanded his Soldiers, and came to *Edinburgh*.

The Nobility meet at *Edinburgh*, and the Regent deſires the Duke to ſign to an Inſtrument.

The 10th of *April* being come, the before nam'd Perſons met, and being all in one Room, they propos'd to conſult firſt of ſuch Matters as concern'd the Queen, whoſe Captivity her Friends urg'd to be conſider'd: Whereupon the Regent aroſe, and taking out an Inſtrument or Schedule, ask'd the Duke of *Chattlerault*, if he would inſtantly ſubſcribe an Acknowledgment of the King's Authority or not. The Duke, being ſomewhat ſurpriz'd at this abrupt Queſtion, yet anſwer'd very modeſtly, *That he and his Friends had laid down their Arms conditionally, nor could he think himſelf or them oblig'd to ſubſcribe their Allegiance to the King, unleſs according to theſe Conditions, the Regent ſhould at the ſame Time grant what might be reaſonably demanded in behalf of the diſtreſs'd Queen, the Mother of their Soveraign; and therefore hop'd he would not proceed to Acts of Force and Fraud, ſince not only he, and his Friends, but their Hoſtages likewiſe were in his Hands, deſiring him to remember, that they had religiouſly obſerv'd every Article of the late Treaty, and had now come ſecure and unarm'd, as to a faithful Friend, relying upon*

The Duke's Anſwer.

A. D. 1569. *his Honour, and those Assurances of Safety he had given them in the most solemn Manner, under his own Hand.* To this modest Speech of the Duke's, the Regent made no Manner of Return, but sent his Grace and the Lord *Herries* Prisoners to the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

The Duke and Lord *Heries* committed to *Edinburgh* Castle.

In *May* the Regent went to *Stirling*, where, to please the Mob, he caus'd apprehend four Priests of *Dumblain*, and had them committed for saying Mass, and sentenc'd to be hang'd; but was so merciful that he spar'd their Lives, but yet not without Punishment, for they were chain'd to the Market-Cross, with their Vestments, Books, and Chalices, and very much abus'd by the Mob, who threw Stones and Dirt at them; after which their Vestments were burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman. The Regent went afterwards to St. *Andrew*'s, where he caus'd apprehend several Persons for diverse Crimes; among whom were executed *William Stewart*, Lord *Lyon*, who was most unjustly accus'd of Nicromancy and Witchcraft: This unfortunate Gentleman had been always loyal to the Queen, and had been before try'd for a pretended Plot against the Regent's Life; but escaping at that Time, the Regent at last brought him to the fatal End of being executed on a Gibbet, tho' innocent of any Crime, further than having been a great Enemy to the Regent, which gave the Earl's Enemies Occasion to say, *He had caught the* Lyon *in an inchanted Net, since he could not by any other Means destroy him.* At the same Time a Woman nam'd *Macniven* was burnt for Sorcery, tho' the Proof of her Crimes were very dubious. Likewise on *Paris*, a *Frenchman*, was executed for the Murder of the late King, but deny'd the Fact at his Death.

William Stewart, Lord *Lyon*, executed.

The Regent having made a Progress so far as *Inverness*, he held several Justice-Courts, to suppress the Queen's Friends, and all such as profess'd the Church of *Rome*.

In the Month of *June*, *Thomas* Lord *Boyd* came from *England*, and met the Regent at *Elgin* on his Return from the North, where he gave him Letters from the Duke of *Northfolk*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, and others, who espous'd Queen *Mary*'s Cause; desiring the Regent might perform his Promise, made at last parting from the Duke in *England*; wherein he had promis'd to assist the Duke in carrying on his Marriage with the Queen of *Scotland*: Wherefore the Duke wrote to him, *To appoint Judges to examine the Queen's Marriage with the the Earl of* Bothwell, *which if illegal, they might declare the same to be void.* Mean while it was whisper'd about in *Edinburgh* and other Parts of *Scotland*, That the Regent had enter'd into a private Contract with Queen *Elizabeth* (when in *England*) wherein he engag'd to assist the Queen of *England* against Queen *Mary* and all her Friends and Adherents, and to deliver to her the Castles of *Edinburgh*, *Stirling*, and *Dunbarton*, so soon as he could recover them from the Queen's Party, who then possess'd them. And in Return, Queen *Elizabeth* had engag'd, *That if the young King should dye without Issue, the Regent should be proclaim'd King of* Scotland, *and supported in his usurp'd Power, provided he always paid Homage to the Crown of* England.

The Duke of *Northfolk*'s Message to the Regent.

A Report of a Contract between the Regent and Q. *Elizabeth*.

This Report, whether false or true, was credited among many; and Placades, containing an Account of the same, was affix'd often upon the Market-Crosses, Church-Doors, and other conspicuous Places of the Cities of *Edinburgh*, *Stirling*, and chief Places of the Kingdom; which, with the Regent's Breach of Honour to the Duke of *Chattlerault*, and Barbarity to the Lord *Lyon* and others, very much encreas'd the Number of his Enemies. And what confirm'd many in this Opinion was, that when the Lord *Boyd* brought those Letters from the Duke of *Northfolk* and his Friends, he could obtain no other Answer from him, but, *That if Queen* Mary *was so eager for a Divorce, she might write to the King of* Denmark *to do Justice upon* Bothwell *for the Murder of her late Husband, which would save the Trouble of a tedious Process in* Scotland. And before he had given so much Satisfaction to the Lord *Boyd*, he had dispatch'd his own Secretary, *John Wood*, with their Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*; so far contrary to the solemn

The Regent's Answer to *Northfolk*'s Message.

Vows

Vows and Proteſtations of Friendſhip, Fidelity and Secrecy given before to the Duke of *Northfolk*. *A. D.* 1569.

When the Queen of *England* was inform'd of the Duke of *Northfolk*'s Deſigns to marry the Queen of *Scotland*, ſhe conſulted her Secretary *Cicil*, how ſhe ſhould behave in that Affair; which gave him ſuch an Opportunity as he wiſh'd for, he having for ſome Time envy'd the Duke's Grandeur at Court, where he himſelf was in Hopes to have the chief Management of all Matters; which he could not attain to, while the Duke of *Northfolk* continu'd in the Queen's Favour: Therefore he advis'd the Queen to ſend for the Duke to Court, and to give Orders to her Guards to ſeize, and commit him to the Tower; which if ſhe did delay, her Crown and Life would be in Peril. Whereupon ſhe ſent for the Duke, who came with his uſual Retinue to *London*, and went privately to Secretary *Cicil*, and deſir'd his Opinion concerning the Order he had to come to Court, whether or not there were any Danger in his coming. The ſubtle Secretary, who had ploted his Deſtruction, aſſur'd him, that he was in no Danger, tho' he well knew the contrary: So the Duke was ſeiz'd by the Queen's Guards, and committed Priſoner to the Tower, and was ſpeedily brought to his Trial, where he was found guilty of high Treaſon, for having endeavour'd to marry the Queen of *Scotland*, who had once aſſum'd the Tittle and Arms of *England*: Which claim Queen *Mary* had publickly renounc'd, and declar'd to have been the Deed of the *French* King, at that Time her Father-in-Law: Yet now it is renew'd, to deſtroy this great Peer, who regarded the unjuſt Sufferings of the innocent Queen. But whilſt he had endeavour'd to deliver her, he had employ'd his greateſt Enemies, ſuch as Secretary *Cicil*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, as his faithful Friends; ſo that he fell a Sacrifice to to their treacherous Ambition. He was brought upon his Trial without the Aſſiſtance of a Council, or Time to prepare any thing in his own Defence, and was, by a ſtretch'd Law, found guilty, and ſentenc'd to be drawn on a Sledge to a Gibbet, to be hang'd and quarter'd. The Horour of the Sentence ſurpriz'd the Duke, ſo that he ſtood and ſaid, *Sentence is here pronounc'd againſt me as a Traitor, without a legal Trial or Hearing: If I am hurry'd from Time to Eternity, I hope to find that Mercy in Heaven which I cannot expect on Earth: With that Confidence I will therefore prepare my ſelf for Death, and hope the Queen will be more favourable to my Children and Servants, and allow the Payment of my Debts.* The Sentence was moderated, and he was beheaded on *Tower-hill*. His Death was very much lamented by all good Men, as he was a Perſon of many excellent Qualifications. Thus fell the Duke of *Northfolk* by the Treachery of Sir *William Cicil*, who had employ'd ſeveral Emiſſaries to effectuate his Deſtruction; to which the Earl of *Murray* was ſaid to have contributed very much.

Secretary *Cicil*'s Advice to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Duke of *Northfolk* impriſon'd.

Is tried, and found guilty of Treaſon.

He is beheaded on *Tower-hill*.

Upon the firſt Intelligence that Queen *Elizabeth* had of the Deſigns of the Duke of *Northfolk* to releaſe Queen *Mary*, ſhe immediately order'd her to be remov'd from *Cumberland* to *Coventry*, and deliver'd to the Cuſtody of the Earls of *Shrewsburry* and *Huntingdon*; and at the ſame Time Queen *Elizabeth* caus'd publiſh a Declaration, wherein ſhe ſolemnly proteſted, *That the Contract ſo much talk'd of in* Scotland, *to have been made between her and the Regent, was entirely falſe, and forg'd by ſuch as were Enemies to the Peace and Tranquility of both Nations.*

Queen *Mary* remov'd to *Coventry*.

By this Time the Loyaliſts in *Scotland* ſeeing no Probability of any Aſſiſtance from *England*, after the Duke of *Northfolk*'s Death, they thought it would be to no Purpoſe to attempt any thing further; and the Earl of *Huntly* who was the Chief of thoſe who ſubſiſted that Cauſe, having procur'd the Regent's ſolemn Promiſe of Safety for himſelf and his Vaſſals, and all ſuch as had adher'd to the Queen's Intereſt, he disbanded his Troops: But no ſooner were they return'd home to their own Houſes, than the Regent came to *Aberdeen*, and ſummon'd all ſuch as had been in Arms for the Queen, with the Earl of *Huntly*, to appear; and as they had Aſſurance of the Promiſe he had

A. D. 1569. had formerly given to the Earl, they came in to *Aberdeen*; and were oblig'd to compone with the Regent for their Lives and Eſtates, he having charg'd them with Rebellion and other Crimes; by which he found Means to raiſe great Sums of Money, which almoſt ruin'd many of the Country Gentlemen and their Followers.

The Regent, at his Return, wrote to all the Nobility of his own Faction, to meet him at *Stirling*, to conſult about Matters concerning the Publick: And as the Earls of *Atholl* and *Crawford* were on their Journey, they met Secretary *Lethington* at *Dumblain*, and ſpent a whole Day with him in Hunting; which being told the Regent, he imagin'd that their meeting was intended to contrive ſome Means to releaſe the Queen; for the Secretary had diſoblig'd the Regent, by upbraiding him with the Breach of Honour, in deceiving the Duke of *Northfolk*, and other Things, which the Secretary would not countenance; ſo that the Regent was ſo very jealous of him, that nothing but his Deſtruction could eaſe his Mind, and when they were conveen'd at *Stirling*, the Regent order'd one *Thomas Crawford* to come into their Aſſembly, and to charge *Lethington* with the Murder of the late King; which accordingly he did. The Secretary being ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Plot, ſtood up and ſpoke in his Defence, and offer'd Bail for his Compearance, to anſwer according to Law to the Crimes ſo unjuſtly charg'd againſt him: But his Requeſt was deny'd, and he was ſent under a ſtrong Guard to the City of *Edinburgh*, where he was confin'd cloſe Priſoner. At the ſame time the Regent caus'd apprehend Sir *James Balfour* and his Brother, who were intimate Friends of *Lethington*'s: But Sir *James* having brib'd *Wood*, the Regent's Secretary, and urg'd the Favour he had done the Regent in the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, they were both admitted to Bail, to appear when requir'd.

The Regent ſeeks to Deſtroy *Lethington*.

Lethington ſent Priſoner to *Edinburgh* Tolbooth.

The Lord *Seaton* being ſummon'd to *Edinburgh*, was ſent Priſoner to St. *Andrew*'s, which gave Offence to ſome even of the Regent's own Faction; ſo that many of thoſe who had aſſiſted him in his former Proceedings, were very much offended at ſuch arbitrary and unjuſt Proceedings; among whom was the Laird of *Grange*, who was ſtill Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, and finding that the Regent intended no leſs than to take *Lethington*'s Life, he went in the Night with the Strength of his Garriſon, and brought *Lethington* from the City Priſon to the Caſtle.

The Lord *Seaton* impriſon'd.

Grange carries *Lethington* from the Tolbooth to the Caſtle, by Force.

The Earl of *Morton* having ſome Grudge at *Grange*, he had obtain'd the Regent's Promiſe of the Government of the Caſtle to be given to the Laird of *Drumquhaſſill*, and had ſuborn'd four Centinels of the Name of *Dowglaſs* to aſſaſſinate *Grange*, the firſt Time he ventur'd abroad by himſelf into the City,

Morton plots againſt *Grange*

The Regent ſeeing *Lethington* protected by *Grange*, order'd a Proceſs of High Treaſon to be commenc'd againſt *Lethington*; ſo that if he could not reach his Life, he might ſeize his Eſtate. This, inſtead of being of Service to the Regent, provok'd *Grange* to ſend a Trumpet to charge the Earl of *Morton* and Mr. *Archibald Dowglaſs* with the Murder of the late King; and to challenge Mr. *Archibald Dowglaſs* to a ſingle Combat upon that Account. The Lord *Herris* (who was ſtill in the Caſtle) at the ſame Time ſent a Challenge to the Earl of *Morton*, charging him with the Murder of the late King: But neither of theſe Challenges were anſwer'd.

Grange challenges Mr. *Archibald Dowglaſs*.

The Lord *Herries* challenges *Morton*.

While Affairs were ſo manag'd in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Northumberland* rais'd a ſtrong Party, as 'twas believ'd, to releaſe, or attempt ſomething in Favour of Queen *Mary*; but having no Aſſiſtance from *Scotland* or any where elſe, they were forc'd to take themſelves to Flight. The Earl of *Murray*, upon the firſt Notice of their being in Arms, was willing to ſhew himſelf ready to ſerve Queen *Elizabeth*; he therefore rais'd all the Troops he could, and march'd towards the Border, where he had Notice that the Earl of *Northumberland* had croſs'd the River *Tweed*, and was kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by the *Elliots*, who endeavour'd to conceal him: But the Regent having Notice of the Houſe where he was, he went in the Night, and

and ſurrounded the Houſe; and tho' the *Eliots* made a ſtout Reſiſtance, and kill'd ſome of the Regent's Party, yet the unfortunate Earl was at laſt taken, and ſent under a ſtrong Guard to *Lochleven*, where he remain'd for ſome Time; and was at laſt given up by *Morton* to his Queen, who caus'd him to be beheaded, as ſhall be ſeen hereafter. *A. D.* 1569.

Northumberland taken and ſent Priſoner to *Lochleven*, by the Regent.

This diſhonourable Action, with the many other Acts of Cruelty and Deceit, committed by the Regent from Time to Time, turn'd many of his former Friends to be his Enemies; and being thus univerſally hated, his Enemies upbraided him with his Crimes to his Face; ſo that now his declar'd Enemies found a good Opportunity to be reveng'd for the Injuries he had done them. Among all his Enemies none had threaten'd Revenge ſo much as *James Hamilton* of *Bothwell-haugh*, who had made his Eſcape out of Priſon, where he was confin'd by the Regent, after the Battle of *Langſide*, and had been ſentenc'd to be hang'd. His Wife, who was Heireſs of *Woodhouſlie*, was driven out of her Houſe, and ſtrip'd naked, in the midſt of a cold Winter's Night, ſo that in that Condition, in the open Fields, ſhe was freighten'd into Fits of Diſtraction, and ſoon after died; for which the Huſband vow'd to be reveng'd, and reſolv'd upon the Regent's Death; which he thus accompliſh'd at *Linlithgow*, the 23d of *January*, 1570. He poſted himſelf in a wooden Gallery fronting the High-ſtreet, through which he knew the Regent was to paſs; on the Floor he laid Feather-Beds, to conceal the moving of his Feet, and hung ſome black Cloath over-againſt the Window, to conceal his Shadow, having cut a Hole to place his Fuſee, which he planted there in Readineſs; and to facilitate his Eſcape, he had prepar'd a Paſſage backwards, and plac'd a ſwift Horſe ready ſadled to mount: So that as ſoon as the Regent mounted his Horſe, he came ſlowly thro' the Town, till he came to the Place where his Death was prepar'd; and *James Hamilton* took Aim at his Belt, and ſhot him through the Body with a ſingle Bullet, a little below the Navel, and got ſuddenly to his Horſe, which he mounted, and went in all Haſte to *Hamilton*; and in ſome Days after went over to *France*, where he liv'd for ſome Years. 'Tis reported, that while he reſided in *France*, he was importun'd to accept of a large Reward to diſpatch Admiral *Coligny*, as he had done the Regent of *Scotland*: But told them, *That if* Coligny *had injur'd him and his Country, as the Regent had done, he did not know how far his Paſſion might over-power him, yet he was ſorry for what he had done; but as for committing Murder for a Reward, he would never conſent to, nor would not concern himſelf in any diſhonourable Quarrels.*

James Hamilton's Wife maltreated by the Regent, for which her Husband vows Revenge 1570.

He kills the Regent at *Linlithgow*,

And flies to *France*.

Thus fell *James* Earl of *Murray*, natural Son of King *James* V. of *Scotland*; a Man indefatigable in the way to Greatneſs, who us'd Religion as a Cloak for his Ambition and Rebellion; and under Pretence of Zeal for the Reformation, enrich'd himſelf with the Spoil of the *Romiſh* Churches. Cruel and ungrateful, but above all to the Queen his Siſter, who ever truſted to his Sincerity; and over whoſe Weakneſs, as a Woman, he conſtantly triumph'd. A Man wholly indifferent to his Country's Well-fare and his moſt ſolemn Promiſes; who eaſily forgot the good Offices of his Friends, but never pardon'd the ill ones of his Enemies. He had a pious, as well as liberal Education, and in his Youth apply'd himſelf, with tollerable Succeſs, to the Study of Religion and Philoſophy; and made ſo promiſing an Appearance, that in all Probability, had he kept himſelf from the Stage of Publick Buſineſs, at leaſt acted in a lower Sphere, he had left behind him an unblemiſh'd Reputation, and paſs'd upon the World for a Man of a ſuperlative Judgment. But his Ambition having puſh'd him on to attempt that which was not ſafe nor honeſt, that he might attain to Soveraign Power, in that eminent Station he diſcover'd his native Weakneſs; his Head grew giddy with the unuſual Height, and not having a Spirit large enough for ſo great a Fortune, he fell into all thoſe Ills which in a private Life he would have avoided. His natural Propenſity too, to a profuſe way of Living, engag'd him in many diſhonourable Adventures; for being in his proſperous Fortune, led away by every hungry Flatterer about him, he was forc'd to ſqueeze the Poor, and oppreſs

The Earl of *Murray*'s Character, by *Crawford* of *Drumſey*,

A. D. 1570. the Rich, under the Pretence of forg'd Crimes, to support his own Prodigality, and to satisfie their Wants and Avarice. He was very indulgent to Men of Letters, and would readily grant them any Favour, and was particularly fond of the learn'd Mr. *George Buchannan*. This Virtue remain'd with him, when Time, Sycophants, and Prosperity had wholly defac'd the rest: In short, he was active in Business, of undaunted Courage, and easily engag'd in the most difficult and hazardous Enterprizes; but being often at to much Pains in Affairs that requir'd less Labour, it became a common Saying, Murray *has the Hands, and* Morton *the Head*; for the Earl of *Morton* had such Influence over all his Actions, that many of his worst Actions, were owing more to *Morton*'s cruel Disposition, than his own Inclination. His Body was carried from *Linlithgow* to *Edinburgh*, and was interr'd in the Collegiate Church. When the News of his Death was brought to *England* to the Queen his Sister, whom he had so unjustly injur'd in her Fortune, and her more valuable Reputation, she was so far from shewing the least Sign of Resentment, that she declar'd with Tears in her Eyes, that she was heartily sory for his unhappy Death; especially, that he was so suddenly taken away, before he had, by serious Repentance, expiated his Sins against G O D, his Soveraign and Country. The Queen of *England* hearing of the Regent's Death, was very much troubl'd, because at that Time, she imagin'd that the *Scots* would unite and join that Party of her Subjects, who were offended at the Confinement of Queen *Mary*: And as *France* and *Spain* seem'd to take some Notice of her Case, Queen *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Thomas Randalph*, as her Ambassador, to *Scotland*, to sound both Parties *(viz.)* the Associators and Loyalists, and encourage them both to expect Assistance from *England*, in case they should continue to maintain their seperate Causes; and promis'd the Loyalists a small Sum of Money, to raise Troops.

Q. *Mary* laments the Regent's unhappy Fate.

Q. *Elizabeth* sends *Randalph* to *Scotland*.

The Associators, having lost their Chiftan the Regent, the Earl of *Morton* being then the most considerable Man of their Party, he freely took upon him to write to all the other Noblemen, who hated the Queen, to meet at *Edinburgh* upon the 12th of *February*, to consult the publick Safety; and at which Meeting, he did not doubt, but that he should be made Regent himself, or to have one preferr'd to that Office, whom he might manage as he did the last.

Argyle heads the Loyalists, and sends a Message to the Associators.

Mean time, the Loyalists hasten'd to *Hamilton*, where the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lords *Livingston* and *Fleming*, with many other Lords and Gentlemen agreed to send a Letter to the Associators, representing to them, *That the Day prefix'd for the Meeting at* Edinburgh, *being so near, several of the Nobility, who liv'd at a great Distance, could not be in Town by that Time; therefore desir'd, they would appoint a more convenient Day, so that all Parties concern'd might be present, where all Matters might be freely and calmly argu'd on both Sides, and the present Controversie fairly decided by the Majority of Voices; that if this Request was denied and slighted, they would have Recourse to Arms, and pursue them as Enemies to the publick Peace, and Betrayers to their native Country.* The Associators took no Notice of this Letter, nor gave they any Answer, but met on the Day appointed, and caus'd issue a Proclamation, wherein they charg'd all the King's Subjects to prosecute the Loyalists with the utmost Severity, for having protected the Person who kill'd the late Regent.

Lethington acquitted of the late Accusation.

In this Convention the Secretary *Lethington* was acquitted, and was restor'd to his Office again, and the Laird of *Grange* was solicited to join the Associators, as he still had acknowledg'd the King's Authority, tho' he had quarrell'd with the Regent. The last Day of his Convention, they sent a few of their Number with a Commission to the Castle, to examine the Duke of *Chattlerault*, if he was privy to the Murder of the Regent; but the Duke purg'd himself, by solemn Oath, from all Manner of Suspicion in that Affair.

The Duke of *Chattlerault* clears himself of having any Knowledge of the Regent's Death.

The

The Aſſociators finding it would be dangerous to attempt any Thing againſt the Queen's Party, without the Queen of *England*'s Advice, that they not only delay'd the chuſing of a new Regent, but likewiſe appointed a new Convention, and by Letters deſir'd thoſe whom they had proclaim'd Partners in the Regent's Murder might be preſent. The Loyaliſts accepted of the Propoſal, and made what Speed they could to *Edinburgh*, where, relying upon *Grange*'s Friendſhip, they lodg'd themſelves near the Caſtle, ſo as they might apply to him for Aſſiſtance, in caſe of any Danger. When they met in an Aſſembly, the Loyaliſts propos'd, *That the Queen ſhould be reſtor'd to the Throne of her Anceſtors; and that, in the mean time a Lieutenant, or Vice-Roy ſhould be choſen (by a Majority of Voices in that Aſſembly) to govern the Nation in her Abſence; that he ſhould have one Half of the Crown Rent to maintain his Dignity and Expence, and that the other Half ſhould be given to the Queen till her Reſtoration could be accompliſh'd.* This Propoſal was utterly rejected by the Aſſociators, who anſwer'd, *That they had appointed this Aſſembly to maintain the preſent Government, and not to eſtabliſh a new one.* But as they found their Party not ſufficieutly ſtrong, and ſuſpected the Laird of *Grange*'s Intentions; they, upon ſecond Thought, to make Matters eaſie, pretended, *that what the Queen's Friends had propos'd was of ſuch great Importance, that it requir'd ſome longer Time to be conſidered of, before they could give their final Reſolutions therein.* This was only to have Time to fortify their Party; ſo they furthwith wrote to the Queen of *England*, entreating her Advice and Aſſiſtance; and at the ſame Time wrote Letters to *Matthew Stewart* Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather, to return to *Scotland*, to take upon him the Regency for the Advantage of his Grand-child. Of this Meſſage to the Earl they had acquainted Queen *Elizabeth* in their Letters; and as at that Time the *French* King had ſent Monſieur *Verac*, with Advice to the Queen's Friends, to adhere to her Cauſe, and promis'd them Aſſiſtance: This gave the Aſſociators Opportunity to renew their Applications to Queen *Elizabeth*, repreſenting, *That if Queen* Mary *ſhould at that Time make her Eſcape, the Aſſurance that her Friends had of Aſſiſtance from* France, *would certainly ruin their Party, who were entirely devoted to ſerve her, and her Subjects of* England. To this Meſſage Queen *Elizabeth* gave no immediate Anſwer, being adviſ'd not to meddle with either Party of the *Scots*, that their Diviſions would ſoon occaſion a Civil War, whereby they might be engag'd among themſelves, and be incapacitated to do any Hurt to *England*: which indeed happen'd according to their Hopes, for ſuch Diviſion aroſe between both Parties, that ſcarce any Part of the Kingdom was at Peace, which gave great Content to ſome of the Court of *England*.

A. D. 1570.

The Nobility of both Parties meet at *Edinburgh*.

Propoſals made by the Queen's Party,

rejected by the Aſſociators.

The Aſſociators apply to Q. *Elizabeth*.

Mean time, Queen *Mary* ſent down the Laird of *Garntully*, with a Letter directed to the Earl of *Marr*, requeſting him to keep her Son out of the Hands of his Enemies; and according to that Duty which he ow'd to his Soveraign, to uſe his Endeavours to conclude Peace, in Order to promote her Reſtoration; and to aſſure thoſe who would not comply, upon reaſonable Terms, that *France* would aſſiſt her loyal Subjects againſt them, and force them to a Senſe of their Duty. The Queen, at the ſame Time, wrote Letters to ſeveral of her Friends to the ſame Purpoſe, which they made known to the Queen's Advantage, but the Earl of *Marr* could not be induc'd by any Means to join the Queen's Intereſt.

The Queen's Meſſage to the Earl of *Marr*.

In the mean time, the Queen's Friends met at *Niddery* and *Seaton* in the Month of *March*, and appointed a general Rendezvous at *Linlithgow*, on the 8th of *April* after; which Meeting was noways pleaſing to the Aſſociators, for they were not yet in a Condition to defend themſelves, in caſe the Loyaliſts betook them to Arms ſuddenly: For as yet they were without a Head, having no Regent till the Earl of *Lenox* would arrive; wherefore they ſtudied how to divert the Queen's Party from Acts of Hoſtility, and to pleaſe them, the Aſſociators ſet their Chief the Duke of *Chattlerault*, with the Lord *Herris* at Liberty. This Favour was very acceptable to them, yet

The Duke of *Chattlerault* and Lord *Herris* releas'd.

A. D. 1570. did impede their meeting; for at the Time and Place appointed came the Duke of *Chattlerault* with the *French* Ambaſſador, the Earl of *Argyle*, *Huntly*, *Athol*, *Crawford*, and *Caſſils*; the Lords *Hume*, *Fleming*, *Boyd*, *Seaton*, *Teſter*, *Sommervile*, *Oliphant*, *Ogilvie*, *Borthwick*, and *Herris*; Secretary *Lethington*, and Sir *James Balfour*, with the two *Engliſh* Lords, the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and the Lord *Dacers*. At their firſt Meeting, they drew up an Anſwer to the *French* King's Letters wherein they gave an exact Account of their Condition, with the Poſture of the Affairs of the Kingdom; which being diſpatch'd, they conſulted, that as they were then in an open defenceleſs Town, they were not ſafe if the Enemy made any Attempt; therefore ſent a Meſſage to the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, deſiring they might be peaceably admitted into the City, until Matters might be adjuſted between their Enemies and them; which Requeſt the Citizens readily granted, with the Exception that the *Engliſh* Lords ſhould not come with them; for as the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* and Lord *Dacres*, had been concern'd in the Rebellion before mention'd, with the Earl of *Northumberland*; they hearing of the Regent's Death, rais'd a Body of Horſemen, and came unto the Borders, and made ſome Diſturbance among their own Country-Men, who made great Complaints againſt them at Court, which occaſion'd great Uneaſineſs; and when they were afraid of being purſu'd, they came over to *Scotland*, and were protected by the Lairds of *Buccleugh*, and *Fernihaerſt*, till they went and joyn'd the Queen's Party; whereupon the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador demanded them to be deliver'd up, but had no Anſwer; However, the Citizens of *Edinburgh* were cautious how to offend the Queen of *England*, by ſheltering them in their City: And when they gave Leave to the Queen's Lords to come into the City, the Lord *Hume* had the Care of the two *Engliſh* Peers committed to his Charge; and he firſt convoy'd them to his own Houſe, where he kept them ſafe, until he got a Ship, which carried them ſafe to *Flanders*. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* ſent the Earl of *Suſſex* with an Army to the Borders, to take Revenge of *Buccleugh* and *Fernihaerſt*, as ſhe pretended: But the real Deſign was to aſſiſt the Aſſociators againſt the Queen's Party, and facilitate the Earl of *Lenox*'s Acceſſion to the Regency, he being then ready to return to *Scotland*. The Queen's Party eaſily judging the Queen of *England*'s Deſigns, wrote ſubmiſſive Letters to her and to the General, entreating that ſhe would rather give ſome Proof of the many Promiſes ſhe had made to ſhew Kindneſs, and do Juſtice to the diſtres'd Queen, than take that Opportunity to invade the Country, to ruin it, when the Subjects were ſo divided; adding, that they would agree to any reaſonable Terms for the Honour of their Queen, and the Safety of their Country: But the *Engliſh* Queen took no Notice of their Letters, nor return'd any Anſwer to them; therefore they endeavour'd to accommodate Matters, by fair Means, amongſt themſelves, and propos'd another Meeting between a Number of both Parties, to avoid Blood-ſhed and Tumults: And at laſt, the Place appointed for the Conference was *Dalkeith*, and for the Loyaliſts appeard the Earl of *Athol*, (who had lately come over to the Queen's Party) the Prior of *Coldingham*, Brother to Secretary *Lethington*, with the Lord *Boyd*; and for the Aſſociators, *Jams* Earl of *Morton*, and the Commendator of *Dumfermling*. But this Meeting terminated without any Agreement, for the Queen's Party were ſtedfaſt in their Loyalty to their Miſtreſs, and offended the other, by undervaluing the young King's Authority. After their parting the Earl of *Suſſex*, with the *Engliſh* Army, enter'd the South Borders, and demoliſh'd the Caſtles of *Fernihaerſt* and *Broxholme*, the Towns of *Hawick* and *Crawling*, he burnt to Aſhes; and having waſted the Houſes and Lands, belonging to the Lord *Hume*, he march'd back to *England*.

The Queen's Party come to *Edinburgh*.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſends an Army to the Borders to join the Aſſociators.

The Queen's Party make Overtures to Q. *Elizabeth*, but ſlighted.

A Conference between both Parties, but to no Purpoſe.

The *Engliſh* burn ſeveral Houſes in the Border.

The Duke of *Chattlerault*, with the beforemention'd Lord, being ſtill lodg'd in *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Morton* reſolv'd to drive them from thence, ſo march'd a ſtrong Party towards the City; whereupon the Laird of *Grange* hearing of his coming, reſolv'd to declare himſelf; for the Loyaliſts caus'd two great Guns, from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to be plac'd privately

Grange declares for the Queen's Party.

vately, in the Paſſage of the Road, by which the Earl of *Morton* was to enter; ſo that when he with his Party came forward, they were terrified with the Diſcharge of the Guns, which ſo frighten'd them, that they retir'd ſuddenly, nor durſt venture near the City again for ſome Time: Mean time, the *Engliſh* Army return'd, and beſieg'd and took the Caſtle of *Hume*, which they plunder'd, and return'd therewith to *England*. *A. D.* 1570.

Hume Caſtle plunder'd by the *Engliſh*.

By this Time the Citizen's of *Edinburgh*, being afraid of the Approach of the *Engliſh* Army, requeſted the Queen's Party to depart the City, leaſt their Stay might bring the Strength of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Aſſociators againſt them: Whereupon the Duke order'd all thoſe Soldiers they had hir'd in the City and Suburbs to be ready, and ſo march'd with them towards *Linlithgow*; to which, as they went, they met the Earl of *Marr*, with a good Body of Men, going towards *Edinburgh*, where he intended to enter, upon Notice of the other Party's having left it. The Duke (upon Sight of the Earl and his Party, drew up his Party, in Order to fight; but the Earl having no Deſign to endanger his Life, thought fit to wheel off, and leave the Way to his Grace, who purſu'd his March to *Linlithgow*.

The Queen's Party leaves *Edinburgh*.

The Aſſociators being inform'd of the Earl of *Marr*'s late Danger, iſſu'd a Proclamation forbiding all the King's Subjects to aſſiſt ſuch tumultuous Perſons, under the Pain of Death; and commanding all Officers and Magiſtrates to ſeize and apprehend them, if they ſhould come within their Burroughs. The Queen's Party, at the ſame Time, iſſu'd another Proclamation, commanding all her Majeſty's Subjects to attend the Duke of *Chattlerault*, the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntly*, as her lawful impower'd Lieutenants; and that under the Pain of Death: Mean time the Laird of *Grange* provided to be in Readineſs, leſt the *Engliſh* ſhould come to beſiege the Caſtle, and threaten'd to cannonade any of the Aſſociators, if they came near the City. The Earl of *Morton*, finding the Guns of the Caſtle unexpectedly turn'd upon him, and the Queen's Party grow ſtrong; ſent the Abbot of *Dumfermling* to *England*, to entreat Aſſiſtance from Queen *Elizabeth*, to ſupport the young King's Intereſt againſt the Queen's Party, and to haſten Home the Earl of *Lenox* to take the Regency.

Proclamations publiſh'd by both Parties.

Queen *Elizabeth* readily complied with their Requeſt, but required they would give Hoſtages for their ſafe Return (only the Hazards of War excepted) when Matters were accompliſh'd. To this the Aſſociators agreed, and there were ſent, as Hoſtages for the Earl of *Morton*, *John Douglaſs* of *Kilſpindie*; for the Earl of *Marr*, *James Erskine* his Brother; beſides three more for the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Lords *Lindſay* and *Ruthven*. The Hoſtages having enter'd *Berwick*, upon the 10th of *May* 1570, the next Day the Governor thereof Sir *William Drury*, accompanied *Mathew* Earl of *Lenox* with an Army of 10000 Foot, 300 light Horſemen, and four Field Pieces. On the 13th of the ſame Month, they arriv'd near *Edinburgh*, and were join'd by 1000 *Scots*, that the Lords of the Aſſociation had preſs'd: With this Army they march'd to *Hamilton*, and burnt the Duke's Palace, with the Town and Caſtle of *Kineel*; alſo the Lands and Houſes belonging to the Lords *Fleming* and *Livingſton*, were waſted, and ſeveral other Houſes and Chapels, were burnt to Aſhes; after which they march'd back again to *Berwick*, and the *Scots* Pledges were allow'd to return Home.

Hoſtages given to the Queen of *England*, for the ſafe Return of her Army.

The *Engliſh* Army enters *Scotland*.

Hamilton Palace burnt.

About this Time the Abbot of *Dumfermling* return'd Home from *England*, and with him came Sir *Thomas Randalph*, with a Meſſage from Queen *Elizabeth* to the Aſſociators, wherein ſhe told them, that tho' they had done nothing without her Advice, yet ſhe could not reſiſt the Importunity of forreign Ambaſſadors, to give a new Hearing to their Queen, ſince the late Regent had not juſtified the violent Proceedings againſt her; therefore, till Matters were decided, ſhe advis'd them not to chuſe a Regent; however, aſſur'd them, that ſhe would not give any Aſſiſtance to their Enemies againſt them, whereby the King, or eſtabliſh'd Religion might be in Danger. The Aſſociators ſuſpecting that Queen *Elizabeth*'s Deſigns were to give Time to their Enemies to ſtrengthen, ſo as to continue a Civil War, to weaken

Q. *Elizabeth*'s Meſſage to the Aſſociators.

A. D. 1570. the Country, and ſo take Advantage to ſend an Army, and turn the Ballance as ſhe pleas'd; they thought it would be proper to have a Head, in caſe of any Danger, therefore conſtituted the Earl of *Lenox* temporary Regent, by the Name of Lieutenant of the Kingdom, to be duly elected on the 11th of *July* after, at which time they appointed a general Meeting of their Party; and again ſent Notice to Queen *Elizabeth* of what they had done and intended: Whereupon ſhe wrote a very kind Letter, wherein ſhe approv'd of their Reſolution to make *Lenox* Regent, he being the moſt proper Perſon to take care of his Grandchild's Intereſt. That tho' ſhe had propos'd to give the *Scots* Queen a hearing, yet did not intend to be aſſiſting in any Alteration in the Church or State; and concluded with her Advice to them, to do nothing that might render her good Intentions to ſerve them, ineffectual. After they receiv'd this Letter, wherein they were ſure of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Aſſiſtance to ſupport their Cauſe, they met on the Day appointed, and elected the Earl of *Lenox* ſole Regent of the Kingdom, to be continu'd during the King's Minority; which Election was publickly proclaim'd the 13th of *July* at *Stirling*, where he was elected, and at all other Towns in their Power.

The Earl of *Lenox* elected Regent.

The Loyaliſts at this Time being but few in Number, fearing Danger, fenc'd themſelves in *Calendar-Wood*, in hopes to ſurprize the new Regent in his Way from *Stirling* to *Linlithgow*, and the Party was commanded by Lord *Claud Hamilton*; but the Regent being inform'd of their Deſign, put off his Journey, and they were forc'd to retire to *Hamilton*.

Aberbrothock Caſtle and *Brichen* fortify'd by the Earl of *Huntly*, &c.

So ſoon as the Regent ſaw the Road clear, he went to *Linlithgow*, where he had Notice that the Earl of *Huntly* had beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Aberbrothock* in *Angus*, and that the Earl of *Crawford* and Lord *Ogilvy* were fortifying the Town of *Brichen*, where they deſign'd to wait the coming of the Earl of *Huntly*; whereupon the Regent ſent the Earl of *Morton* with a Party of Light-Horſe againſt them. Thoſe Lords being but weak, could not diſpute the Siege or Town againſt the Earl of *Morton*, ſo rais'd the Siege of the Caſtle, and likewiſe the Town of *Brichen*, leaving only two Captains with a Party in the Church, which, when attack'd by the Earl of *Morton*, they fir'd ſo ſmartly, that they made his Forces retire, with the Loſs of 13 Men ſlain on the Spot. When the Regent had Notice of this bold Attempt, he muſter'd all the Troops he could, and march'd ſpeedily to aſſiſt the Earl of *Morton*; and when he came up with ſuch a ſtrong Body, the two Captains (whoſe Names were *Couts* and *Weems*) ſurrender'd at Diſcretion to the Regent. The Earl of *Morton* being highly offended at the Loſs of the Victory, prevail'd with the Regent (whom he rul'd as he had done his Predeceſſor in that Office) and caus'd *Couts* and his Party, conſiſting of 75 Men, to be executed in Sight of the Town. *Weems* had undergone the ſame Puniſhment, had he not brib'd the Earl of *Morton*, and purchas'd his Life with Money.

Brichen taken, and the Soldiers executed

This Action of the Regent, however ſo reaſonable, did very much offend the Common-people, who look'd upon this as a Proof of his Cruelty, and exclaim'd againſt him, ſaying, He had no Love for *Scotland*, who was ſo ready to ſhed ſo much Blood; and that he was come only to ſerve the Court of *England*, having left his Wife as a Pledge of his Fidelity to that Nation. By this Means the Regent was generally ill look'd upon; for as *Huntly* was ſtill in Arms, and all the *Hamiltons* had an ancient Grudge at him, the Loyaliſts had been join'd by many, to attempt ſome Enterprize againſt him, had not an *Engliſh* Army enter'd the weſt Borders, and burnt the Towns of *Annan* and *Dumfrees*; which diſcourag'd many People from joining the Queen's Party, fearing the Power of *England* more than the Regent and his Party. The *Engliſh* Army having thus plunder'd and burnt *Dumfrees*, and in their Return demoliſh'd and plunder'd the Caſtles of *Closburn*, *Cowhill*, *Carlavrock*, *Tinwall*, *Hoddam*, *Annan*, and *Bonſhaw*; and being loaded with Spoil, march'd home triumphantly.

The *Engliſh* burn *Annan* and *Dumfrees*

The King of *Spain*, at this Time, very much lamented the Queen's unfortunate Condition; but had ſo much to do with his Men and Money in the

Netherlands,

Netherlands, that he conld not give any great Aſſiſtance: However the Duke of *Alva*, being ſollicited by *John Hamilton*, Rector of *Dunbar*, ſent from the Queen's Party, he ſent over a ſmall Sum of Money with ſome Arms, and a good Quantity of Ammunition. The Queen's Party were very thankful for this Favour, and ſent over the Lord *Seaton* and Mr. *Hamilton*, with the two Officers who brought over the Preſent, to return Thanks to the King of *Spain* and Duke of *Alva*. The Lord *Seaton* having been to wait upon the Duke, found ſuch a courteous Reception, that he reſolv'd to attempt ſomething that might be of Service to the King of *Spain* and the Duke alſo, which would conſequently oblige the Queen of *Scotland*. He conſider'd if he could contribute to put an End to the Wars in *Flanders*, *Spain* would then be able to diſturb *England*, and could aſſiſt the Queen's Party in *Scotland*; and knowing that many *Scots* Officers and Soldiers were in the *Hollanders* Service, and was generally well acquainted with them, he therefore went among them, and having invited many of them to an Entertainment, he told them, That if they would deſert the *Dutch*, the King of *Spain* would ſend over ten thouſand Men to *Scotland*, to reſtore the captive Queen. As moſt of the Officers were willing to ſerve their Queen and Country, the Lord *Seaton* had near prevail'd with moſt of them: But by too free Converſation to that Purpoſe, his Deſign was diſcover'd; and he being apprehended, was threaten'd with the Rack, to extort a Confeſſion: Yet he boldly deny'd the Fact, altho' they brought Witneſſes to confront him, and reply'd, *That being Ambaſſador for the Queen of* Scotland, *ſuch baſe Raſcals could not be admitted as Witneſſes againſt him; nor ſuch infamous Rebels as themſelves be his Judges: He therefore appeal'd to the Lord Conſervator, as Judge Ordinary for his Queen.* The *Hollanders* pretended no Regard to his Appeal, but remov'd him to a Priſon, and determin'd, *that he ſhould at leaſt taſte the Rack, to diſcourage* him: Yet when the Executioner was call'd, he had the Courage to tell the Judges, who were appointed by the reſt to hear his Confeſſion, *That all this was mere Mockery, for they durſt not proceed in earneſt.* Mean time the *Scots* Officers hearing of the Danger the Lord *Seaton* was in, they came with all their Soldiers in Arms, and ſurrounded the Houſe, and demanded the Priſoner to be ſet at Liberty, offering to continue in their Service as formerly, but if they refus'd to releaſe him, they would go in one Body to the *Spaniſh* General; whereupon he was immediately ſet at Liberty. People generally extol'd this Lord's Bravery, but the graver Sort could not approve of the Raſhneſs of the Attempt, without any Conſideration of Safety.

A. D. 1570.

The Queen's Party receive Aſſiſtance from *Spain*.

The Lord *Seaton*'s Enterprize.

Whilſt theſe Things were acting in the *Netherlands*, the Regent ſent one *Weems*, his own Servant, with a Letter to the Court of *England*, but he being a Loyaliſt, communicated the Contents of the Letters to ſome of the Queen's Friends in *Scotland*; who gave him two Papers to carry ſecretly to the Queen, the one was from the Noblemen in the North, the other from thoſe in the Weſt, being both written in Cyphers, and ſubſcrib'd by 74 of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom: He having dropt ſome looſe Words, was taken, tried, and hang'd, at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, on the laſt Day of *Auguſt*. About the ſame Time *Lethington* was remov'd from the Office of Secretary, and *Robert Dowglaſs*, Commendator of *Dunfermling*, preferr'd to that Office.

Robert Dowglaſs made Secretary.

In the Month of *September* this Year, the Duke of *Chattlerault*, the Abbot of *Killwinning*, *Lethington*, the Prior of *Coldingham*, and Mr. *Thomas Maitland* were proclaim'd Traitors. The Earl of *Crawford*, who had of late adher'd to the Queen, then took Oaths to the young King her Son; the Earl of *Morton* was made Sheriff principal of *Edinburgh*, and Conſtable of *Haddington*; ſo that by theſe Means the Nation was in great Confuſion, and were reſolv'd to decide their Controverſy by Dint of Arms; But the Queen of *England* deſir'd a Ceſſation from all Manner of Hoſtility on both Sides, till the 12th of *November*, which was agreed on: Yet the Regent ſoon after march'd with 300 Horſe to *Hamilton*, and ſeiz'd the

The Duke of *Chattlerault* and others proclaim'd Traitors.

A. D. 1570. Duke's Plate and Houſhold Furniture, and ſold them publickly at the Market Croſs of *Linlithgow*.

The Queen of *England* pretended to be very much offended at *Lenox* for this Breach of the Truce, and ſent him a Letter dated from *Windſor*-Court, 17th *Octob.* wherein ſhe told him, *That ſhe was very much diſpleas'd at what he had done, and ſuſpected, that by theſe unjuſt Proceedings, he truſted not to the Juſtice of his Cauſe, but us'd Slight and Force; ſhe therefore deſir'd, that he ſhould come to* London, *or ſend ſuch as he thought fit, to juſtify his, or their Rebellion againſt their Queen; and to ſatisfy her, and all the World, why ſhe ought not to be reſtor'd again to her Crown and Authority.* She alſo deſir'd the Queen's Party to ſend Commiſſioners, to which ſhe readily conſented, and ſent the Biſhop of *Galloway*, with the Lords *Boyd* and *Livingſton*. From the Aſſociators went the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Glamis*; the Nation being at the ſame time tax'd in the Sum of twelve thouſand Pounds to defray their Charges.

Q. *Elizabeth*'s Letter to the Regent.

The *French* King at this Time arreſted all *Scots* Ships trading to his Ports, whoſe Cockets was not in the Queen's Name; and remitted the Cargos to the Queen's Party, to defend the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*; but hearing of this ſecond Meeting, had ſuch Hopes of an Agreement, that he releas'd them. The captive Queen at this Time fell dangerouſly ill, by Reaſon of her tedious Confinement and Maltreatment; ſo that all her Phyſitians deſpair'd of her Life. She continu'd in that Condition for ſome Weeks, but it pleas'd GOD to reſtore her to her Health again.

Queen *Mary*'s Life deſpair'd of, but recovers.

There paſs'd ſeveral Advices between the Court of *England* and the Regent, whilſt the Commiſſioners were preparing for their Journey; wherein it appear'd, that Queen *Elizabeth*, notwithſtanding of all her ſeeming Deſire of having the Queen reſtor'd, yet gave ſecret Aſſurances to the Regent and his Party, that ſhe would do nothing to deminiſh the young King's Authority; and when Sir *William Cicil*, the Secretary, had his Commiſſion to repair to *Chatſworth* in *Derbyſhire*, where Queen *Mary* then was, he ſent Letters to the Regent, with Aſſurance of his Friendſhip: And as it is certain, that Secretary *Cicil* had more Influence over Queen *Elizabeth*'s Actions than any other Officer of her Court; he at that Time order'd Matters ſo, as the Treaty came to nothing. For when he, with Sir *Walter Mildway* came to Queen *Mary*, they gave in Articles drawn by the Queen of *Englhnd*'s Council; wherein the Queen was oblig'd to ratify the Treaty of *Leith*, and not to enter into any Treaty or Alliance to the Prejudice of *England*: And thoſe Articles were ſent by the Queen to the Lords of her Party, and approv'd of: Yet the Secretary at the ſame Time ſent ſecret Advice to the Regent, to ſend Commiſſioners to alter or diminiſh thoſe Articles at their Pleaſure. Whereupon the Regent and his Party ſent the Abbot of *Dunfermling*, then Secretary, as their Ambaſſador, and gave in a Memorial to Queen *Elizabeth*, wherein they repreſented the Queen's Reſignation, and the Legality of the King's Authority, which they would maintain; and entreated the Queen of *Eugland* would continue her Aſſiſtance for the Support of the Reform'd Religion, which only could be preſerv'd by the King's Authority. This Memorial was given in to the Council of *England* in their Queen's Preſence, on the laſt Day of *November*; and on the 7th of *December* he receiv'd an Anſwer, wherein the Queen declar'd her great Regard for her Kinſman the young King, and promis'd to do nothing to the Prejudice of his Authority: But as the Matters in Debate requir'd ſome Time to be conſider'd, and that the laſt Ceſſation of Arms between the Queen and her Son's Factions was now expir'd, ſhe deſir'd there might be a Ceſſation ſtill continu'd till the laſt of *March* next Year. This Anſwer came to the Regent the 15th of *December*, and he, with the Lords of his Party, conveen'd at *Edinburgh*, to conſider the Matters in Hand; as alſo to try a Conſpiracy alledg'd to be plotted againſt the Regent's Life: But the Laird of *Grange* hearing of their Appointment, rais'd a Tumult in *Edinburgh* (as it was ſaid, to impede their Meeting) in the following Manner: One *James Fleming*,

The *Engliſh* Court deals underhand with the Regent and his Party.

Servant

Servant to *Grange*, being committed to the City Priſon for the Slaughter of one *Henry Seaton*; *Grange* went in the Night-time with the Strength of the Caſtle Garriſon, and broke open the Priſon Doors, and carried away the Priſoner; and at the ſame Time diſcharg'd ſeveral Cannon upon the City, which did great Damage: And when he found the Citizens like to riſe in Arms, he ſent great Guns with a ſtrong Party, and fortify'd the High-Church, compelling the City to maintain the Soldiers; whereof they complain'd to the Regent, who ſent a Summons to *Grange*, to anſwer for theſe Crimes; but inſtead of giving Obedience, he fortify'd the Caſtle, and carried in all the Proviſion and Ammunition he could procure for Money, or compel the Citizens to bring him; and ſo continued diſobedient to the Regent's Command: Thus ended the Year 1570. *A. D.* 1571.

Grange denies Obedience to the King.

In *January* 1571. the Regent, with the Lords of his Party met, and appointed the Earl of *Morton*, the Secretary, and Mr. *James Macgill* to go to *England* as Commiſſioners, to treat with the Queen of *England*'s Commiſſioners, and to hear the captive Queen's Propoſals; and at the ſame Time continu'd the Ceſſation of Arms, as deſir'd by the Queen of *England*; and put off the meeting of a Parliament till the Month of *May* after. And when the Earl of *Morton*, with the other two Commiſſioners, came to *London*, according to Appointment, they were met by the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Suſſex*, the Lord Chamberlain, Secretary *Cicil* (then created Lord *Burliegh*) Sir *Francis Knolls* and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, who were nominated by the Queen of *England* to confer with them.

The Regent ſends Commiſſioners to *England* to hear Queen *Mary*'s Propoſals.

They are met by the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners at *London*

It is to be obſerv'd here, that all thoſe of the *Engliſh* who met the Earl of *Morton*, had been ſuch as had, upon all Occaſions, favour'd the Aſſociators, and hated the captive Queen; ſo that after a long Conference in the Secretaries Chamber, they were ſent for to *Greenwich*, where the Queen made a long Speech, ſhewing the good Intentions ſhe had to defend the King's Authority. Yet to a muſe the other Party, ſhe propos'd ſeveral Articles to the Aſſociators, wherein were ſome faint Propoſals made, to reſtore Queen *Mary*; but ſhe eaſily admitted their Objections againſt theſe Articles; and allow'd their Proof of the Legality of the Queen's Reſignation.

Q. *Elizabeth*'s Behaviour to Queen *Mary*.

At the ſame Time the Commiſſioners for Queen *Mary* were at *London*, and Queen *Elizabeth* order'd ſome of her Council to confer with them, while the other Commiſſioners were admitted to her Preſence; and when ſhe had ended with them, ſhe propos'd to thoſe for the Queen, that ſhe would undertake to preſerve Peace in *Scotland* till Matters might be regularly decided, provided that the Duke of *Chattlerault*, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle*, Lord *Hume*, and ſome other Noblemen of the Queen's Faction, were given into her Hands as Hoſtages, and the Caſtles of *Dunbar*, *Hume*, and ſome other Places of Strength near the Borders, were put into the Hands of *Engliſhmen*, for the Space of three Years.

Q. *Elizabeth*'s unreaſonable Demands.

To this unreaſonable Requeſt the Queen's Commiſſioners anſwer'd, That their Queen (who voluntarily had committed herſelf to the Queen of *England*'s Protection) could beſt conſider on ſuch Terms as ſhe thought proper: But for them to deliver theſe great Men, and the Fortreſſes requir'd, would be the only Means to deprive the diſtreſs'd Queen of any Succour from her moſt faithful Friends and Subjects. Yet if all other Matters could be agreed, they would conſent that two Earls of her Party ſhould become Pledges for their Performance of ſuch Articles as they might conclude. After this Anſwer Queen *Elizabeth* ſent for the King's Commiſſioners, and told them, that ſhe found that the Articles at that Time propos'd could not be agreed on but in Parliament: Therefore as they were to meet in Parliament in *May*, ſhe conſider'd that it would be moſt proper for them to chuſe an equal Number of each Party in that Parliament; and give them full Power to accommodate all Differences, and deſir'd that the Ceſſation might continue during that Time. This, ſhe told them, ſhould be intimated to the Commiſſioners for their Queen; which was accordingly done, and they agreed to the ſame: Yet to try to bring Matters to a more ſpeedy and amiable Concluſion, the

Queen *Mary*'s Commiſſioners Anſwer.

A. D. 1571. Biſhop of *Galloway* and Lord *Livingſton* deſir'd a private Conference with the Earl of *Morton*, while at *London*; and they met and continu'd in a friendly Talk together for ſome Time: But the Earl would not by any Means conſent, that by the Queen's Releaſe the King's Authority ſhould be any ways diminiſh'd; ſo they parted without any Agreement; and the Earl of *Morton*, after an Audience of the Queen and Council of *England*, return'd home, as did the Queen's Commiſſioners.

Lord *Claud Hamilton* takes *Paiſly*.

Notwithſtanding of the Ceſſation of Arms, yet there continu'd Commotions in *Scotland*, for the Lord *Semple* with a Party, having taken Poſſeſſion of the Abby of *Paiſly* for the Regent, the Lord *Claud Hamilton* came upon him with a ſtronger Party, and drove him out of it, and put in ſeveral of his Party to keep it in the Queen's Name: Whereupon the Regent went to *Glaſgow* and rais'd a ſtrong Body of Forces, and came againſt thoſe at *Paiſly*, who conſider'd it in vain to reſiſt ſo great Strength, therefore ſurrender'd at Diſcretion. Upon their Surrender the Lord *Claud* fear'd the Regent's Severity, and took ſeveral of his Party Priſoners, thinking the Knowledge of their being in his Power, would prevail with the Regent to ſpare his Friends; yet the Regent carry'd his Priſoners to *Edinburgh*, and caus'd hang ſeveral of them at the Market-Croſs.

It is re-taken by the Regent and the Soldiers executed.

The Reform'd Preachers Behaviour to Queen *Mary*.

Amidſt this Confuſion in the State, the Clergy of the Reform'd Religion were ſo far from ſhewing any Reſpect to the Queen, that they openly from their Pulpits aggravated the Crimes wherewith ſhe had been ſo unjuſtly accus'd, and forbad (contrary to the Rules of Chriſtianity) that ſhe ſhould be ſo much as mention'd in publick Prayers. This was firſt propos'd by that famous Sower of Sedition and Rebellion *John Knox*, who aſſembl'd a Number of his Brethren, and unanimouſly reſolv'd, *That for ever thereafter no Clergyman ſhould preſume to pray for her, ſhe being utterly unworthy of that Benefit.* Which Réſolution of the Churchmen was approv'd and allow'd by the Regent, who us'd Means to ſuppreſs her Party in all Parts of the Nation.

Tho. Crawford takes the Caſtle of *Dunbarton* by a Stratagem.

At this Time the Lord *Fleming* had the Government of the Caſtle of *Dunbarton* for the Queen's Party, and had in the Caſtle with him his Lady, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Lord *Livingſton*, Monſieur *Verac* the *French* Ambaſſador, with ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction: But the Regent could find no Means to take it but by a Stratagem, which was undertaken by *Thomas Crawford* of *Jordanhill*, who conſulted the Laird of *Drumquhaſil*, and having ſuborn'd one *Robertſon*, a Centinel belonging to the Caſtle, who knew the Paſſages; ſo having prepar'd ſcaling Ladders, they went in the Night with a ſtrong Party of Light-Horſe, and by ſcaling the Walls from the Top of the Rock, to which *Robertſon* guided them, they ſurpriz'd the Garriſon, and went ſtreight to the Governor's Lodgings, crying out, *A Darnly! A Darnly!* (for that was their Watch-word) whereat the Soldiers of the Garriſon were ſo aſtoniſh'd, that they made no Reſiſtance againſt the Enemy: But the Governor made his Eſcape at a private Paſſage of the Rock, and having a Boat in Readineſs, he went to *Argyle*. In the Caſtle were taken (beſides the common Soldiers) the Governor's Lady, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, *John Fleming* of *Boghall*, and *Alexander Livingſton*, Brother to the Lord *Livingſton* (the Lord having eſcap'd with the Governor) who were ſent under a ſtrong Guard to *Stirling* Caſtle.

The Governor makes his Eſcape.

The Regent being inform'd of *Crawford*'s Succeſs, gave him and his Party a large Reward for the Adventure, which, by reaſon of the Fortitude of the Caſtle, might be reckon'd impracticable. The Lady *Fleming* was allow'd not only to depart with her Plate and Furniture; but had likewiſe a Part of her Lord's Eſtate (which had been forfeited for ſome Time before) given her for a Maintenance by the Regent. This Act of Generoſity was greatly commended in the Regent; but his Cruelty to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s was very much diſcommended, for, upon the 5th of *April*, being the 3d Day after the taking of the Caſtle, the Archbiſhop was indicted of High Treaſon, by the following Articles.

The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s indicted of High Treaſon.

I. *That*

I. *That he knew, and was Participiend of King* Henry's *Murder.*
II. *That he conſpir'd againſt the King's Perſon, by intending to have ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of* Stirling.
III. *That he knew, or was Participiend in the Murder of the late Regent* James *Earl of* Murray.
IV. *That he lay in wait at the Wood of* Callendar, *for the Slaughter of* Matthew *Earl of* Lenox, *now Regent.*

A. D. 1571.

Tho Articles exhibited againſt him.

Being call'd to the Bar, before the Indictment was read, he deſir'd that he might have a legal Trial, and Time allow'd to make his Defence; but being over-rul'd by the Court, and finding that they were reſolv'd to take his Life, by any Means, he behav'd with that Ingenuity, Moderation, and Courage, that became his Office. The firſt, ſecond, and fourth Articles of his Charge, he denied with a ſolemn and religious Aſſeveration; but to the third, *he knew of the Regent's Death, and was ſorry he did not ſtop it, for which he ask'd GOD's Mercy.*

His Confeſſion.

Tho' that Confeſſion, or any Thing alledg'd againſt him, could not, in Law, reach his Life; yet he was ſentenc'd, and executed on a Gibbet at *Stirling*, the 7th of *April.*

He is executed at *Stirling.*

This was the firſt Biſhop that ever ſuffer'd in *Scotland*, by a Form of Juſtice: He was a Man very active in Buſineſs, and ſound in Judgment, and learn'd beyond any of the Clergy in his Time; nor could the worſt of his Enemies deny him the Character of a good Man: But it was a ſufficient Cauſe to put him to Death, after this Manner, that he was Brother to the Duke of *Chattlerault*, and profeſs'd Enemy to the Earl of *Lenox*, who was look'd upon to be rather an Agent for the Queen of *England*, than a dutiful Regent of the Kingdom, or Guardian to his Grandſon. Although his Death might gratifie the Regent, and ſome of the reform'd Clergy; yet nothing contributed more to haſten the Regent's Deſtruction, than this Execution; for the Loyaliſts were ſo enrag'd at the Manner of it, that they reſolv'd upon Revenge; and laying aſide all Regard to former Agreements, and Treaties, they enter'd into Acts of open Hoſtility. The Earl of *Huntly*, Lord *Claud Hamilton*, Lord *Herris*, and Monſieur *Verac*, went ſtraight to *Edinburgh*; and were aſſiſted by *Grange*, who ſeiz'd the Arms and Ammunition belonging to the City, and had a Scuffle with a Party, ſent by the Regent, at *Borrowmure*; where the Loyaliſts, after having twice repuls'd the Regent's Forces, were at laſt beat back to the City.

His Character.

The War being thus begun, both Parties made expeditious Preparations; the Regent poſted himſelf and Party in *Leith*, and fortify'd the Town, whilſt the other Party divided between *Edinburgh* and *Hamilton*, where the Duke was acknowledg'd Commander in Chief of that Party, who were diſtinguiſh'd by the Denomination of *the Queen's Men*, as were the other Party call'd, *The King's Men.* The Duke of *Chattlerault* having ſent Home Monſieur *Verac*, to ſolicite his King for Aid, and finding his Party daily encreaſe, had great Hopes of ſubduing the whole Nation to the Queen's Authority. But theſe Hopes, with the too great Confidence they had in their own Strength, made them forget the Dealings of the *Engliſh* Court, and reject the Terms they then might had for their own Safety and the Queen's Releaſe. The Earl of *Morton*, ſeeing his Party ſo weak, and the Queen's Party ſo ſtrong, ſent to the Lord *Boyd* to have a private Meeting with him; and being met, the Earl propos'd a Treaty of Peace, and deliver'd the Articles, drawn, and written with his own Hand to the Lord *Boyd*, which that Lord carried to the other Lords of the Queen's Party, who in a full Meeting in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, rejected them, becauſe they did not condeſcend to every Thing which they might expect, were the Queen reſtor'd with full Authority, as they then had Hopes.

The Queen's Party confident of Succeſs proves fatal.

The Duke of *Chattlerault* having gather'd his Friends in the Country, return'd to *Edinburgh* with a Guard of 300 Horſe, and 1000 Foot, and was follow'd by the Eatl of *Argyle*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Alerbrothick*; and at that Time arriv'd Sir *James Kircaldy* from *France*, having receiv'd the Sum of 10000

The Duke comes to *Edinburgh* with other Lords.

A. D. 1571. 10000 Crowns in Money, ſome hundred Pieces of Arms, Ammunition, and a large Preſent of Wine from the *French* King for the Queen's Party. He landed at *Leith*, where the Regent with his Party then lay; yet ſuch a ſtrong Party came from *Edinburgh*, that they brought every Thing ſafe to the Caſtle. Tho' they were thus ſtrengthen'd and ſupplied, yet did not keep any Guards without the Gates of the City; ſo that by the Earl of *Morton*'s Advice, the Regent's Lords came to the *Cannongate*, and at St. *John*'s Croſs, they met in Form of Parliament, and proſecuted *Lethington* and his Brethren, and declar'd them Traitors. They return'd the next Day to *Leith*, without any Moleſtation from the Queen's Party, tho' they kill'd ſeveral Citizens, who came to diſturb their Meeting. Mean time, the Regent ſolicited the Queen of *England* for timely Aid, otherwiſe he would be oblig'd to ſubmit to the Queen's Party: Whereupon Sir *William Drury*, Mariſhal of *Berwick* was order'd to march with Forces to aſſiſt the Regent. Before the Arrival of Sir *William Drury*, the Regent went from *Leith* to *Stirling*, and the Earl of *Morton* went towards *Dalkeith*, and had a Scuffle with ſome of the Queen's Party, wherein the Earl at firſt had the better; but his Party, having purſu'd their Enemies too careleſly, they kept in one Body, and when they found Advantage, return'd upon them, and routed them with great Slaughter.

The Regent's Party meet in the *Cannongate*.

The Earl of *Morton* routed by the Queen's Party.

When Sir *William Drury* arriv'd at *Leith*, he ſent a Trumpet to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, propoſing to the Queen's Party, that if they would ſurrender to the Regent, they ſhould have Liberty to march out, with Bag and Baggage, and that all that Party ſhould have a general Indemnity for their Rebellion againſt the young King. The Loyaliſts were not willing to offend the Queen of *England*, leſt ſhe might aſſiſt their Enemies, more than any Reſiſtance they could make; therefore return'd Anſwer, that providing the Laird of *Grange* ſhould be allow'd to remain Governor of the Caſtle (as a Pledge for the fulfilling of the Articles of Surrender) and have 150 Soldiers of their Party, beſides the ordinary Garriſon, in Time of Peace; they would willingly quit the City, upon Condition that the Regent, nor Earl of *Morton*, ſhould not come into the Town, nor put any of their Soldiers into the City, till all Matters were agreed upon. But this Treaty at laſt came to nothing but Confuſion; for many of the Citizens of *Edinburgh* went off in a Body, and ſet up a Standard of their own, with this Motto, in guilded Letters, *For GOD and the King*: This they did upon Account of an Order publiſh'd by the Queen's Party, commanding all Perſons diſaffected to the Queen's Authority to leave the City.

Propoſals about the Surrender of *Edinburgh* Caſtle.

Several Citizens leave *Edinburgh*.

The Loyaliſts thinking this Revolt of the Citizens was occaſion'd by the Regent's having held a Parliament, as beforemention'd, therefore they were reſolv'd to take the ſame Meaſures; and upon the 12th Day of *June*, they call'd a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, in the Queen's Name; wherein they drew up a Memorial of all the Injuſtice done to the Queen from Time to Time; and declar'd the extorted Reſignation, and all Acts and Deeds done by Virtue thereof, in the King's Name, to be null and void, by Vote of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with the Commiſſioners of Buroughs then aſſembled: And, at the ſame Time, paſt an Act acknowledging the Queen's Authority, and diſcharging all her Subjects from aſſiſting her Enemies, that none ſhould moleſt or innovate the Reform'd Religion then profeſs'd, under the Pain of the utmoſt Severity of Law; and that all the Clergy ſhould pray for the Queen, as Soveraign, her Son as Prince of *Scotland*, and the Council, *&c.* Likewiſe it was enacted, that all Coins and Letters of Authority, ſhould paſs in her Majeſty's Name; and on the 16th of *June*. Theſe Acts were proclaim'd with the uſual Solemnities at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, and a new Parliament call'd by both Parties, to meet in *Auguſt* after.

The Queen's Party call a Parliament.

Their Proceedings.

During the ſhort Seſſion of Parliament, the Aſſociators were buſie fortifying *Leith*, and had, at that Time, ſent to *Denmark* for Captain *Michael Weems*, who had been engag'd in that King's Service by the Earl of *Morton*; he

he being come, with his Company, consisting of 100 Men, so far as the River *Forth*. The Queen's Party, to hinder so considerable a Reinforcement, sent Captain *Cullen*, with Sir *James Kirkaldy*, in a small Ship, with 4 Boats, and 180 Soldiers to intercept him; and they took one of Captain *Weems*'s, Boats with 30 of his Men, the rest got safe to *Leith*. Soon after this the Regent's Party were reinforc'd with daily Recruits, that the Earl of *Morton* came out of *Leith*, drew up his Men at *Restalrig*, and sent a Challenge to the Queen's Party to fight them. The Queen's Party knowing their own Strength, did not refuse the Challenge; but sent out a Body of Troops under the Command of the Earl of *Huntly*, the Lords *Hume*, *Herris*, *Claud Hamilton*, *Kilwining*, and *Coldingham*; and being drawn up in Battle-Array at the *Quarrel-holles*, in Sight of the Earl of *Morton*'s Army, Sir *William Drury* came from *Leith* to mediate a Peace between both Armies, and when the Queen's Army had agreed to return, as did the Earl of *Morton*: But when they were returning, by the *Water-Gate*, in a narrow Passage; the Earl of *Morton* came suddenly, unperceiv'd, upon them, and fell in among them with great Slaughter. Many were trodden to Death in the Narrowness of the Passage, and several taken Prisoner, among whom were the Lord *Hume* and Captain *Cullen*; and the Lord *Kilwining*, with 24 Soldiers were slain, and of the Associators fell their new Captain *Michael Weems*, and two more. This Scuffle happen'd on *Saturday*, the 26th of *June*, and was after call'd, *the black* Saturday, *or* Drury's *Peace*. The Lord *Hume* was sent to *Tantallon* Castle; but few Days after, Sir *David Spence* of *Wormiston*, took the Laird of *Drumlenrig* and his Son, going from *Leith*, and brought him Prisoner to *Edinburgh*; so, on the 25th of *July*, they were exchang'd for the Lord *Hume*. On the 28th of that Month, Sir *William Drury* came again to the Loyalists to *Edinburgh*, to propose Terms of Peace; but on Account of his late Treachery, he was not receiv'd with that Respect as formerly; for when he was in the Castle, *Grange* told him before all the Lords, *That he had acted the Part of a very ill Man, and were it not the Respect he and his Friends had for the Queen of* England, *whose Servant he was, he would lay him fast by the Heels.* Sir *William* laid all the Blame on the Earl of *Morton*, and swore many Oaths to clear himself, yet could not prevail with them to give Credit to his Proposals; but order'd him a Guard, to keep him from the Fury of the incens'd Mob. The Regent, hearing of the Victory obtain'd by *Morton*, came from *Stirling* to *Leith*, where he propos'd to stay for some Time.

A. D. 1571.

The Earl of *Morton*'s Treachery to the Queen's Party.

Grange upbraids *Drury* with the Slaughter of the People at the *Water-Gate*.

As the Regent's Party depended on *England* for Aid, so the Queen's Party had the like Assurance from *France*; and at that Time the King of *France* sent Monsieur *Verac* back to *Scotland* with *Chisholme*, who had been sent over to *France* by the Duke of *Chattlerault*; and with them sent a considerable Supply of Money, Ammunition and Arms; but the Ship wherein they were was taken by the Regent's Party, carried to *Leith*, and *Chisholme* having stoutly denied his Knowledge of the Money, was at last tortur'd with the Boot, so that he confess'd where it was, and enter'd into their Service: But as the Ship was sent up to *Stirling* to unload, Sir *David Spence* of *Wormiston* retook it, and carried of all that was useful, which he brought safe to *Edinburgh*, with all the Men put in at *Leith* Prisoners.

Supplies from *France* taken by the Enemy,

but retaken by Sir *David Spence*.

At this Time the Earl of *Morton* was uneasie that the Laird of *Drumquhasile* had such Power with the Regent; therefore prevail'd with him to banish *Drumquhasile* from Court; and at the same Time, the Earl having seen Captain *Cullen*'s Wife, and got into Acquaintance with her, so that nothing could satisfy his Lust and Ambition, but Enjoyment of her, which he could not accomplish while her Husband was alive; therefore again prevail'd with the Regent (who was entirely directed by the Earl) to order the Captain to be executed; so was, at his Desire, hang'd on a Gibbet at *Leith*.

Capt. *Cullen* executed.

The Earl of *Morton*, at this Time found Means to tempt the Earl of *Argyle* and Lord *Boyd* to desert the Queen's Party, for having then several Church-Lands in their Gift, the Earl of *Morton* offer'd a large Share there-

The Earl of *Argyle*, and Lord *Boyd* desert the Queen's Interest.

A. D. 1571. of to be divided between theſe Peers, which they accepted of, and ſo join'd the King's Party. At the ſame time, the Earl of *Argyle* was divorc'd from his Lady, and married to the Lord *Boyd*'s Daughter.

The Earl of *Morton*'s Party contriv'd a Stratagem to ſurprize *Edinburgh*, but were diſcover'd, and retir'd to *Leith*; whereupon the Queen's Party built a ſtrong Gate, where there was but a ſlender one before, which is call'd the *Netherbow*, dividing the High-Street from the *Cannongate*. Sir *David Spence*, being ſent over to have a ſecret Conference with Monſieur *Verac* (who was kept Priſoner by the Regent in St. *Andrew*'s) he not only obtain'd a Sight of him, but likewiſe procur'd him Liberty, and brought him with him to *Edinburgh*.

The *Nether-Bow* Gate built.

Upon the 30th of *Auguſt* the Regent call'd a Parliament at *Stirling*, where the young King was brought by his Governor the Earl of *Marr*: At their firſt Meeting, they declar'd Rebels the Duke of *Chattlerault*, his Sons, the Earl of *Huntly*, with ſeveral others of the Name of *Hamilton* and *Gordon*; as alſo the Laird of *Grange*, and forfeited their Eſtates, for their Rebellion againſt the King.

The Duke of *Chattlerault* and others denounced Rebels and forfeited.

The Queen's Party, at the ſame Time, held a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, and as the Regent's Party were divided between *Leith* and *Stirling*, a Party from *Edinburgh* purſu'd a Party going into *Leith*, and had ſuch Victory over them, that had not the Night impeded their Purſuite, they had driven all the Regent's Forces out of the Town to the Sea; for the moſt Part of them were getting Ships and Boats in Readineſs, when the Enemy retir'd, having taken *James Haliburton* (a chief Commander of that Party) with 52 Soldiers Priſoners, and ſome Proviſion, which came very ſeaſonable to *Edinburgh*, for they were then very ſcarce; and the next Day the Laird of *Holmains* went with a Party, and brought in 60 black Cattle from the Lord *Lindſay*'s Tenants.

The Regent's Party beat by the Queen's Party.

This Victory ſo encourag'd the Queen's Party, that they undertook a deſperate Enterprize, which was to ſurpriz *Stirling*; and to that End the Earl of *Huntly*, the Lord *Claud Hamilton*, the Laird of *Buccleugh*, Sir *David Spence*, and Captain *Calder*, with three hundred Horſe, and 80 Foot, having one *George Bell* for their Guide, went out of *Edinburgh* in the Morning, giving out to amuſe the Party at *Leith*, that they were going to *Jedburgh*, to ſettle ſome Affairs, and marching that Night near *Stirling*, in the Morning about Four of the Clock they enter'd the Town, by *Bell*'s Directions (who knew all the back Lanes) and having planted their Foot in the Market-Place, they went with their Horſe and ſurrounded the Noblemens Lodgings, and took the Regent, with the Earls of *Morton*, *Argyle*, *Glencairn*, *Caſſils*, *Eglinton*, *Montroſe*, and *Buchan*; with the Lords *Semple*, *Cathcart*, and *Ochiltree*; while the Lords *Glamis*, *Ruthven*, *Methven*, and others made their Eſcape) and mounted them all behind their Horſemen. Being thus far ſucceſsful, they were heedleſs of any further Danger; ſo that the Borderers (whereof their Party conſiſted) fell to plundering the Shops and Houſes, till the Earl of *Marr* had Notice in the Caſtle, and came upon them with a Party of Soldiers, and took ſo many of the ſtraggling Plunderers, that thoſe who guarded the Priſoners, were forced to drop them, and ſhift for Safety; which when Captain *Calder* ſaw, he run at the Regent with a Broad-Sword, and moſt barbarouſly run him through the Body.

The Earl of *Huntly*, Lord *Claud Hamilton*, and others ſurprize *Stirling* Town.

The Regent wounded.

Sir *David Spence*, to whom he had ſurrender'd himſelf before that, had kept off the Mob of the Soldiers from doing him hurt; ſo that when their Party heard the Regent cry, *I'm kill'd*, *I'm kill'd*, they fell upon Sir *David* with ſuch Fury, that notwithſtanding of the Regent's earneſt Entreaty, they cut him to Pieces.

Sir *David Spence* kill'd by the Mob.

The Queen's Party were oblig'd to take to their Heels, ſix of them being ſlain beſides Sir *David*; and *Walter Scot* of *Buccleugh*, Captain *Calder*, and *George Bell* were taken Priſoners by the Earl of *Marr*'s Party. Of the King's Party 38 were ſlain or wounded, among whom were *Alexander Stewart* of *Garlies*, and *George Ruthven* Brother to the Lord *Ruthven*.

The

The Regent being mounted on a Horſe, was carried to the Caſtle, and his Wound being ſearch'd by a Chirurgeon, was declar'd mortal: Whereupon he call'd the Lords about him, and ſaid unto them: *A. D.* 1570.

The Regent's laſt Speech.

You know (my Lords) that it was your Choice and not my Ambition, that brought me to this Charge; which I undertook the more willingly, as it was in the Defence of the King my Grandſon, in whoſe Cauſe I have this Day loſt my Life; and now being able to do no more, I recommend him to the Almighty GOD and your Care; and intreat you to make Choice of ſome worthy Perſon, fearing GOD, and well affected to the King, to ſucceed into my Place: Further I have nothing to ſay, but LORD have Mercy upon my Soul, and deſire your Prayers for Pardon of my Sins. I commit you all to the eternal Protection. Amen. To the Earl of *Marr* (whom he held by the Hand) he ſaid, *My Lord, I deſire you to remember my Love to my Wife* Meg (for ſo he us'd to call his Lady) *whom I beſeech GOD to comfort.*

Thus fell *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*; a Man of a moſt noble and generous Diſpoſition; but ſo eaſily counſel'd, that he became a meer Tool to the Earl of *Morton*; ſo that whatever Cruelty had been committed in the Regent's Name, during his Regency, was entirely owing to the Earl's treacherous Deſigns. He was interr'd in the Royal Chapel of *Stirling* with great Solemnity.

The Regent being ſlain the 4th of *September*, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Morton*, and *Marr*, ſtood Candidates for that Office; and an Election was held on the 5th, wherein the Earl of *Marr* was choſen by a conſiderable Majority of Voices; and on the 7th Day, Capt. *Calder* and *Bell* were (after ſeveral Torments) executed at the Market Croſs of *Stirling*.

The Earl of *Marr* elected Regent.

The new Regent in the mean time reſolv'd to attack the City of *Edinburgh*; and to that End brought ſeveral Pieces of Canon, and rais'd a Battery at that Port, on the South Side of the Town, call'd the *Plaiſance*; and beat down ſome Part of the Wall, yet durſt not offer to enter the Breach, but return with their Troops and Artillery to *Leith*.

The Earl of *Morton*, who ſtill continu'd Chief of the Party, and Preſident of their Councils, adviſ'd the Regent to ſolicit the Queen of *England* for Aſſiſtance to maintain the King's Authority: Whereupon Letters were diſpatch'd to *England*, entreating ſpeedy Aſſiſtance againſt the Queen's Faction, whoſe Strength and Tranſgreſſions they magnify'd to the higheſt Degree.

At this Time *Adam Gordon* of *Achindown*, who was the Earl of *Huntly*'s Deputy-Lieutenant in the North, had obtain'd Victory over the Maſter of *Forbes*, the Regent's Lieutenant, and ſoon after fought him with a ſtronger Party at *Crabſtane* near *Aberdeen*, where *Gordon* abtain'd a ſecond Victory, where he took the Maſter of *Forbes* with 200 of his Party, and kill'd about 300 on the Spot; ſo that in this two Skirmiſhes there were more ſlain than in all the Scuffles and Skirmiſhes about *Edinburgh* and in the South, by which it appears, how the Inhabitants of the North and *Highlands*, differ from thoſe of the South and Eaſt Part of the Nation, in their Method of fighting.

Achindown obtains Victory in the North.

After this Victory *Gordon* ſent one Capt. *Ker* with a Party, to take the Caſtle of *Towy*, but it was defended by *Alexander Forbes*, wherein was the Governor's Wife, who not only refus'd to ſurrender, but gave the Captain ſuch injurious Language, which enrag'd him ſo, that he order'd his Men to ſet Fire to the Caſtle, and the unfortunate Gentlewoman was moſt barbarouſly burnt with her whole Family; which cruel Action caus'd great Scandal to *Gordon*'s Party: Soon after the Laird of *Parbroth* took the Caſtle of *Broughty* from the Regent's Party, and put a Gariſon in it.

About this Time the Queen's Party at *Edinburgh* being ſcarce of Fire and Proviſion, ſent one Capt. *Halyburton* with 60 Men to bring in ſome Fuel and Proviſion, but a Party from *Leith*, who lay hid about the Park, near the Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, came upon him, and carried him with moſt of his Party Priſoners to *Leith*. Next Day a Party of Horſe went down towards *Leith*, and took 27 Men and a Captain of the Regent's Party Priſo-

A. D. 1572. ners; two Days after they were exchang'd for Capt. *Halyburton* and his Men, at the *Gallowlie*: Thus ended the Year 1571.

In the beginning of *January* 1572. the Lord *Maxwell* was married to *Elizabeth Dowglaſs*, Siſter of *Archibald* Earl of *Augus*: The Nuptials were ſolemniz'd at *Dalkeith*, where the Earl of *Morton* reſolv'd to give a ſplendid Entertainment to all the Nobility, and ſent his own Servants to *Leith* for Wine, and ſeveral other Neceſſaries: But the Laird of *Grange* having Notice of their Return, ſent a Party from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and took them, with all the Earl's Plate, Wine, and great Store of other Proviſion. The Earl being enrag'd at the Loſs of his Plate and Wine, ſent over a Party to *Fife*, and plunder'd and burnt ſeveral Houſes, and kill'd three of *Grange*'s Tenants: Whereupon *Grange* ſent out a Party of Light-Horſe to burn the Town of *Dalkeith*; to which they ſet Fire, and kill'd ten of the Earl's Soldiers, and brought nine of them Priſoners to *Edinburgh*, without the Loſs of one Man.

In *February*, the Laird of *Fernihерſt* having beſieg'd *Jedburgh*, the Lord *Ruthven* was ſent with a Party from *Leith* to waſte his Lands, to draw him from the Siege; but tho' they plunder'd and burnt ſeveral of his Tenants Houſes, he ſtill continu'd the Siege. Mean time a Party from *Edinburgh* waſted the Lordſhip of *Dalkeith*, and took 65 Horſe-Loads of Proviſion going to *Leith*, and above 100 Black-Cattle, which they carried into *Edinburgh*. At the ſame time the Lord *Seaton* arriv'd from *Flanders*, and it was reported he brought over Money from the Duke of *Alva*; wherefore the Earl of *Morton* endeavour'd to take him, but he got ſafe to *Edinburgh*.

The deceitful Dealings of *Randolph* and *Carry*.

About the beginning of *March*, at the Requeſt of the King of *France*, the Queen of *England* ſent down Mr. *Randolph*, to endeavour a Peace between the contending Parties in *Scotland*, becauſe *Drury*'s Honeſty was ſuſpected by the Queen's Party; Mr. *Carry* was join'd with *Randolph* in the Commiſſion, on Purpoſe to foment the Civil War, for he pretending to favour Queen *Mary*, encourag'd her Friends to proceed more vigorouſly, while *Randolph* did the ſame by the Regent's Party, who were better aſſur'd of Aid in Caſe of Need; ſo by them, both Parties renew'd the War with more Fury than before. The Regent's Party march'd from *Leith* towards *Edinburgh*, to draw the Loyaliſts to fight; but the Lord *Methven* going with a Party near the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, he with ſeven of his Men were kill'd by Canon Shot from the Caſtle, and the reſt of the Army march'd off, but were reſolv'd to do ſomething before they return'd to *Leith*, therefore deſtroy'd the Water-Mills near the City, and put Garriſons in *Corſtarphin*, *Redhall* and *Craigmiller*, to hinder Proviſion from the City of *Edinburgh*; and to deter others, they hang'd two Men for carrying in Sheep to the Market, and took five Women, whom they whip'd for the like Crime. By this Means ſtrange Cruelties were committed on both Sides, during the Months of *March*, *April*, *May* and *June*; which Actions were begun and continu'd by the Earl of *Morton*, on the Regent's Side, and by the Laird of *Grange* in the Queen's Party.

The Lord *Methven* and others kill'd.

The Earl of *Morton* at this Time keeping Capt. *Cullen*'s Widow publickly as his Concubine, was taken Notice of by the Clergy of his own Party, who exclaim'd againſt his Actions in general, and that in particular; for which the Earl caus'd apprehend and impriſon Mr. *Andrew Dowglaſs*, Parſon of *Dunglaſs*; and ſome Time after, for perſiſting in his former Reproof, he was firſt tormented with the Boot, and afterwards hang'd.

Great Cruelty committed by both Parties.

A Scuffle happening at *Edinburgh* about this Time, ſeveral of the Regent's Party were taken, and ſome of them executed. And ſoon after the Queen's Party ſent Forces to join *Gordon* in the North; but they were taken by the Regent's Party, and 15 of them were kill'd on the Spot, and the reſt hang'd within Sight of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The daily Reports of theſe Tumults and Bloodſhed in *Scotland*, mov'd the *French* King to ſend Monſieur *la Crote* to the Queen of *England*, to require her to do Juſtice to the Queen of *Scotland*. After many Delays, ſhe ſent Sir *William Drury* to *Scotland*,

Scotland, with Monſieur *la Crote*, to bring the *Scots* to an Agreement; but when they arriv'd there, and were ſome Time with the Queen's Party in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and had heard their Propoſals to the Regent's Party, yet when Sir *William* met with the Earl of *Morton*, and the other Lords of that Party, he join'd with them in ſuch Objections againſt their Terms, that the *French* Ambaſſador's Endeavours were render'd ineffectual. *A. D.* 1572.

Morton's Party attempts to take *Niddery* Caſtle,

During this Treaty the Earl of *Morton*'s Party had got ſome Soldiers of the Garriſon of *Niddery* Caſtle to favour their Deſign of taking the Caſtle by ſcaling the Walls, when theſe Soldiers were on Guard; but one of theſe Soldiers having diſcover'd the Plot to the Captain, he had all the Garriſon ready by the Time appointed, and when he found they had ſet their Ladders, and were almoſt at the Top, he ſent Men to cut the Ladders, which they did, ſo that they who were up fell from the Top of the Wall upon the Rock, where 17 were cruſh'd to Death, and 15 more hurt by the Fall. Mean time the Garriſon ruſh'd out upon the reſt, and kill'd ſome of them; but by the Darkneſs of the Night moſt of them eſcap'd, and fled to *Corſtorphin*.

But are defeated.

Morton coins bad Money at *Dalkeith*.

At this Time the Earl of *Morton* coin'd mix'd Money in the Caſtle of *Dalkeith*, and by Proclamation made it to paſs for three times the Value of it, among all the King's Party; which Money went current, by that Proclamation, during the Regency of the Earl of *Marr*, as alſo when *Morton* enjoy'd that Office.

Lord *Fleming* his Death.

John Lord *Fleming*, who had made his Eſcape from *Dunbarton* Caſtle, whereof he was Governor, arriv'd from *France* on the 29th of *June*, and brought over a Sum of Money from the *French* King: But he was wounded by a Muſquet Bullet, which rebounded from the Street, that he died ſoon after, to the great Loſs of his Party.

A Scuffle between both Parties.

The Queen's Party had ſeveral Scuffles with the Aſſociators, wherein ſeveral Perſons loſt their Lives on both Sides, particularly at the Caſtles of *Niddery* and *Merchiſtone*; the Queen's Party having a Garriſon in the former, and the Regent in the latter. To both which Places each contrary Party laid Siege without Succeſs; ſo that *Niddery* was no leſs uſeful to the Queen's Party, to watch the Motions of the Regent's Party from *Leith*, than *Merchiſton* was to watch the Motions of the Loyaliſts from *Edinburgh*; for as Capt. *Arthur Hamilton* and *Gilbert Montgomery*, with a Party of 150 Horſe, were returning from the South Country with 100 Sacks of Meal and 8 Oxen, they were encounter'd by a ſtrong Party from *Merchiſton*, and another from *Leith*, and being near equal Numbers, fought ſtoutly; but by the Aſſiſtance of a freſh Party from *Edinburgh*, the Aſſociators were routed, 50 of them were taken Priſoners, and 27 ſlain on the Spot, among whom were *Patrick Hume* of *Polworth* and *Hume* of *Heuch*. This was call'd *Carnie* Fight, from the Place of the Engagement.

Adam Gordon ſurpriſes the Earl of *Buchan* at *Brichen*.

Whilſt *Adam Gordon* continu'd ſucceſsful in the North, Capt. *Wachope* was ſent with a Party of 60 Foot, by Sea, to his Aſſiſtance; and he laid Siege to *Glenbervy* Caſtle; at which Time *Robert Dowglaſs*, Earl of *Buchan*, was ſent by the Regent with a ſtrong Party to raiſe the Siege; whereupon *Gordon* left the Caſtle, and went to meet the Earl, who being come ſo far as *Brichen*, lodg'd his Party in the Town, without the Knowledge of *Gordon*'s March to meet him. *Gordon* having Notice of their Condition, march'd into the Town ſilently in the Night, and ſurpriz'd the Earl and his Party, ſo that inſtead of taking their Arms, they fled, ſome of them without ſo much as their Clothes. The Earl, with about 300 Horſe, made their Eſcape, but of the reſt there were 49 ſlain, and 190 taken Priſoners. This Scuffle happen'd the 9th of *July* at *Brichen*. When it was Day-light, *Adam Gordon* call'd all the Priſoners before him, and made a Speech to them, wherein he reprov'd them for their Diſloyalty to the Queen; and gave them all their Lives and Liberties, upon their ſolemn Promiſes to continue loyal to the Queen's Authority in all Time coming. The Magiſtrates of *Montroſe* hearing of this Victory, ſent two of their Number to wait upon *Gordon*, with all Aſſurances of Obedience to his Commiſſion in the Queen's Name:

A. D. 1572. But as they had formerly deny'd the Queen's Authority, he would not ſee their Meſſengers; but drew Articles in Writing, wherein they were to acknowledge the Queen's Authority and his Commiſſion; and to give Hoſtages for their Behaviour; as alſo to pay a moderate Sum for their late Diſobedience; to which they readily agreed, and having given Satisfaction to the General, he return'd to the Siege of *Glenbervy*.

The Regent finding the Maſter of *Forbes* and the Earl of *Buchan* both defeated, reſolv'd to go himſelf and raiſe the Siege of *Glenbervy*, but hearing of *Gordon*'s Strength and Succeſs, return'd without any Attempt.

At this Time the Lord *Semple* having got the Gift of the Lord *Claud Hamilton*'s Eſtate from the Regent, he kept a ſtrong Garriſon in the Abby of *Paiſly* for ſome Time, but had harras'd the Tenants ſo, that they entreated the Lord *Claud* to relieve them, who would venture their Lives with him, to recover his Eſtate: Whereupon he came with a ſtrong Party, and beſieg'd the Abby ſo cloſe, that for want of Proviſion, the Lord *Semple* made a vigorous Sally upon the Enemy; but the Lord *Claud* receiv'd him ſo reſolutely, that he was oblig'd to ſurrender at Diſcretion, after having 40 of his Soldiers ſlain, and 15 taken Priſoners. About the ſame Time the Laird of *Farniherſt* hang'd ten Men upon an Aſh-Tree, for having (by the Directions of the Town of *Jedburgh*, which he beſieg'd) come out to burn all his Fuel, which he had provided for Winter.

Lord *Claud Hamilton* takes *Paiſly*.

Notwithſtanding the great Succeſs that the Queen's Party had in the North and South, and, at that Time had the chief City and Fort of the Nation, with ſeveral other Places of Advantage, to maintain their Cauſe; yet they were ſoon brought to ſuch Terms as ruin'd all their Meaſures, and for ever took away any After-hopes of recovering the baniſh'd Queen's Authority or Liberty; which was accompliſh'd by the Policy of *Drury* the *Engliſh* General, who perſuaded Monſieur *la Crote*, the *French* Ambaſſador, to join with him to bring the Queen's Party to agree to a Truce for two Months; and both Parties having agreed, they ſign'd and chang'd the following Articles.

Articles agreed to by both Parties.

I. That the Regent, Nobility, and all Subjects ſhould faithfully promiſe to ceaſe from all Hoſtility from the firſt of *Auguſt*, until the firſt of *October* after.

II. That before the expiring of the ſaid Truce, the Nobility and the Eſtates of the Kingdom ſhould meet, and conſult Means to eſtabliſh a laſting Peace; and that if any Difficulty ſhould be found in concluding the Peace, which could not be determin'd by them, the ſame ſhould be referr'd to the Determination of the King of *France*, and Queen of *England*.

III. That the City and Suburbs of *Edinburgh* ſhould be free to all Subjects to go out and in at Pleaſure; nor no Part of it ſhould be fortify'd, except the Caſtle, which ſhould continue a Gariſon, as in former Times of Peace.

IV. That all the Subjects ſhould freely meet and converſe together, without any Trouble or Moleſtation, excepting thoſe who were ſuſpected to have been the Murderers of the late King and the Earl of *Murray*, who ſhould not partake of the Benefit of the preſent, nor any future Treaty of Peace. but be liable to the Puniſhment of the Law.

V. And, *Laſtly*, That of all ſuch Lands as had been unjuſtly poſſeſs'd by either Party, the Corns, and all other Product of the ſame, ſhould be taken care of, and kept in good Order, without being applied to either Party, or any private Uſe, till the Expiration of the Truce.

Theſe Articles being proclaim'd both at *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, the Duke of *Chattlerault* and Earl of *Huntly* left *Edinburgh*, with the moſt of their Party, and the Earl of *Morton*, with moſt of the Aſſociators, immediately enter'd the City, and, contrary to the third Article of the Treaty, he caus'd plant a ſtrong Guard in the High Church, and diſarm'd moſt of the Citizens, and order'd free Quarters to his Men during the Truce.

Morton breaks the Articles.

This Truce continu'd till the 27th of *September*, at which Time the Nobility of both Parties met, and further prorogued the Truce, till the firſt Day

Day of *January*. Mean time the Laird of *Grange* ſent them the following Articles from the Caſtle. *A. D.* 1572.

I. That he deſir'd to be diſcharg'd from the Caſtle, with all that were with him; and that all Acts, Deeds, Sentences paſt in Parliament or Council againſt him or them, ſhould be declar'd null and of no Effect. Articles ſent by *Grange* to the Aſſociators.

II. That they ſhould be repoſſeſs'd in their Lands and Heritages, without any Interruption or Moleſtation to be made then, or at any time coming, by any Perſons whatſoever.

III. That the Heirs of the Lord *Fleming* and Laird of *Wormingſton*, and others who were ſlain in the Queen's Cauſe, might be poſſeſs'd of their Lands and Heritages, as if no Forfeiture had been paſs'd againſt them.

IV. That the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, with all the Furniture and other things therein, ſhould be conſign'd into the Hands of the Earl of *Rotheſs*, to whom, he the Governor ſhould make Account of all Jewels and other Things which he receiv'd in the Caſtle; and that all the Goods belonging to the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, put into his keeping, ſhould be reſtor'd to the ſeveral Owners, he being freely diſcharg'd of the ſame by Act of Parliament.

V. That the Caſtle of *Blackneſs* ſhould be put into the Keeping of ſome one of the Governor's Party, and that the Rents appertaining thereto ſhould be aſſign'd for the Maintainance of a Gariſon therein.

VI. That conſidering the Debts he had contracted during the War, he ſhould have 20000 Marks given him for the Payment of his Creditors.

VII. That the Earl of *Morton* ſhould reſign the Superiority of the Lands of *Grange*, and other Lands thereto belonging; and that the ſame might be held of the Crown in all time coming.

VIII. And, *Laſtly*, That the Lords within the Caſtle ſhould have Leave to go into *France*, or any other Country they pleas'd, out of *Scotland*; and that the Earl of *Rotheſs* ſhould be Surety for the Accompliſhment of the whole Premiſes.

Tho' theſe Articles were judg'd reaſonable by the Regent and moſt of the Party, yet the Earl of *Morton* made ſuch Objections againſt them, that when they were put to a Vote, the Earl's Friends being more numerous than the Regent's, they urg'd, *That nothing could be more unreaſonable, than that they ſhould reward a Man who was the only Author of the Civil War; or to give him Money to give him Money to pay thoſe Debts he had contracted to maintain the War, which had ruin'd and ſlain ſo many of the Subjects.* *Morton*'s Objections againſt them.

This Speech, expreſs'd with his uſual Policy, had ſuch Effect on the whole Party, that all the Articles were rejected: And ſo the Convention broke up, without concluding on any further Accommodation for Peace. For altho' the good Regent was very much inclin'd to Peace, yet the Earl of *Morton* was againſt every thing that could contribute to an Agreement.

The Regent finding the Earl of *Morton*'s Power among the Party ſo very great, that he found, he himſelf had only the empty Title of Regent, while the other, and his Relations, directed all Matters at their Pleaſure; ſo that whatever was done to Advantage and Honour, was attributed to the Earl of *Morton*; but whatever Miſcarriages happen'd, the Name of Regent made the Earl of *Marr* liable to the Blame. 'Tis believ'd, that the Conſideration of theſe things afflicted him ſo, that he fell into Sickneſs, whereof he died at *Stirling*, upon the 28th of *October*, about 5 in the Morning. The Earl of *Marr* dies at *Stirling*.

He was the only Perſon who enjoy'd that Office without the Loſs of his Reputation; for by both Parties he was (in Spite of their mutual Heats) confeſs'd to be a Nobleman of great Honeſty, Integrity, and good Senſe. His Son being a Minor during his Sickneſs, he had appointed the Laird of *Tulibardin*, and his own Brother *Alexander Erskine*, Governors for the young King, and Keepers of *Stirling* Caſtle. His Character

Upon the firſt of *November* the Eſtates met to chuſe a new Regent, and the Earl of *Morton*, having a ſtrong Faction of his own Relations and Favourites, was elected: And after taking the Oaths taken by the former Regents, he gave Orders for calling a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, to meet the 26th of *January* *Mort* elected Regent.

A. D. 1572. *nuary* after; and gave ſtrict Charge to *Alexander Erskine*, and the King's other Governor, that no *Roman* Catholick, or any of the Queen's Party, ſhould be admitted to ſee the young King; but of their own Party an Earl ſhould be admitted with two Attendants, a Baron with one, and all other private Perſons allow'd (but all unarm'd) ſhould have Acceſs to the King, when their Occaſions requir'd.

The Regent's Orders to the King's Governors.

The late Secretary *Lethington* conſidering that he now could by no Means withſtand the Earl of *Morton*'s Power, reſolv'd to uſe his utmoſt Skill to get into his Favour; and finding that the Earl, ſoon after he was elected Regent, fell into a violent Fit of Sickneſs, took that Opportunity to entreat his Favour and Friendſhip, by a very ſubmiſſive Letter, wherein he put the Earl in Mind of the many friendly Offices he had done him; eſpecially when the Earl was in Diſgrace with the Queen, upon the Murder of *David Rizio*. But the Regent ſent no other Anſwer, but only told the Meſſenger who brought it, *That if he had ever receiv'd any Marks of Friendſhip from* Lethington, *he had, ſince that Time, repay'd him, with double Intereſt.* The Regent ſoon after recover'd his Health; at which time arriv'd Mr. *Killegrew*, Ambaſſador from the Queen of *England*, to congratulate his Acceſſion to the Regency; having private Inſtructions to deſtroy thoſe who would ſtill ſupport the Title and Authority of the Queen: Mean while he declar'd to all Perſons publickly, that the chief Inſtructions from the Queen his Miſtreſs was, to lengthen the Truce, and endeavour a laſting Peace. The Regent found the Duke of *Chattlerault* and the Earl of *Huntly* inclinable to continue Peace upon good Conditions, he fail'd not to offer ſuch Terms as would induce them to give over any further Attempt in Favour of the Baniſh'd Queen; and at the ſame time ſent *Killegrew* to *Grange* and the Lord *Hume*, to aſſure them, that the Queen of *England* would not aſſiſt either Party againſt the other; therefore adviſ'd the Governor to ſurrender the Caſtle: Which he offer'd upon more reaſonable Conditions than the former. But the Regent would have him ſurrender at Diſcretion, to ſtand to his Peril: To which he ſeem'd not to agree freely, nor give a flat denial. Mean time the Regent had the Lord *Lindſay* choſen Lord Provoſt of the City of *Edinburgh*; and altho' the Truce was not yet expir'd, yet he was no ſooner elected, than he order'd two Bulworks to be made within the City, to ſhelter the Town from the Canon of the Caſtle: One being made at the End of the Tolbooth, in the narrow Paſſage, and the other before the North Gate of the High Church.

Lethington writes to the Regent.

His Anſwer.

Lord *Lindſay* raiſes Bulworks againſt the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

The Governor of the Caſtle ſeeing this Violation of the Articles of the Truce, complain'd aloud, ſaying the Regent and his Party had begun War, when they were bound by their Oaths and Words of Honour to the contrary; but his Complaint was to no Purpoſe: Yet he continu'd quiet, without giving them the leaſt Offence, till the laſt Day of the Truce was expir'd, being the laſt Day of the Month of *December*: But on the firſt Day of *January*, 1573. he made ready his Canon: and ſaluted the Citizens very early in the Morning; and levell'd moſt of his Shot againſt the Fiſh Market, which had been lately built. The Bullets lighting among the Fiſhes, ſcatter'd them about the Streets, and beat ſome of them ſo high, that they fell on the Tops of the Houſes: Which ſtrange Spectacle brought many People to the Street; among whom, the poorer Sort ran into the Place to gather what they could, without Conſideration of the Danger; wherupon a Ball coming among them, kill'd five, and wounded or bruis'd above 20 more, ſo that few of them recover'd. The next Day Sir *James Balfour*, late Governor, left the Caſtle; and having deſerted that Party, was receiv'd into the Regent's Favour. *Grange* was nothing diſcourag'd at the Loſs of a Perſon, whoſe Friendſhip he never truſted, but, by Proclamation over the Caſtle-wall in the Queen's Name, commanded all her loyal Subjects to retire out of the City, that they might not ſuffer among her Enemies.

1573.

Several Perſons kill'd in the Fiſh Market by Canon Shot from the Caſtle.

The Regent, at the ſame time, iſſu'd another Proclamation, commanding, *That no Man, under Pain of Death, ſhould proſecute the War*; or *do any*

Thing

Thing that might retard the Treaty for a through Peace, notwithſtanding the late Peace was expir'd.

A. D. 1573.

At this Time Sir *James Kirkaldy*, Brother to the Laird of *Grange*, who had gone from Sir *Adam Gordon* to *France*, (had receiv'd, at the Requeſt of the Queen, one Year's Revenue of her Jointure, for the Uſe of her Friends in *Scotland*;) return'd with the Money, which he intended to deliver to his Brother; but hearing the Enemy was poſſeſs'd of *Edinburgh*, found it would be impracticable to bring it ſafe to him: Therefore went to *Blackneſs* Caſtle, which was ſtill in the Loyaliſts Poſſeſſion, where he thought himſelf and the Gold ſafe. But the Governor, who was a ſecret Friend to *Morton*, upon that Occaſion, acknowledg'd the Regent's Authority, and deliver'd the Money to him the next Day. Sir *James* being put in Irons, the treacherous Governor went to *Edinburgh*, to wait upon the Regent. Mean time Sir *James* prevail'd upon the Soldiers of the Garriſon, that they ſeiz'd the Governor's Brother, and ſet himſelf at Liberty, putting his Irons on the Governor's Brother, and unanimouſly declar'd for the Queen; giving the Command to Sir *James*, who ſent a Party, and brought in Store of Proviſions to endure a Seige. The Regent having by this Time prevail'd with moſt of the Queen's Party, to have a Meeting at *Perth* to treat of Peace; he reſolv'd not to attempt any Thing againſt Sir *James* by Force, which might prove a Hinderance to this Treaty. They therefore made Uſe of Sir *James*'s Wife, who during his Stay in *France*, was in *Edinburgh*, was deluded by his importunate Addreſſes; and being once debauch'd by him; ſhe had no more Regard to any other Principle of Virtue, Honour, or Friendſhip, than to her Marriage Vows, which ſhe had already violated: And to oblige the Regent, went to the Caſtle, where ſhe was receiv'd with all Marks of Love and Reſpect by her Huſband, who entertain'd her with a Narration of his Adventures till Night; at which Time ſhe deſir'd to retire to her Family, but not without accompliſhing her Deſign, which ſhe did by decoying Sir *James* to guard her over ſome Fields, where the Regent had ſent a ſtrong Party commanded by Captain *Lambie*, who beſet Sir *James* with the Part of his Garriſon who guarded him; and having taken him Priſoner, he was ſent to *Linlithgow*, and after to *Dalkeith*, from whence he made his Eſcape, and got ſafe into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* to his Brother. Mean time Captain *Lambie* took the reſt of the Garriſon of *Blackneſs*, and, by the Regent's Orders, caus'd hang five Soldiers over the Wall, to terrifie the reſt from revolting. Sir *James*'s Wife did not long enjoy the Reward of her Treachery; for eight Days after ſhe was ſtrangl'd in the Night, in her own Bed-Chamber, in her Houſe in *Edinburgh*, but the Author could never be known.

Sir *James Kirkaldy* brings Money from *France* to the Queen's Party.

He is given up to the Regent by the Governor of *Blackneſs*.

He is releas'd by the Soldiers.

Sir *James* betray'd by his Wife to the Regent.

He again makes his Eſcape.

His Wife ſtrangled.

Some Days after Sir *James* got into the Caſtle, his Brother *Grange* fir'd ſeveral Cannon on the City; and having caus'd the Guns to be levell'd at ſome thatch'd Houſes, near the City Gate, call'd the *Weſt-port* (the Wind then blowing high) ſet them on a Flame, which the Citizens endeavour'd to extinguiſh, but by the frequent Firing, the Flames encreas'd, and burnt ſeveral Houſes. This Action enrag'd the Citizens ſo againſt *Grange*, that they never could be reconcil'd with him during his Life-time.

The Time appointed for the Treaty of *Perth* being come; for the Queen's Party, the Duke of *Chattlerault* ſent his Son Lord *John Hamilton* Abbot of *Aberbrothock* (his Grace being then very infirm, by Reaſon of long Fatigue and old Age) with the Earl of *Huntly*; and the Regent ſent *Archibald* Earl of *Argyle*, Lord Chancellor, and Juſtice General of the Realm; *William* Lord *Ruthven*, Treaſurer; *John* Earl of *Montroſe*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, *Robert* Commendator of *Dunfermling*, the Secretary, Sir *John Ballandin* of *Achnoul*, Lord Juſtice Clerk, being aſſiſted by Mr. *Henry Killegrew*, Ambaſſador from the Queen of *England*: And after ſeveral Days Conferrence, it was at laſt agreed; "That all the Subjects of the Realm ſhould acknowledge the "Religon then eſtabliſh'd, and maintain the Profeſſors of it, and that the "Earl of *Huntly*, and Lord *John Hamilton*, with their Friends and Follow-

The Queen and Regent's Commiſſioners meet at *Perth*.

A. D. 1573.

The Treaty of *Perth.*

" ers, ſhould ſubmit to the King, and to the Earl of *Morton* his Regent, by " their Oaths and Subſcription; and that they ſhould acknowledge all " Things done by any other Authority, ſince his Coronation, unlawful; that " all Perſons diſpoſſeſs'd, during the late Troubles, ſhould be reſtor'd to " their Lands and Heritages; that all Priſoners, taken on either Side, dur- " ing the late Wars, ſhould be ſet at free Liberty, without paying any Ran- " ſom; that the Earl of *Huntly*, and Lord *John Hamilton*, and all others of " their Party, ſhould diſmiſs all Soldiers hir'd, or maintain'd by them, or any " in their Names.

" Likeas the Lords of the Regent's Party, bound and oblig'd themſelves " for all their Party; that all the Proceſſes, Sentences of Forfeiture, and all " other Proſecutious paſs'd againſt *George* Earl of *Huntly*, Lord *John* " *Hamilton*, or any of their Party or Friends, for any Crimes committed by " them or any of their Party, ſince the 15th Day of *June* 1567, ſhould be " declared null, and of no Effect. That all Perſons diſpoſſeſs'd of their " Lands and Heritages, by any Warrants or Orders of the Regent's, for their " Diſobedience to the King's Authority, upon their Acknowledgment of " the ſame, ſhould immediately be reſtor'd to their Lands, Titles, Dignities " whatſomever; that all civil Decrees given and paſs'd in Parliament, Seſſi- " on or Council, whereby any of the Subjects found Cauſe of Complaint; " the ſame ſhould be heard and regulated according to the Laws of the " Land, within ſix Months after Repreſentations, Supplications, or Petitions " to that Effect ſhould be given in. That all Perſons comprehended in this " Pacification, ſhould after Publication thereof, be receiv'd without any " Manner of Diſtinction, as the King's good Subjects, in all Parts of his " Dominions; and that nothing that happen'd during theſe Troubles, " ſhould be any Cauſe of Feud or Enmity, or admitted as an Exception a- " gainſt either Judge, Party, or Witneſſes. That the Heirs and Succeſſors of " Perſons forfeited and dead, ſhould be reſtor'd to their Lands, and uſe " Means to take Poſſeſſion, and enter Heirs, as freely as if their Parents " or Predeceſſors had never been forfeited, but had died in the King's Fa- " vour; eſpecially the Heirs of *John* late Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, *Gawin* " Commendator of *Kilwining*, *Andrew Hamilton* of *Lochnot*, and Capt. *James* " *Cullen*.

Theſe Articles were ſubſcrib'd by the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntly*, *Montroſe*, Lord *John Hamilton*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd*, Commendator of *Dumfermlin*, Secretary, and Lord Juſtice Clerk; afterwards by the Regent, and ſeveral other Lords of both Parties.

During this Treaty Sir *Adam Gordon* routed the Lord *Lovate* with the *Forbeſes*, and *Mackintoſhes* at *Aberdeen*, after which Victory he expected daily Supply; but to his great Surprize, and no leſs Grief, he found that all thoſe that maintain'd the Queen's Authority, had laid down their Arms, and diveſted themſelves of all Power by this late Treaty of *Perth*, whereby Sir *Adam* was oblig'd to disband his Soldiers, and lay down his Arms. So that none remain'd to diſpute the Regent's Authority but the Laird of *Grange*, and ſuch as were with him within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; to whom the Regent ſent *Killigrew* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, to acquaint him that he would grant him no other Terms than what had been given to all the Queen's Party in general, by the Treaty of *Perth*: But *Grange* knowing the Regent's Deceit, and revengeful Diſpoſition, would not ſurrender, but rely'd on the Strength of the Caſtle, and told *Killigrew*, *That tho' his Friends had forſaken him and the Town too, yet he would keep that Houſe to the laſt.* Afterwards the Regent ſent the Earl of *Rotheſs* and Lord *Boyd*, who us'd many Argnments to perſwade him to ſurrender; but he ſtill continu'd to inſiſt upon ſafe Terms for himſelf and Friends, and told them, *That if* Morton *had not intended his Ruin, more than the young King's Intereſt, he had agreed to thoſe Propoſals he had offer'd to his Predeceſſor the Earl of* Marr, *upon the* 28*th of* September *laſt.*

Grange refuſes to ſurrender the Caſtle.

The

The Regent having receiv'd this laſt Anſwer from *Grange*, the 3d of *March*; on the 8th of the ſame Month arriv'd a hundred *Engliſh* Pioniers, by which it was judg'd that *Morton* had under-hand Dealing with the Court of *England*, even during the late Treaty; and that he intended to beſiege the Caſtle, while he deſir'd the Governor to ſurrender without Terms, which he knew *Grange* would not agree to. On the 11th of the ſame Month thoſe Pioniers broke Ground on the Caſtle-Hill, and wrought with ſome Loſs till the 15th, when the Garriſon ſallied out on them, and beat them from their Trenches: On the 16th a Truce was agreed on for thirteen Days, during which Time the Beſiegers were making all poſſible Preparations to carry on the Siege; mean time, there arrived an Army of 500 Muſqueteers, and 140 Pikes from *England*, commanded by *Drury*, and ſent ſeveral Cannon, and other Neceſſaries of War by Sea, which ſoon came to Hand. Before the coming of theſe Forces, the Regent had oblig'd himſelf onder the following Articles to the Queen of *England*. *A. D.* 1573.

Aſſiſtance from *England* to take the Caſtle by Force.

Articles between the Regent and *Engliſh*.

I. *That neither the Regent nor the* Engliſh *General ſhould agree to any Terms with the Beſieged without one anothers mutual Conſent.*

II. *That if the Caſtle ſhould be taken by Storm, the Plate, Jewels, and Furniture belonging to the Soveraign, the Regiſters, and publick Records of the Nation ſhould be deliver'd to the Regent, three Days after the ſame ſhould be recover'd, and the reſt of the Spoil diſtributed among the Soldiers.*

III. *That the Perſons within the Caſtle ſhould be reſerv'd to the Trial of Law, and the Regent ſhould proceed in that Matter, by the Conſent and Advice of the Queen of* England.

IV. *That the Regent ſhould maintain the* Engliſh *Forces, and aſſiſt them with a handſome Number of Horſe and Foot.*

V. *That the Regent ſhould give ſuch a Gratuity to the Wives and neareſt Friends of ſuch* Engliſh *Soldiers, as ſhould be ſlain in that Service, as the* Engliſh *General ſhould think reaſonable.*

VI. *That if any of the great Guns ſhould be render'd uſeleſs, Guns of the ſame Size and Mettle, belonging to the Caſtle, ſhould be given to make up the Loſs.*

VII. *That the Caſtle being taken, the* Engliſh *General ſhould immediately return with his Forces; and that for the ſafe Returu of them (the Hazards of War excepted) Hoſtages ſhould be given to remain in* Berwick. The Hoſtages given were the Maſters of *Semple*, and *Ruthven*, *John Cunningham* Son to the Earl of *Glencairn*, and *Dowglaſs* of *Kilſpindie*.

The Treaty of *Perth* confirm'd by the Parliament.

The Parliament being call'd by the Treaty of *Perth*, they met at *Edinburgh*, upon the 30th of *April*, and being ſhelter'd from the Caſtle by the Bulwarks rais'd by the Lord *Lindſay*, they ſat and confirm'd the ſaid Treaty. The Duke of *Chattlerault*, the Earl of *Huntly*, and all their Friends and Followers, were reſtor'd to their Eſtates and Honours; and the Laird of *Grange*, with all thoſe who adher'd to him, were forfeited.

The 15th of *May*, the Beſiegers had finiſh'd a Battery of 30 Guns, and 5 Field Pieces; and upon the 17th (being *Trinity-Sunday*) about 2 in the Afternoon, they began to play upon the Caſtle, and fir'd inceſſantly till the 22d, at which Time moſt of the great Tower (commonly call'd St. *David*'s Tower) fell to the Ground, with the whole Tower of the *Portcullis*, and much of the Wall toward the South and Weſt; and on the 22th an Aſſult was given at both theſe Places, about 7 in the Morning, and continu'd the Space of three Hours: But about 10 they were beaten back, with the Loſs of 24 of their Men: Yet the Beſieg'd found themſelves in ſo great Danger, that they were glad to come to a Parly with the *Engliſh* General, who (againſt the Regent's Inclination) conſented to a Truce for two Days: The ſecond Day *Grange* offer'd to *Drury* to ſurrender, upon the Terms propos'd the 28th of *September*. *Drury*, to ſave his Men, pretending great Reſpect for the Governor and *Lethington*, allow'd the Articles to be very reaſonable; and upon the 29th in the Morning, *Grauge* with his Friends yielded themſelves Priſoners to *Drury*, upon a ſolemn Aſſurance

Grange ſurrenders the Caſtle, and himſelf to *Drury*.

A. D. 1563. of being reſtor'd to his Eſtate and Liberty by the Queen of *England*'s Interceſſion; it being in her Power, by the 3d Article of the Agreement between her General and the Regent, to have the Priſoners proſecuted by Law, or acquitted. *Drury* alſo promis'd that the common Soldiers ſhould march out with Bag and Baggage; but they were inſtantly diſarm'd and clap'd up in the Caſtles of *Blackneſs* and *Merchiſtone*. Mean time *Grange* and his Friends were continu'd Priſoners at large in *Drury*'s Quarters, waiting the Queen of *England*'s Letters to the Regent and her General: But when theſe Letters cams, to their great Surprize, and *Drury*'s eternal Infamy, all the Priſoners were deliver'd up to the Regent, to be us'd at his Pleaſure, by the *Engliſh* Queen's expreſs Orders.

Grange and other Priſoners deliver'd up to the Regent.

Drury ſeem'd to obey this Command with great Reluctancy; and as he left *Edinburgh* and retnrn'd to *Berwick*, he told every Perſon that he ſpoke to by the Way, that the Regent and *Killegrew* had baſely undermin'd him, and perſuaded the Queen his Miſtreſs, to force him to an Act equally inconſiſtent with his Honour and Conſcience. And *Morton*, at the ſame time, exclaim'd againſt *Drury*, ſaying, he had promis'd Conditions of Peace to *Grange* and his Friends, expreſly againſt the firſt Article of the Agreement; which provided, *That neither of them ſhould tranſact or compoune with the Beſieg'd, without the Conſent of both Parties.* But altho' 'tis certain, that *Drury* acquainted *Morton* of the Conditions; yet he made not this Objection until *Grange* and his Friends had ſurrender'd: Whereby it appear'd, that *Grange*'s Deſtruction was reſolv'd upon by the Regent.

The chief Perſons who were in *Edinburgh* Caſtle, was the Lord *Hume*, who was return'd Priſoner to the Caſtle; the Biſhop of *Dunkell*, who was ſent to *Blackneſs* Caſtle; the Lord *Coldingham* to *Calender* Caſtle, *Maitland* of *Lethington* to the Tolbooth of *Leith*, his Brother to *Tantallon*; the Laird of *Grange*, his Brother Sir *James Kirkaldy*, *James Moſſman*, and *James Cockes*, Goldſmiths of *Edinburgh*, were impriſon'd in the Tolbooth there, and Sir *Robert Melvil*, who was ſet at Liberty at the Requeſt of *Killegrew* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. The Regent now having theſe Perſons in his Power, who had ſo long oppos'd his violent Proceedings; he reſolv'd to be reveng'd on them, eſpecially on *Grange* and his Brother Sir *James*, for he caus'd them, with the two Goldſmiths, to be hang'd upon a Gibbet, at the Market Croſs of *Edinburgh*, and their Heads, according to their Sentence, to be ſet up on the Caſtle-wall. Thus fell Sir *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, a Man equally fam'd for his Wiſdom and Courage. He gain'd great Honour in *France*, where he had ſerv'd as an Officer of Horſe, and was highly eſteem'd by the Duke of *Vendoſme*, Prince of *Conde*, and Duke *d'Aumale*, who then commanded the *French* Army in *Picardy*; nor was he leſs regarded by *Henry* II. King of *France*, who declar'd him to be one of the moſt valiant Men of that Age; and gave him an annual Penſion, which he generouſly refus'd, after he left off his Service. In *England* he gave Proof of his Valour, by overcoming the Earl *Rivers*'s Brother in a ſingle Combat, between the two Armies of *Scots* and *Engliſh*. It was commonly ſaid of him, that he had all the Tenderneſs and Compliſance of a Lover in Company and Converſation, but all the Fury of a Lion in the Field of War.

Grange, his Brother Sir *James*, and two more executed at *Edinburgh*.

His Character

In the Year 1545. he was one of thoſe who murder'd Cardinal *Beaton* in his own Chamber. In the Year 1564. he join'd thoſe Lords who rais'd a Rebellion againſt the Queen, for marrying the Lord *Darnly*. In the Year 1567. he was in the Army who went againſt the Queen, and, by fair Promiſes brought her Majeſty into her Enemies Hands, when ſhe was ſent Priſoner to *Lochleven*: But ſoon after, ſeeing the Violence of the Earl of *Murray*, who had given him the Government of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, which he ſtill kept, and had engag'd himſelf ſo deeply in the Queen's Intereſt, that *Morton* could never forgive what he had done in oppoſing his Deſigns to ruin that Party: This was the Cauſe of his untimely Death, which was very much lamented by many, eſpecially by all the Queen's Friends. The Laird of *Lethington* being then Priſoner in the Tolbooth of *Leith*, upon the

firſt

first Notice of *Grange*'s Execution, took a large Dose of Poison, to prevent *Morton*'s Revenge, and avoid an ignominious Exit; yet it did not dispatch him so suddenly, but that *Morton* had Notice of his Condition, and order'd him to be brought immediately from *Leith* to his Lodgings in *Edinburgh*, where he expir'd in excessive Pains, the 3d of *September*. *A. D.* 1574. *Lethington* takes Poison and dies.

The Government of *Edinburgh* Castle was given by the Regent to his Brother *George Dowglass* of *Parkhead*, and the Walls were speedily repaird, and a new Bulwark added, made in the Form of a Half-Moon. The Civil War being thus ended, several Officers of the Queen's Party, with their Companies, went over to *Sweden* and *Flanders*, where they atchiev'd great Honour and Applause by their Conduct and Valour. *George Dowglass* made Governor of the Castle.

The Regent would gladly have brought Lord *Hume* and others to the same End as the Laird of *Grange*, but at that time the Sirname of *Hume* were in great Power in the Border, and made Vows to be reveng'd on such as would do any Injury to their Chief. Nevertheless he was continu'd close Prisoner in the Castle, where he died soon after.

About the Beginning of the Year 1574. the Regent made the Lord *Maxwell* Warden of the West Marches, Sir *John Carmichael* of the Middle, and Sir *James Hume* of *Coldingknowes* of the East, so that by their Diligence the Borders were brought to a peaceable and quiet Behaviour, which had not been known in that Part of the Kingdom for several Years past. Mean time the Regent studied all Means to make his Service acceptable to the Queen of *England*, who had so long supported his Faction; so that he now had Power over the whole Kingdom, to dispose of all Offices and Places of Trust to such, as he was well assur'd would support his Interest: By which Means he found it an easy Matter to enrich himself, and ruin all such as would resist his Authority, and restrain his covetous Designs. He reduc'd the young King's Family to a very small Number, whereby he got great Sumes of Money to himself; but having meddled with Church Livings, the Clergy made such loud Complaints, that his Proceedings were very much exclaim'd against, even by such as had been his best Friends. Besides these Means to get Money, he became so submissive to the Court of *England*, that nothing could be propos'd by that Queen, which he would deny to oblige her, were it ever so far contrary to the Honour and Advantage of *Scotland*. *Morton*'s Proceedings offensive to the People.

During the Regency of his Predecessors he had obtain'd Leave to coin mix'd Money in the Castle of *Dalkeith*, which had been current for some time past: But at this Time he wou'd not accept of any of it in Payments; so that fine Gold and Silver of the Kingdom was paid into his Coffers, and that mix'd Coin still to pass among the Subjects. Besides these Acts of Oppression, he hir'd Informers, to watch all those that had been at any time loyal to the Queen; and to make Complaints against them, for several Misdemeanours, tho' never so groundless; for which many of them were fin'd in greater Sums than their Circumstances could bear: And others, of the inferiour Rank, for uttering any Words with respect to the captive Queen, he caus'd them (with the Consent of the Church) to stand bare-headed, clad with Sackcloth, at the Church Doors, or upon a Seat erected within the Church; which had been commonly us'd for Adulterers, or other Criminals, liable to the Church Censor. Most of the Clergy being of his Faction, comply'd with his Desire in several things which very much offended even the Protestant Subjects; especially in punishing such as eat Flesh in time of Lent; for some were whip'd, but such as had Money fin'd in Sums of Money, and immediately distrain'd for not Payment of their Fines into the Treasury. At the same time no Merchant could bring any Wine from *France* without Licences from the Regent, which Licences cost near as much as the Wine did in *France*. Some Jewels which the Queen had given to the Countess of *Argyle*, her Bastard-Sister, the Regent compell'd the Earl her Husband to give up to him, pretending they belong'd to the Crown. Yet all these Means of squeezing Money from the People to enrich himself, was not so great a Grievance to the Nation, as the Sentences of his

A. D. 1574. Juſtice-Courts, commonly *Juſtice-Airs*; for in thoſe Courts, all Perſons that had been, at any Time, in Arms for the Queen, were ſummon'd, and ſentenc'd to unlawful Puniſhments (notwithſtanding that by the Treaty of *Perth*, they were indemnify'd from all further Proſecution or Puniſhment by Law) and both Rich and Poor were forc'd to purchaſe their Lives and Liberties at very dear Rates. The firſt of theſe Courts was held at *Jedburgh*, and the next at *Haddington*, and from thence, gradually through the Kingdom: The Judges being ſuch as the Regent had made to promote his own Deſigns, often condemn'd Criminals without any legal Trial; ſo that thoſe Courts took their Names from *Jedburgh*, the firſt Town where they were held; from whence *Jedburgh Juſtice*, became a common Phraſe to expreſs illegal and arbitrary Proceedings, it being alleg'd that Criminals were here condemn'd, and after try'd.

Jedburgh Juſtice, the Meaning of it.

John Ormiſton executed.

About this time, one *John Ormiſton*, commonly call'd *Black John*, was try'd and executed, for the Murder of the late King *Henry*; he had been formerly in great Favour with the Earl of *Bothwhll*, but deny'd that he was preſent at the Murder: It is reported that he confeſs'd that he had ſeen a Letter, wherein ſome who were then in great Favour with the Regent had conſented to the Murder: So that his Confeſſion was conceal'd from publick Knowledge.

The Earl of *Argyle*'s Death.

The Earl of *Argyle*, who had continu'd Lord Chancellor from the Deceaſe of the Earl of *Atholl*, died at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *June*, and was ſucceeded in that Office by the Lord *Glamis*.

In the Month of *July*, the Earl of *Huntly* came to *Edinburgh*, to attend a Law Suit for a conſiderable Sum; but the Regent being in his Adverſary's Intereſt, he, without any real Cauſe, confin'd the Earl to the Shire of *Galloway*; and at the ſame time made a ſecret Contract with the Laird of *Applegirth*, to murder him; which had been executed, but that the Plot was diſcover'd to the Baron of *Lochinvar*, who was of the Earl's Name, and Relation, and with the Aſſiſtance of his Friends preſerv'd his Life. This Plot of the Regent's being diſcover'd, gave great Cauſe of Complaint to many of the Subjects; but his Party being yet ſtrong, beſides the ready Aſſiſtance he had, to execute all his Deſigns, from *England*, ſecur'd him from publick Accuſation, tho' his Tyrany and Oppreſſion was evident to all the Nation. And, at this time, he aſſum'd publick Marks of Soveraignity, by cauſing Money to be coin'd with the King's Arms on one Side, and on the reverſe a Heart and Star, which was a Part of the Regent's own Arms. When the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was repair'd, after the late Siege; he caus'd his own Arms to be ſet up at large, over the Lion Rampant of *Scotland*.

A Plot againſt the Earl of *Huntly* prevented by *Lochinvar*.

1575. Upon the 22d of *January*, 1575. *James*, Duke of *Chattlerault* departed this Life, at his Palace of *Hamilton*: He had been Regent of the Kingdom during the Queen's Minority, as before-mention'd, and in that great and difficult Office, gain'd the Good-will and Eſteem of all the Subjects of that Nation, and all foreign Princes, who knew his Deportment. He appear'd in all his Actions to be a good Man, and true Patriot; was ſingularly noted for his tender Reſpect and Affection to his Relations and Dependants; ſo that they follow'd his Example in all Teſtimonies of Love and Loyalty to their Queen and Country. Tho' he had been, by the Parliament, declar'd next Heir to the Crown, if the Queen had died without Iſſue, and Tutor and Regent during her Minority, yet he freely reſign'd the Power and Regalia to the Queen-Mother, at the Deſire of the young Queen and Parliament: So that it appears, he was not ambitious of any Power or Command, except when his Service might contribute to the Peace and Proſperity of the Kingdom, which he moſt generouſly prefer'd to his own private Intereſt.

1575. The Duke of *Chattelrault*'s Death.

His Character

At this time the young King was kept in *Stirling*, by *Alexander Erskine* and the Counteſs of *Marr*; having four principal Maſters to inſtruct him in the Liberal Sciences, Mr. *George Buchanan*, Mr. *Peter Young*, the Abbots of *Cambuskenneth* and *Dryburgh*. The Laird of *Drumquhaſil*, who was Maſter of

of the Houſhold, being very covetous of Riches, was very much offended that the Regent uplifted all ſuch Caſualities as had formerly been paid into ſuch as held his Office; wherefore he became an Enemy to the Regent, and influenc'd moſt of the King's Attendants to exclaim againſt his Proceedings: As alſo, at that Time, the Regent having paid out all the mix'd Money to the Workmen for Repairing the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and ſeveral other Places; he caus'd the ſame, by Order of the Privy-Council, to be reduc'd to its intrinſick Value, which was not one third of what they had receiv'd it for. This Act of Oppreſſion loſt him the moſt of the common People; ſo that now his Enemies were ſtill encreaſing, and his Friends decreaſing, by Reaſon of his tyranical Proceedings. *A. D.* 1575.

In the Month of *May* this Year, there happen'd a Scuffle between Sir *John Kirkmichael*, Warden of the weſt *Scotiſh* Marches, and Sir *John Forreſter*, Warden of the *Engliſh* Marches; the latter having affronted the former (at a Meeting which they had appointed to adjuſt ſome publick Matters about the Borders) both Parties engaged with great Fury; the *Scots*, being feweſt in Number, had near worſted, but there came a freſh Company of *Tiviotdale-men*, who, being join'd to the Warden's, put the *Engliſh* to flight, with great Slaughter. In the Skirmiſh there fell on the *Scots* Side, none but the Laird of *Mow*, and three private Men; of the *Engliſh* were ſlain Sir *George Heron*, and 24 private Men; the Warden, Sir *Cuthbert Collingwood*, Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, *James Ogle*, *Henry Tenwick*, and ſeveral others were taken Priſoners, and preſented to the Regent at *Edinburgh*; but inſtead of applauding Sir *John Kirkmichael* for the valiant Deed, he reprov'd him as a Diſturber of the Peace, and ſet the Priſoners at Liberty, treating them as if they had come into the Nation Ambaſſadors or Plenipotentiaries from the Court of *England*. This Civility the *Engliſh* Priſoners look'd upon as a Proof of the Regent's Dependance on their Queen; and altho' the *Engliſh* were the firſt Offenders at this Time, yet they confidently demanded Satisfaction for the pretended Injury done them: Mean time. Mr. *Kilegrew* was ſent down Ambaſſador to enquire into the Affair, whereupon the Regent, to oblige the *Engliſh* Court, ſent Sir *John Kirkmichael* to *London*, to ask that Queen's Pardon, for doing himſelf and his native Country Juſtice. All Men exclaim'd loudly againſt the Regent, for having ſo baſely ſubmitted to the Queen of *England*'s Deſire, as if he had been her Subject, and the Kingdom of *Scotland* depended on her Crown; by which People plainly ſaw how he proſtituted the Freedom and Independency of their Country, to ſerve his own private Ends.

A Scuffle between the Wardens.

The Lords *John* and *Claud Hamiltons*, Sons to the late Duke of *Chattelrault*, came into *Edinburgh*, and at the Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe* (according to an ancient Cuſtom of *Scotland*) they deliver'd a Sword by the Point to the Earl of *Angus*, in Satisfaction for the Death of *William Johnſton* of *Weſterhall*, who was ſlain by ſome of the Name of *Hamilton*, during the Civil Wars; That Gentleman holding Vaſſalage of the Earl. The Regent retaining ſtill a Remembrance of the Behaviour of the *Hamiltons*, reſolv'd to ſingle out the Lord *John* for Death; and as he was on his Way to *Aberbrothock*, he ſent *William Dowglaſs* of *Lochleven*, his Brother *George*, with the Lord *Lindſay*, and others to ſeize him: But when the Lord *John* had Notice of their Approach, he order'd his Friends and Servants to go on in an intire Body, whilſt he alone went off, and made his Eſcape to the Laird of *Darſie*'s Houſe, where he was kindly receiv'd and defended. When the Regent's Party came up with Lord *John*'s Friends, they ſurrounded and ſeiz'd them all; but not finding him among them, they let them go on their Journey.

The Regent's Plot againſt the Lord *John Hamilton* diſcover'd and prevented.

The Gentlemen of the Name of *Hamilton*, hearing of Lord *John*'s being in Danger, rais'd a Party of 600 Men, and reſolv'd to reſcue him from all Peril; with them did the Earls of *Angus*, *Rotheſs*, *Errol*, and the Lord *Seaton* join: But the Matter was ſo manag'd by the Earl of *Rotheſs*, that Lord *John* went ſafe on his Journey to *Aberbrothock*, and *Dowglaſs* and his Party return'd Home. In the Month of *Auguſt*, ſeveral Perſons were ſummon'd

A. D. 1576. mon'd to answer for their Rebellion during the Civil War; and notwithstanding of the Treaty of *Perth*, many of them were made Prisoners and confin'd until they bought their Liberty with great Sums of Money.

In the Month of *November*, *Robert Stewart*, Earl of *Orkney*, was sent Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, for having sent one *Patrick Elphingston* with Letters to the King of *Denmark*, offering to put that King in Possession of the Isles of *Orkney*, for a certain Sum of Money. This was judg'd high Treason, and all People expected to see the imprudent Earl come to the Scaffold for the Crime; but by paying 7000 *l.* to the Regent, the Trial was laid aside, but he was not restor'd to his Liberty.

The Earl of *Orkney* imprison'd.

At this Time a new Piece of Gold was coin'd in the Castle, weighing an Ounce, and order'd to be receiv'd in all Payments throughout the Kingdom for twenty Pounds. In the Beginning of the Year 1576. *Alister Glass*, a noted Robber, was taken Prisoner in the Earl of *Atholl*'s Bounds, and was sentenc'd to be hang'd: He being a Native of *Argyle* Shire, the Earl of *Argyle* sent a Letter to the Earl of *Atholl*, entreating Life and Liberty to the Prisoner, upon Condition that he would forbear such evil Courses. The Earl of *Atholl* granted the Earl of *Argyle*'s Request, and set *Glass* at Liberty; but no sooner was he at Freedom, than he again gather'd a strong Party, and enter'd the Country of *Atholl* with Fire and Sword, and having burnt and plunder'd several Houses, he retir'd with great Booty. The Earl of *Atholl* upon this wrote to the Earl of *Argyle*, complaining of this base Affront, and desir'd he would cause *Glass* to be apprehended, and deliver'd into his Hands. The Earl of *Argyle* refusing to give an immediate Answer to this Letter, the Earl of *Atholl* muster'd all the Men he could, with Intention to do himself Justice, and the Earl of *Argyle* rais'd another in his own Defence; but as they were ready to come to Action, the Regent commanded them both to disband their Forces, under Pain of high Treason, promising, at the same Time to each of them, by Letters to examine the Matter, and to order Restitution to be made the Party injur'd. The Regent having thus laid his Commands on them, they were both summond to appear at *Edinburgh*, before the Council, to give in their Answers to such Crimes as were charg'd against them; and when they appear'd according to their Summons, they were both confin'd Prisoners. Mean time, the Earl of *Atholl* was to be prosecuted for discharging *Glass*, without inflicting any Manner of Pain or Punishments for his Crimes; the Earl of *Argyle* was to be prosecuted for gathering together the King's Leiges in a warlick Posture, contrary to Acts of Parliament. Their Indictments were drawn up by one *Macgill* an Advocate, whom *Morton* constantly employ'd in all such Prosecutions; but his principal Clerk being of the Name of *Campbell*, and brought up from his Infancy in the Earl of *Argyle*'s Family; he having over-heard what had pass'd between the Regent and his Master, inform'd both the Earls of their Danger, requesting them to provide for their Safety without Delay, and to come to a speedy Agreement amongst themselves, as the surest Way to defeat the Designs of their common Enemy. This Advice was acceptable to both the Earls, who met Face to Face, and laying aside all old Quarrels, enter'd into a more perfect Friendship than ever had been formerly between them. Mean time, the Regent hearing of their friendly Meeting, summon'd them to appear before the Privy-Council; but to his great Trouble, neither of them did obey his Commands.

Alister Glass his Actions.

The Earl of *Huntly*'s Death.

About the latter End of this Year died *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*, a Nobleman whose Character was equal to his Birth; he was made Privy-Councelor to the Queen in the Year 1566. and upon the breaking out of the Civil Wars, he engag'd in the Queen's Interest, and continu'd stedfast therein upon all Occasions; he had been made Lord Chancellor by the Queen, but upon the extorted Resignation of the Crown he was remov'd, and *Morton* was again put into that Office. He left Issue by his Lady *Anne*, Daughter to *James* Duke of *Chattlerault*, *George*, who succeeded him, and a Daughter nam'd *Jean*, who was married to *George* Earl of *Caithness*.

In

In the Beginning of the Year 1577. the Regent found that a Piece of Ground which lay contiguous to his Eſtate, had been given by the, Queen, to *Mary Livingſton*, one of her Maids of Honour, who was then married to *John Semple* of *Balltrees*, which Ground the Regent reſolv'd to have; and to that End, urg'd before the Senators of the College of Juſtice, *That no Crown Land could be alienated:* But *Balltrees* anſwer'd, *That it was a plain Deed of Gift, under the Great and Privy-Seals; therefore could not be recali'd.* However the Regent ſat with the Judges, and reſolv'd to carry his Suit, whether by Law or not; which, when *Balltrees* found, he ſaid in a Paſſion, *That if he loſt the Law-Suit, he ſhould loſe his Life alſo.* His Uncle *Adam Whitford* of *Milton*, was alſo enrag'd at the Regent's unjuſt Proceeding in that Affair, and chanc'd imprudently to ſay, *That* Nero *was but a Dwarf to* Morton, alluding to the Regent's Size, he being a Man of low Stature. *A. D.* 1577.

Semple and *Whitford* caſts the Regent in a Law-Suit.

The Regent, finding his Deſigns fruſtrated before the Senators, reſolv'd to be reveng'd on the Uncle and Nephew, therefore employ'd Agents to report, that *Whitford* and *Semple* were hir'd by the Lord *Claud Hamilton*, to murder the Regent; whereupon they were ſeiz'd and examin'd, but both being innocent, they deny'd the alledg'd Crime. Mean time, the old Way of extorting a Confeſſion from weak Perſons was applied (*viz.*) the * Boot. *Semple* being naturally weak (to prevent Pain) was prevail'd upon by the Regent's Agents to confeſs whatever they thought fit to ask him: But *Whitford* patiently endur'd all the Torment with incredible Courage, which ſufficiently prov'd the Weakneſs and Fear of *Semple*. *Whitford* was diſcharg'd, and *Semple* ſentenc'd to be hang'd; but by *Whitford*'s Diligence, and Induſtry in ſearching into the Cauſe of his Confeſſion, he was alſo diſcharg'd; tho' his Cowardice deſerv'd the Halter, which he eſcap'd.

The Regent's Baſeneſs in this Action, being ſo very viſible to all Men, was no ſmall Addition to his publick Infamy; and as the Lord *Claud Hamilton*'s Life and Eſtate was owing to *Whitford*'s Courage and Conſtancy; ſo the Earls of *Argyle* and *Atholl* eſcap'd the ſame Danger, by *Campbell*'s Deceit to his Maſter, or rather Fidelity to his Chief.

The Regent's Deſign frustrated.

* An Inſtrument of Torture made in Form of a Boot, to extort Confeſſion from Perſons accus'd of Crimes.

All Men of Birth and Eſtates, conſider'd their Lives and Fortunes in ſuch Danger, that nothing but the Regent's Ruin could ſecure them; therefore all ſuch as were not his Confederates or Dependants, made publick Complaints of his Tyrany and Treachery.

General Complaints againſt the Regent's Tyrany, &c.

He was ſubtile enough to foreſee the Storm that was riſing againſt him; therefore reſolv'd to ſhelter himſelf betimes, by a pretended voluntary Retreat. On the 12th of *February*, he went to *Stirling*, and on the 15th, call'd a Council, where the young King ſat in Perſon; then the Regent roſe up, and (to the great Surprize) of the Council, made a Speech, wherein after inlarging on the Misfortunes of the former Regents, the many Dangers, great Fatigue, and all other unhappy Conſequences which attended that Office; he entreated, *That, in Conſideration of his paſt faithful Services, and Adherence to the King's Intereſt, his Maieſty would be pleas'd to take from off his Shoulders that heavy Burden, which his declining Years and broken Conſtitution (as he pretended) could not ſupport; and that the King, whoſe Judgment and Ability ſo very far exceeded his Years, would take the Government upon himſelf.*

He refuſes to reſign the Regency.

1578.

His Speech to the King and Council.

The whole Company were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Speech; but the young King ſeem'd to be ſo little affected with the Deſire of Reigning, that he anſwer'd, *That his Age render'd him wholly unfit to take the Government upon himſelf; but if he ſhould be prevail'd on to eaſe the Regent of the Burden, he knew not where to fix his Court; for at preſent he was not ſatisfy'd with the Caſtle of* Stirling. *Morton* reply'd, *That the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *was every Way the fitteſt Place in the Kingdom for his Majeſty's Reſidence. But then my Lord* (ſaid the King) *I muſt have the Keys deliver'd to ſuch as I ſhall appoint.*

The King's Anſwer.

Theſe laſt Words griev'd the Regent, yet he diſſembled his Concern, and aſſur'd the King, that his Majeſty ſhould be obey'd in all Things. *Then I*

A. D. 1578. *will think upon it, my Lord,* (reply'd the King) *and in a Week or two you ſhall know my Reſolution.*

Alexander Erskine writes to the Earls of *Atholl* and *Argyle.*

The next Morning the Regent return'd to *Edinburgh*, and that Night the King call'd a Council at *Stirling*. Mean time *Alexander Erskine* had ſent a Letter to acquaint the Earls of *Atholl* and *Argyle* of what had paſt the firſt Day; and entreated them to take that Opportunity, of freeing the King, the Nation, and themſelves from Tyranny, ſince *Morton* had now put it in their Power. The Earls made no Delay to aſſiſt in ſuch a very acceptable Action, but came ſpeedily to *Stirling*. They arriv'd juſt as the Council met, and were receiv'd with all Teſtimonies of Reſpect and Affection by the King; who aſſur'd them, that he rely'd very much on their Advice, in what the Regent had propos'd. They diſſembl'd their Knowledge of the Matter before they came, and ſeem'd ſurpriz'd at what the King told them: And when he preſs'd them for an Anſwer, they reply'd very modeſtly, *That in Conſideration of the Regent's great Services, his Majeſty ought to grant his earneſt Requeſt, and remove the Burden from his Shoulders, to lay it upon his own.* Which Advice was ſo very agreeable to the King, that he promis'd to be directed by their judicious Opinions in the moſt weighty Matters of State: But as the Regent had all the Money and Caſtles of Strength of the Kingdom in his Hands, they were to conſider how dangerous it would be to diſoblige him, until thoſe neceſſary Implements of Power and Government, could be got out of his Poſſeſſion. This Conſideration was handled in Council for ſome Hours, till at laſt the King (who was then but 12 Years old) offer'd his own Opinion, with ſuch Sagacity, that it was reſolv'd, *That in Regard few of the Nobility were preſent, and the Matter might ſeem imprudently determin'd, or done by a Club, his Majeſty ſhould inſtantly write to the reſt of the Nobility of the Kingdom, to attend him at* Stirling. Mean time the Earls of *Atholl* and *Argyle* took care that moſt of theſe Letters were ſent to ſuch Noblemen as were greateſt Enemies to the Earl of *Morton*; and they manag'd their Deſign ſo very ſecretly and expeditiouſly, that before the Regent could find out their Contrivance, they were all met, and unanimouſly advis'd the King to take the Government immediately upon himſelf. And upon the 20th of *March* the King ſent the Lord *Herries* to *Edinburgh*, with a Letter to the Regent, containing, *That his Majeſty having ſeriouſly conſider'd the Diſlike which moſt of the Subjects had of his Government, and theſe Troubles, which in all Probability, were like to fall upon the Kingdom; he had therefore, by the Advice of the greateſt Part of the Nobility, determin'd to take the Management of Affairs into his own Hands: And becauſe Delays might produce many Inconveniencies, he requir'd him inſtantly to ſend a Declaration in Writing, confeſſing his Obedience, and Allowance of what was done; and for the future to abſtain from his preſent Office of Regent.* This Letter was very ſurprizing to the Earl of *Morton*, and put him in the utmoſt Confuſion; for he not only ſaw that he could no longer keep the Government, but that his Ruin would begin where his Power ended. He then heartily repented what he had ſaid in his Speech at *Stirling*, and would make ſome Shifts to delay Time, to contrive ſome Stratagem to continue in ſuch Power as he might withſtand the Deſigns of his Enemies: And to that End he wrote back to the King, *That he was ready to obey him in all Things, but could not reſign his Office without an ample, Diſcharge, and Remiſſion confirm'd by Parliament.* To this it was anſwer'd by the King, with Advice of his Council, *That the Diſcharge requir'd, ſhould in due Time be granted.* But at the ſame Time that he had this Anſwer, which was on the 12th Day of *March*, the Lyon King at Arms, and other Heralds, came ſuddenly to the Market Croſs of *Edinburgh*, and, with great Solemnity, proclaim'd the young King's *Acceptation of the Government, and the Regent's Demiſſion.* The Earl aſſiſted (tho' very unwillingly) at the Ceremony; and to diſguiſe his Surprize and Grief, order'd the great Guns of the Caſtle to be diſcharg'd thrice round. But at the ſame time he publickly proteſted, *That his Demiſ-*

They come to *Stirling*, and are kindly receiv'd by the King.

They adviſe the King to diſcharge *Morton.*

The King writes to the Earl of *Morton.*

The Earl's Anſwer.

The King's Acceptation of the Government proclaim'd.

Morton enters a Proteſt.

ſion

ſion ſhould be of no Force nor Effect, nor be deem'd good in Law, if the King ſhould ſubſtitute another in his Place. A. D. 1578.

Upon the 13th the Senators of the College of Juſtice were expreſly adver-tis'd of the *Acceptation*, and all Letters for the future order'd to be given out in his Majeſty's Name only. The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was, the ſame Day, ſummon'd to ſurrender in the King's Name; But the Governor, who was *Morton*'s Brother, refus'd to yield. On the 14th, the greateſt Part of the Garriſon came out to buy up Proviſion (reſolving to endure a Sige) at the eaſt Part of the City; which when made known to the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, who had been formerly oppreſs'd and abus'd by *Morton*; they reſolv'd to cut off their Retreat to the Caſtle; upon which the Soldiers fir'd upon the Citizens, and fought their Way back to the Caſtle, but were forc'd to leave their Proviſion behind them. In the Scuffle ſeveral Perſons were wounded, and one *Richard Lawſon*, a young Gentleman of great Learning, was ſhot through the Head. This Beginning of Reſiſtance of the King's Authority by *Morton*, made the Council act more cautiouſly, in caſe the other Governors of Caſtles ſhould follow his Brother's Example; therefore the Diſcharge and Remiſſion deſir'd by the Earl, was inſtantly granted, in ſuch Terms as he had deſir'd. So far they were reſolv'd to humour him, until all the Cities and Garriſons of the Nation were out of his Hands, who would not ſtick at any Barbarity or Treachery to accompliſh his own Ends. And, as he had always been a Penſioner and Slave to the *Engliſh* Queen's Intereſt, he was the more dangerous, in caſe of a Rebellion. Yet this Diſcharge, however ſo ample, was not enough to make him demit from his Office, or keeping the Forts and Treaſury in his Hands, until it was confirm'd in Parliament. Wherefore all the Noblemen of the King's Council ſolemnly bound themſelves under their Hands and Seals, to ſee his Diſcharge ratify'd by Act of Parliament, under the Penalty of five hundred thouſand Pounds. Upon this the Caſtle was ſurrender'd to the Lord *Herries*, according to the King's Order: And all the Jewels, and other Things belonging to the Crown, were deliver'd up, according to an old Inventary.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* ſummon'd to ſurrender. But deny'd by the Governor.

The Caſtle given up by *Morton*.

The Earl of *Morton* being thus depriv'd of his Office, all his Crimes were expos'd; and even the Pulpits rung with his lewd and tyrannical Practices, tho' moſt of the Reform'd Churchmen had formerly been prefer'd by him or his Party, and paſs'd by all his Vices in Silence whilſt he continu'd in Power; but now being degraded, they were ready to reprove his paſt Errors. In the Streets, the Mobs huzza'd the Earl's greateſt Enemies, calling them the Reſtorers of Liberty to the King and Country, and Deliverers of the People, when they were on the Brink of Ruin.

At this Time the Earl of *Morton* retir'd to his Caſtle of *Dalkeith* (which was then commonly call'd *the Lyon's Den)* where he had daily Meſſages from the King: The firſt was, That he had made his Nephew, the Earl of *Angus*, Warden of the Marches, though he had no Eſtate near the Borders; therefore he ought not to take it amiſs, if the King diſpos'd of that Poſt to ſome Noblemen who had an Eſtate in that Part of the Country. The ſecond was, That ſince the Treaſury at that Time was very low, and the King's Occaſions requir'd Money, 'twas expected he would give up the Mint-houſe into his Majeſty's Hands, and advance a Sum of Money to defray the great Charges, till the Publick Revenue could be ſettl'd to Advantage. By this the Earl ſaw, that he had nothing to expect but Diſgrace and Puniſhment, by having his Friends turn'd ſuddenly out of Office, and his Purſe examin'd; as if the Court intended to make uſe of his Stock to ſupply thoſe Wants, of which he himſelf was the Author. However, his Anſwer to thoſe Meſſages was very mild and ſubmiſſive, ſaying, *He was ſatisfy'd to give up the Mint; and when his Majeſty came to riper Years, to ſend him ſuch Sums of Money as could be deſir'd from a Man of a narrow Fortune, and one who had ſpent a great Part of his Eſtate in repairing his Majeſty's Caſtles, and in maintaining a long War againſt his Majeſty's Enemies.* The Lord Chancellor and the Lord *Herries* (who were ſent to him with theſe Meſſages from

The King's Meſſage to the Earl.

His Anſwer.

A. D. 1578. the King) seem'd satisfy'd with his Answer, and return'd to *Stirling*. But that Night the Chancellor (before he could see the King) was accidentally shot through the Head, in a Scuffle that happen'd between his own, and the Earl of *Crawford*'s Footmen, in the open Streets. The Lord *Glamis* being thus slain, he was succeeded in the Office of Chancellor by the Earl of *Athol*, who was no less an Enemy to the Earl of *Morton* than the former.

The Chancellor slain, and succeeded by the Earl of *Athol*.

Alexander Erskine had not manag'd his late Express to the Earls of *Athol* and *Argyle* with so much Secresy as he imagin'd he had done; for the Earl of *Morton* had Information of his Letter, in which he had call'd him, Tyrant, *&c.* To repay this Injury the Earl made a Visit to the Countess Dowager of *Marr*; and insinuated to her, that *Alexander* design'd to trick his Nephew the young Earl of *Marr*, out of the Government of the Castle of *Stirling*. The credulous old Lady readily gave ear to the Story, and alarm'd her Friends: And, as the Earl of *Marr* was then 20 Years old, by his Grandmother's Advice, he with the rest of his Friends concluded, That *Alexander* should resign his Office of Governor of the Castle. Which the Earl of *Morton* contriv'd, not only to be reveng'd on *Alexander Erskine*, but likewise as a Means to have the young King in his Power; so that he might carry him where he thought fit, and when he had him, would regain his former Power, by the Assistance of the *English* Queen. And as he still had the ready Coin of the Nation in his own Hands, he knew how to manage a War, if any should oppose his Designs by open Force.

Morton's Plot to get the King into his Custody.

Having all things in readiness to execute his Plot, he retir'd to *Dalkeith*; and having employ'd his Agents, under the Name of the Earl of *Marr*'s Friends, on the 20th of *April*, by his Orders, they came quietly to the Castle Gate of *Stirling*, and by giving fair Words to the Porter, who suspected no Treachery, open'd the Gate, and was soon knock'd down; but within the Gate they met with a warmer Reception from the Guards, who beat them back with great Courage. In the Scuffle many were wounded, amongst whom was the eldest Son of *Alexander Erskine*, the Governor; and a young Gentleman of his Name and Relation, was kill'd on the Spot: But of the Assaillants none were kill'd, tho' beaten off.

His Contrivance to take *Stirling* Castle

This Affair made a great Noise over the Kingdom, and most People judg'd (as it really was) that *Morton* was at the Bottom of the Plot; wherefore the Nobility repair'd to *Edinburgh*; and the Citizens offer'd a Guard of 300 able Men to attend the Lord Chancellor, and other Lords of the Council to *Stirling*: But as they were ready to march, the King sent them a Letter, that what had happen'd at the Castle, was only a private Quarrel between some of the Family of *Marr*, therefore desir'd they might attend him in some Days after, but without Arms, or any Number of Attendants.

Upon the 3d of *May* the Council attended the King at *Stirling*; the Earl of *Morton* came thither also, and was respectfully receiv'd by the King, and had the first Place at the Council Board. In this Meeting it was determin'd, *That the Earl of* Marr *should attend the King's Person, and have the Keeping of the Castle: And that his Uncle should have the Keeping of the Castle of* Edinburgh, *be one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, and when he came to Court, have his Table at the King's Charge, as formerly.* At the same time the Parliament was summon'd to meet at *Edinburgh*, the 10th of *July* following.

A Parliament appointed to meet at *Edinburgh*.

The Lords of the Council return'd again to *Edinburgh*, as did the Earl of *Morton* to *Dalkeith*; but, having once remov'd his Enemy, *Alexander Erskine*, he was resolv'd to manage his Designs; and coming privately to *Stirling* two Days after, he had Access to the King, and manag'd him so, that he prevail'd with him to summon the Parliament to meet at *Stirling*, upon the 16th of *July*, contrary to what had been before order'd in Council. This so very sudden Change of the King's Resolution very much surpriz'd the Lords of the Council, till they found out what was done by the Earl of *Morton*; whose Contrivance they had reason to guard against: Therefore they publickly declar'd, that the Earl of *Morton* had taken the young King into his

But the Earl of *Morton* prevails with the King to call it at *Stirling*.

Whereat the Council are offended.

his Cuſtody by Force, and detain'd him from his Council as a Priſoner; and that they would hazard their Lives to procure his Liberty. Their Hatred to *Morton* made them the more forward in this Affair; and the City of *Edinburgh* join'd the Council, as that by the changing the Place of the Sitting of the Parliament from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling*, the Nobility would be oblig'd to ſpend their Money in *Stirling*, which would be a Diſadvantage to *Edinburgh*. The Day of Meeting being come, they did not think proper to make any publick Appearance, until they ſaw how Matters were carry'd on: However the Lords of the Council, inſtead of going to the Parliament, ſent the Earl of *Montroſe*, the Lord *Lindſay*, and the Biſhop of *Orkney*, to *Stirling*; who enter'd the great Hall of the Caſtle with ſuch as met and ſat, till they heard the King's Speech; which being ended, they roſe up, and proteſted in the Name of the Council, and other Noblemen adhering to them, That whatever was there paſt, ſhould be reputed of no Force or Effect, becauſe of the Abſence of ſo many Members; who could not, with Safety, attend the Meeting of the Parliament within a Caſtle, which was in the Hands of their Enemies. *A. D.* 1578.

The Parliament meet at *Stirling*.

The Lords of the Council's Proteſtation.

This Proteſtation pleas'd the King, who knew how far he was confin'd by the Earl of *Morton*; but as he had ſtill the Money of the Nation in his Hands, and then all that came to that Meeting were of his Faction; therefore commanded that the two Lords and the Biſhop ſhould be confin'd to their Lodgings, till his further Orders.

At Night the King ſent a Letter privately to the Earl of *Montroſe*, directed to the Chancellor, wherein he confeſs'd himſelf *Morton*'s Priſoner, and deſir'd he would, with all Secreſy and Expedition, muſter all the Forces he could raiſe, to relieve him. With which Letter, the Earl was deſir'd to make his Eſcape, early next Morning; which he fail'd not to obey. And when the Chancellor acquainted the City of *Edinburgh*, they rais'd all their Train'd-Bands, and offer'd their Service to the Council. As at that Time Sir *Robert Bowes* arriv'd from *England*, as Ambaſſador from Queen *Elizabeth* to the young King, and went firſt to the Earl of *Morton*, with whom he had a private Audience; it gave Occaſion to a Report, which was ſuddenly clamour'd about, ſo that the common Cry was, Morton *has ſold us to the* Engliſh! *He has ſold our King to the Perſecuter of his Mother Quen* Mary! *He is to deliver up the King to Queen* Elizabeth! *He gets a better Price for the King than he did for the Earl of* Northumberland! Theſe Things were proclaim'd aloud by the Mob; and ſeveral Libels were at the ſame time diſpers'd, whereof one was in Rhime, wherein they charg'd him with ſeveral Murders and Adulteries: And, to encreaſe the Fury of the Populace, the Lords of the Council publiſh'd a Declaration, containing, *That the King having aſſum'd the Government in his own Perſon, becauſe of the great Enormities committed during the Earl of* Morton's *Regency: And that his Majeſty having appointed a Council to reſide at* Edinburgh, *for the better Adminiſtration of Juſtice: That by the Care they had taken of Affairs, all Matters had been well and peaceably order'd, till the ſaid Earl had, without Advice of the Council, taken the King into his Cuſtody, and compell'd his Majeſty to alter his Reſolution in Council, to call the Parliament from the City of* Edinburgh *to* Stirling *Caſtle; and that he had extorted a Power from the King to levy Soldiers, to maintain his uſurp'd Authority. In Conſideration of which Abuſes, they had reſolv'd to hazard their Lives and Fortunes, to ſet his Majeſty at Liberty; and to deliver the Church and State from the Danger they were in from the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of that wicked Man, who ſought to deſtroy both.*

The King writes to the Chancellor.

The City of *Edinburgh* raiſes the Train'd Bands to aſſiſt the Chancellor.

A Declaration by the Council.

Upon the publiſhing of this Declaration, all the Country-people drew to their Arms; Soldiers were liſted on both Sides, and Proclamations were ſent by the Council to moſt of the ſouthern Shires: And *Morton*, who made uſe of the King's Name, order'd all the Subjects to be in Readineſs to follow the King's Lieutenants upon ſix Hours Warning.

A. D. 1578. Mean time a Herauld was ſent from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh*, commanding the Earls of *Atholl* and *Argyle* to retire to their reſpective Dwellings, out of *Edinburgh*, in 24 Hours, under the Pain of high Treaſon. As alſo an Expreſs to the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* to apprehend all ſuch as had taken up Arms within their Liberty. The Lord Provoſt upon this made what Haſte he could to *Stirling*, to wait upon the King; but was, by *Morton*'s Orders, apprehended, and ſent cloſs Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Down*.

Orders ſent to the Lords of the Council annd City of *Edinburgh*.

Morton, having made the Earl of *Angus*, his Nephew, Commander of ſuch Troops as he had rais'd, and iſſu'd ſeveral Proclamations; yet few of the Subjects gave any Obedience to his Summons, as they knew how far the King was by him compell'd to conſent to what he reſolv'd upon, to accompliſh his own Ends: Whereas, upon the other Hand, Men came in to *Edinburgh* from all Parts of the Kingdom, being reſolv'd to oppoſe the Earl's proceeding by Force of Arms. This put the Earl to all his Shifts, and when he ſaw how much his Orders were contemn'd, he iſſu'd a Proclamation in the King's Name, commanding all who had riſen in Arms, to return to their reſpective Houſes, within the Space of ſix Days, promiſing full Pardon to all ſuch as would obey. But this Proclamation had no more Effect than the reſt. Another was immediately publiſh'd, wherein he made uſe of the King's Name, to call the Almighty GOD to witneſs, *That the Lord Chancellor, nor none of the Lords of the Council had any Warrant or Authority for what they had done; but that their Proceedings were altogether Treaſonable.* Tho', at the ſame Time, all the Lords of the Council, and many others knew of the King's Letter, ſent by the Earl of *Montroſe* to the Lord Chancellor, which made it plain, how far the Earl of *Morton*, without the King's Conſent or Knowledge, or at leaſt how far the King complied with his Deſign, as being afraid of his Life, while in his Power. Mean time, the Council having near 5000 Forces, reſolv'd to take the Field; and leaving *Edinburgh*, they encamp'd at *Linlithgow*, from whence they ſent Commiſſioners to *Stirling*, requiring the Earl to ſet the King at Liberty; and that as ſoon as his Majeſty came to the Caſtle or City of *Edinburgh*, they would immediately lay down their Arms: But this Meſſage was ſlighted, and term'd inſolent by *Morton*, and the next Day he ſent the Earl of *Angus*, with what Troops he had, to meet them, who were on their March early, and came the Length of *Falkirk*; when Sir *Robert Bowes* came from *Stirling*, as a Mediator, pretending an impartial Regard for both Parties, and would endeavour to reconcil them. This Mediation prov'd ſo effectual, that both Parties came to a Reſolution to ſign Articles of Agreement; for the Counſellors knew, that as the Earl of *Morton* had the young King, and all the Money of the Nation in his Hands, he could ſoon obtain a ſtrong Army from Queen *Elizabeth*; and if they came to an Engagement, if their Party were defeated, he would proſecute them with the utmoſt Cruelty: Therefore conſider'd that it would be more prudent to obtain ſafe Terms, while they had Power, than to hazard all on the uncertain Event of a Battle. So it was agreed, *That both Parties ſhould disband their Forces, and that a grand Council ſhould be call'd at* Stirling *(before* May *next) wherein the Cauſes of their Complaints ſhould be examin'd and remov'd.*

Several Proclamations by *Morton*.

The Lords of the Council marches their Army to *Linlithgow*.

The Earl of *Angus* is ſent againſt them.

They come to Agreement.

Mean time, the Articles were drawn up, and ſign'd by the King, with the Conſent of both Parties; wherein it was reſolv'd,

The Articles of their Agreement.

I. *That all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe, and all Forces be disbanded, except ſuch Troops as were neceſſary for Garriſons, and to keep Peace in the Borders.*

II. *That what the Lords of the Council had done ſince the tenth Day of* July *laſt paſt, was allow'd as done to ſerve the King.*

III. *That the Earls of* Argyle *and* Atholl *ſhould remain with the Council within the Caſtle of* Stirling; *and that they, and the other Noblemen ſhould have free Acceſs to the King, and have Lodgings in the Caſtle, and all thoſe Noblemen ſhould be equal in Power within the Caſtle, except the Earl of* Marr, *the*

the Captain of it ; *and that the Earl of* Montroſe, *and Lord* Lindſay *be added to the Council.* A. D. 1579.

IV. *That eight Noblemen more ſhould be added to the Council, by the Advice of the Queen of* England, *and they ſhould conſult a Reconciliation betwixt and the 1ſt of* May *after.*

V. *That all Keepers or Governors of Caſtles, ſhould continue as they were then* ; *and that the Earl of* Angus *ſhould reſign his Office of Lieutenant.*

VI. *That all Priſoners taken by either Side ſhould be ſet at Liberty.*

Some Weeks after this, the Lord *Ruthven* was made Lieutenant of the Borders, and the Lord *Herris* Warden of the weſt Marches; whereupon Sir *Robert Bowes* return'd to *England*, being then about the laſt of *October*, ſo that nothing elſe of Moment, happen'd this Year 1578.

In *April* 1579. the Nobility met at *Stirling*, to conclude the beforemention'd Agreement ; and upon the firſt Day of their coming, the Earl of *Morton* made an Enterainment, and invited ſeveral of the Nobility, with the Lord Chancellor, and ſeem'd very chearful in his Reception, proteſting his great Deſire to have all paſt Feuds buried in Oblivion: But as it was reported, the Earl took Pains to doze them well with Wine, and at laſt convoy'd a deadly Poiſon into the Chancellor's Glaſs ; ſo that he died the fourth Day after. It was ſaid at firſt, that he was poiſon'd by the old Counteſs of *Marr* ; but that Report found little Credit, for the Chancellor's Friends were ſo diligent in examining the Matter, that they found great Reaſon to ſuſpect the Earl of *Morton*'s Guilt, and ſent Surgeons to open his Body, which lay at *Kinkardin* : But the Earl of *Morton* (as it is ſaid) was before Hand with the Surgeons, and caus'd them to be examin'd to clear him of any further Accuſation; ſo that, whatever had been ſaid, they declared that there was no Mark of Poiſon in the Body ; yet the Chancellor's Friends enter'd a Proteſt (at the Examination) *that, that Trial of the Council ſhould not hinder the Criminal Purſuit, which they intended before the Juſtice General.* Whether the Earl was guilty or not of the Chancellor's Death, it gave him a better Title to have the chief Management of the Government, wherein he play'd his Part, with the utmoſt Cunning, to remove ſuch as were his Enemies; among whom he now fear'd none ſo much as the Family of *Hamilton*: Therefore he contriv'd his Plot ſo, that he got the old Counteſs of *Marr*, and her Grandſon the Earl, who was very familiar with the King, to tell his Majeſty daily of the great Services done by him (the Earl of *Morton*) and how he had, with ſo much Toil and Danger, defeated the Deſigns of his Enemies, eſpecially the *Hamiltons*, who had continu'd ſo long Enemies to his Majeſty, by being in open Rebellion againſt his Authority ; for, as they had once been declar'd Heirs to the Crown, they had eſpous'd his Mother's Cauſe only to deſtroy him, to oppoſe the Union of the two Crowns under his Majeſty ; that as they then continu'd ſtill ſo powerful, it would be prudent for him to uſe ſome Means to leſſen their Power.

The Earl of *Morton* charg'd with the Chancellor's Death.

The Earl of *Morton*'s Plot againſt the *Hamiltons*.

The old Counteſs and Earl of *Marr*, having poſſeſs'd the King with an ill Opinion of that Noble Family, the Earl of *Morton* appear'd to ſecond their Sentiments ; and told the King, that it would be very eaſie for his Majeſty to execute the Sentences of Forfeiture againſt the *Hamiltons*, for the Murder of the two former Regents, which had never been yet, nor could be repeal'd, but by an Act of Parliament.

This Affair was ſo carried on, that the Earl having a ſelect Number of his Friends in Council, propos'd his Contrivance, as the Reſolution of the King, to proceed againſt the *Hamiltons*, for the Murders of his Uncle the Earl of *Murray*, and Grandfather the Earl of *Lenox*. It was propos'd, that they ſhould be ſummon'd to anſwer, and a formal Proceſs commenc'd againſt them : But *Morton*, conſidering that a Summons would be a fair Warning for them to provide for their Safety by Flight ; ſo, by his Intereſt, over-rul'd that Propoſal, and reſolv'd to apprehend the Lords *John* and *Claud Hamiltons*, with ſeveral other Gentlemen of the Name ; to execute which, the Earls of *Morton*, *Marr*, *Eglinton* ; the Lords *Ruthven*, *Cathcart*, and *Boyd* were join'd

A. D. 1579.

in a Commiſſion, and hir'd Soldiers to diſperſe themſelves, and lie privately in wait for their Orders. Yet notwithſtanding of their Secrecy, thoſe Lords were inform'd thereof, and made their Eſcape. The Lord *John* fled on Foot, in a Seaman's Habit through *England* to *France*, where, when he arriv'd, he was kindly receiv'd, and entertain'd by the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, who was at the Court of *France*, as an Ambaſſador from the captive Queen. Lord *Claud* lurk'd for ſome Time in the Borders of *Scotland*; but being taken Notice of, he fled into *England*, and liv'd privately with a Friend of the late Earl of *Northumberland*. Mean time, the Earls of *Morton*, *Marr*, and *Angus* march'd on with their Army to *Hamilton*, and laid Siege to the Palace, and the Caſtle of *Dreffen*; the laſt of which Places ſurrender'd upon the firſt Summons; but the other held out two Days, and yeilded at Diſcretion the third Day. The whole Garriſon were led to *Stirling*, with their Hands tied behind their Backs, and *Arthur Hamilton* of *Mureton* was hang'd upon a Gibbet. The Earl of *Arran*, elder Brother of the two exile Lords, being at that Time diſorder'd in his Senſes, was kept up by Servants, which gave the Earl of *Morton* Opportunity to enter a Complaint, in his, and the King's Advocate's Name, repreſenting, *that the ſaid Earl was detain'd a cloſs Priſoner, and debarr'd the Benefit of Succeſſion to his Eſtate, and hereditary Office.* In this Complaint the Earl was not concern'd; but ſerv'd to accompliſh *Morton*'s Plot, wherein pretending to releaſe him from the Confinement of the Servants, ſet to watch him by his Relations; he was taken from them, and ſent with his aged Mother, the Dutcheſs of *Chattlerault*, Priſoner to *Linlithgow*, where they were both cloſs confin'd under the keeping of one Captain *Lambie*, one of *Morton*'s principal Agents.

The Lord *John* and *Claud Hamiltons* make their Eſcape.

The Family of *Hamilton* barbarouſly us'd by *Morton*.

About this Time, the Queen ſent one of her Secretaries to *Scotland*, with a Letter to her Son, as alſo ſome Jewels of Value, and a Veſt embroider'd with her own Hands: But the Letter being directed, *To our loving Son* JAMES, *Prince of* Scotland. *Morton* ſo manag'd the Matter, that the Secretary was ſent back with the Letter, Jewels, and Veſt, without being permitted to ſee the King's Face. Upon the 24th of *July*, the late Lord Chancellor's Corps was carried from *Kincardin*, and buried in St. *Giles*'s Church of *Edinburgh*.

Queen *Mary* ſends her Secretary with a Letter and Preſent to her Son, but is deny'd Acceſs by *Morton*.

During the reſt of this Summer, the Earl of *Morton* ſpent great Part of his Time purſuing the Gentlemen of the Name of *Hamilton*, and oblig'd them to give Security that they ſhould neither ſhelter nor ſupply the exile Lords. This hard Uſage being againſt the Treaty of *Perth*, many People were thinking to join in an Aſſociation to aſſiſt thoſe Lords, and to revive the Queen's juſt Claim to the Crown and Government; but *Morton* being inform'd of their Complaints, publiſh'd a Declaratiou in the King's Name, containing, *That what was done was for the Murder of his Majeſty's Father, and the two Regents; and that no Article of the Treaty ſhould be infring'd or call'd in queſtion.* And at the ſame Time, *Morton* made great Intereſt to gain over the Earl of *Argyle* to his Party; but nothing could tempt that Nobleman to join in, or countenance his Actions: However he was made Chancellor at that Time.

In the Month of *September*, *William Scott*, and *Walter Turnbull*, were apprehended and impriſon'd for writing a Satyr againſt *Morton*; wherein they enumerated his Crimes, and particularly inſiſted upon the Murder of the late Lord Chancellor. When they were carried to *Stirling* to be tried, many Perſons made Intereſt to have them releas'd; but *Morton* manag'd the King ſo that no Petition could be preſented, and the two unfortunate Men were hang'd upon the 1ſt of *October*. This Act of Cruelty is ſaid to have contributed more to haſten *Morton*'s Deſtruction, than any of his former Actions, except that for which he ſuffer'd.

William Scott and *Walter Turnbull* executed for a Satyr againſt *Morton*.

It is ſaid of this *Scott* and *Turnbull*, that they were ingenious Schoolmaſters, and good Poets, according to the Taſte of thoſe Times. They being one Day with ſome at *Stirling*, *Scott* read the Articles (call'd theſe of the late Agreement) of *Stirling*, and making a ſudden Stop, and being deſir'd to go on, he ſaid, *We will what* Morton *will, and that is all*: *No*, ſaid *Turnbull*) *what the Queen of* England *will too*: Which the Earl made

ute

uſe of againſt them, in barring the King's Mercy to him. After their Exe- A. D.
cution *Morton* endeavour'd to make the Citizens of *Edinburgh* his Friends, 1579.
by prevailing with the King to call the Parlament to meet at *Edinburgh* upon the 20th of *October* after.

The Lord *Eſne Stewart* comes to *Scotland.*

About the Midſt of *October*, arriv'd from *France*, *Eſne Stewart*, Lord of *Aubigny* he was the Son of *John Stewart*, who was the ſecond Brother of *Matthew* late Earl of *Lenox*, and Grandfather to the King: He was ſent over, by the captive Queen's Directions, to the *Guiſes*, to be near her Son at the Court of *Scotland*; tho' he pretended to come over only to make a ſhort Viſit to the King, and to return ſuddenly. When he landed at *Leith*, the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* went down to receive him, as the Relation of their Prince, and gave him a moſt ſplendid Entertainment in the City: The next Day ſeveral Gentlemen of Quality, and the chief Citizens, accompanied him to *Stirling*, where he was ſo very graciouſly receiv'd by the King, that in a few Days he was created Earl of *Lenox*; and the King's Grand-Uncle *Charles Stewart*, who had that Title conferr'd on him, was inſtead of it created Earl of *March*. But as the Title, without an Eſtate to ſupport the Dignity of it, would not be of great Advantage, Captain *James Stewart*, Son to the Lord *Ochiltree* (who was familiar with the new Earl) propos'd to the King, that the Abbacy of *Aberbrothock*, which the fell into his Majeſty's, Hands, by the Forfeiture of Lord *John Hamilton*, would be a ſufficient Support for the Earl of *Lenox*, which accordingly the King gave to him.

He is created Duke of *Lenox.*

The Parliament being prorogu'd to the 5th of *November*, the King made his publick Entry into *Edinburgh*, on the 4th Day; Upon which Occaſion the City made a moſt magnificent Appearance, with all their train'd Bands, and other Marks of Grandeur; and it was obſerv'd that the new created Earl (who, by this Time, found the King's ſecret Averſion to *Morton*, and endeavour'd to diſcourt him) had the Preference of all other Noblemen, as being his near Relation; ſo that during all the City Show, he walk'd cloſs by the King, talking to him.

The King's publick Entry into *Edinburgh.*

At ſome Diſtance from the *Weſt-Port*, where the King alighted from his Horſe, a ſtately Canopy of Purple-colour'd Velvet being held over his Head, his Majeſty receiv'd the Magiſtrates of the City, who came bare-headed without the Gate. Within the Gate ſtood the Repreſentation of *Solomon*, with a numerous Train, habited like the *Jewiſh*, or rather *Roman* Manner, with the two Women contending for the Child, as mention'd 1 *Kings* Chap. 3.

As his Majeſty aſcended the Street call'd the *Weſt-Bow*, there hung down from the Arch of the old Gate, a large Glob of poliſh'd Braſs, out of which a little Boy, clad like a *Cupid*, deſcended in a Machine, and preſented the Keys of the City, all made of maſſy Silver, and very artificially wrought; an excellent Conſort of Muſick all the while accompanying the Action.

When he came down the High-Street, as far as the Tolhooth, PEACE, PLENTY, and JUSTICE met him, and harrangu'd him in *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Scotiſh*. Oppoſite to the great Church ſtood RELIGION, who addreſs'd him in the *Hebrew* Tongue, upon which he enter'd the Church, where he heard a Sermon preach'd by one Mr. *Lawſon*.

When his Majeſty came out, *Bacchus* ſat on a gilded Hogſhead, at the Market-Croſs, diſtributing Wine in large Bumpers; all the while the Trumpets ſounded, and the People crying, *GOD ſave the King*. At the Eaſt Gate was erected his Majeſty's Nativity, and above that the Genealogies of all the Kings of *Scotland* from *Fergus* I. All the Windows were hung with Pictures, and rich Tapeſtry. The Streets were all ſtrow'd with Flowers, and the Cannon of the Caſtle continu'd firing till his Majeſty enter'd his Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*,

The Earl of *Morton* ſlighted by the Citizens of *Edinburgh.*

Whatever Pleaſure ſome had in this pompous Show, it was very afflicting to the Earl of *Morton*, who ſaw how fond the People were of their Prince, and how little they regarded him upon that Occaſion; nor did he find himſelf more ſlighted by the Citizens than by the Parliament, the next Day when

A. D. 1580. they met; where he having propos'd ſeveral Things, which were all rejected, however ſo reaſonable in themſelves. The Earl look'd upon this Change very much owing to the Influence of the Earl of *Lenox* on the King; therefore he attempted ſeveral Ways to undermine him; for in the firſt Place he caus'd to be whiſper'd about, That the Earl of *Lenox* being of the Church of *Rome*, his only Buſineſs in *Scotland* was, to pervert the King from the Reform'd Religion: And, at the ſame time, gave it out (to amuſe the Rabble) that in St. *Andrew*'s, *Dumfrees* and *Paiſly*, ſome Prieſts had publickly ſaid Maſs, making a Jeſt of the Reformation; and boaſted openly, that the King would favour their Cauſe. This Story was ſuddenly ſet on Wing by the Preachers from their Pulpits: But when they found that the Earl of *Morton* was the Author of the Report, they ſoon drop'd it, and contradicted themſelves.

The Earl's Malice againſt the Earl of *Lenox*.

This Project being fruſtrated, and the King growing ſtill colder to the Earl, he then apply'd himſelf to the Court of *England*, where his former Service had procur'd him good Intereſt. So now his Deſigns were to have betray'd the young King into Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hands; and then, with the Aſſiſtance of an *Engliſh* Army, would, once more, bring all his Enemies into his Power, and uſe them at his Pleaſure.

Morton applies to the Court of *England*.

But this Deſign was ſoon diſcover'd, and it was then publiſh'd over all the Kingdom, *That* Morton *kept a ſecret Correſpondence with Queen* Elizabeth, *and deſign'd to put the young King into her Hands, to call in an* Engliſh *Army; and, like another* Baliol, *poſſeſs the Kingdom as a Reward of his Treachery.* The Earl in Council complain'd of this great Scandal, and deſir'd to be brought to a Trial, to vindicate himſelf: But the King and Council knew too well that an Affair of this Nature could not be eaſily prov'd; therefore told him, that they gave not Credit to theſe Reports. And, to keep him from doing further Miſchief, order'd a Proclamation, to forbid the diſperſing of ſuch Lies and Calumnies, which tended to the Diſturbance of his Majeſty and Council.

The King and Council conſidering the Earl's late Actions, thought proper to propoſe, That an High Chamberlain (an Office which no Man had born in *Scotland* for many Years) ſhould be appointed to attend his Majeſty's Perſon at all Times, with twenty four Perſons under his Command, all of them the Sons of Peers or Barons. The Propoſal was unanimouſly approv'd, and the Earl of *Lenox* was honour'd with that Place, and (to the Earl of *Morton*'s great Mortification) *Alexander Erskine*, Keeper of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, was appointed his Deputy in that Office; and included in the Number of the 24 Attendants, who were the Sons of the Earls of *Marſhall*, *Rotheſs*, *Caſſils*, the Lords *Lindſay*, *Livingſton*, *Elphingſton*, *Herries*, and *Ogilvie*; the Lairds of *Coldingknows*, *Bargeny*, *Bomby*, *Kilſyth*, *Minto*, *Strathurd*, *Montcrieff*, and *Ker* of *Preſtonegrange*, *Dowglaſs* of *Rumgarway*, Capt. *James Stewart*, Son to the Lord *Ochiltree*, *Alexander Ruthven*, the Commendator of *Inchaffery*, *Alexander Hume* of *North-Berwick*, and *James Chiſholm*: To theſe were added the Lord *Maxwell*, and the Lairds of *Ceſsford*, *Manderſtone*, and *Caverſtone*, who were not oblig'd to conſtant Attendance, but when particularly call'd by the Lord High Chamberlain.

The Earl of *Lenox* made high Chamberlain.

The Earl of *Morton* finding by this, that they ſuſpected his Deſigns, and had guarded againſt any future Attempt to ſeize the King's Perſon; he therefore took no Notice of what was done, but waited upon the King and Council, as if he had no Thoughts of being ſuſpected. Tho' at the ſame time, 'tis ſaid, he had not given over Hopes of being yet aſſiſted fron *England*; and what encreas'd that Suſpicion was, that Sir *Robert Bowes* came ſuddenly back, as Ambaſſador from Queen *Elizabeth*; whereupon the late mention'd Reports were reviv'd, and every one cry'd out, *That* Morton *and he had made up the Plot at* Stirling; *that* Bowes's *ſudden Departure from thence, was only to concert Meaſures with his Miſtreſs for the Execution of the Deſign; and that his Return now was to manage the Buſineſs by Word of Mouth, becauſe* Morton *was ſuſpected, and could not write to him, leſt the*

Scots

Scots *Court ſhould intercept the Letters, or the Meſſenger ſhould betray his Truſt.* Thoſe Clamours were not look'd upon to be altogether groundleſs, when it came to be known, *That* Bowes's *chief Errand was, to accuſe the Earl of* Lenox *of Practices againſt the Peace eſtabliſh'd betwixt the two Kingdoms:* Whereby it appear'd, that *Morton* was reſolv'd to remove ſuch as might protect the young King from his Deſigns. Mean time the Council ſent to *Bowes* to produce his Commiſſion, and his other Inſtructions, if he had any: Which he refuſing, was ſent away, without being permitted to come to Court. This ſtill encreas'd the Suſpicion, or rather confirm'd the King and Council in the Belief of the before-mention'd Reports; ſo that *Alexander Hume* of *North-Berwick* was immediately diſpatch'd to the Court of *England*, to inform Queen *Elizabeth* why *Bowes* was deny'd Audience; and to know what the Crimes were which *Lenox* was to have been charg'd with: But *Hume* was deny'd Acceſs to Queen *Elizabeth*, and order'd to attend the Lord Treaſurer, who told him, "That his Miſtreſs could not but "reſent the Affront put upon her Ambaſſador, and be ſorry to ſee that her "Cuſine, the King of *Scotland*, ſhould be miſled by *Lenox*, who was a "Subject of *France*, a Papiſt, married to a *French* Woman, and who would "endeavour to deſtroy the Peace between the two Kingdoms." And much more to the ſame Purpoſe. Adding, (as if by Chance) "That there were "more dangerous Plots in Hands than the *Scots* King was aware of."

A. D. 1580.

Bowes's Behaviour in *Scotland.*

An Ambaſſador ſent to *England.*

When *Alexander Hume* return'd, and gave an Account of what happen'd, the King and Council grew ſtill more jealous of the Earl of *Morton*; and the laſt Sentence of the Treaſurer of *England*'s Speech, which he dropt to inſinuate a *French* Plot againſt the King, was interpreted to be *Morton*'s Plot, to betray the King into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. This Suſpicion, and his other Crimes being ſum'd up, by ſuch as he had formerly maletreated, gave his Enemies (who were many) an eaſy Opportunity to accompliſh his Deſtruction, which they reſolv'd upon without Delay, for the Safety of the King's Perſon, and Security of the Nation from being embroil'd in a Civil War, as it had ſo long continu'd by his Contrivances. But as his late Remiſſion and Diſcharge was an ample Pardon for all his paſt Crimes, they were at a great Loſs how to prove any of the Crimes, of which he then was ſuſpected; nor was it thought prudent or ſafe to offend the Court of *England*, by any open Charge, of his Correſpondence with them, which would be a difficult Matter to prove; and might deprive the King of all Hopes of the Succeſſion: Which Conſideration, made the Court of *Scotland* paſs by ſeveral little Affronts; nor could they with ſo much Safety engage in a War with *England*, as when the Alliance with *France* ſubſiſted, for the King's Party were they who had broken the Alliance, by ſupporting the Reform'd Religion. Yet notwithſtanding of all theſe Difficulties, a Crime was ſoon found out, which was not comprehended in the Earl's Remiſſion; and ſuch a Crime, as would make the *Engliſh* Queen forbear to offer her Intereſt, publickly, in his Behalf. For upon the 31ſt Day of *January*, when the King and Council met in the Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, Capt. *James Stewart*, Son to the Lord *Ochiltree*, came into the Room, and falling down upon his Knees, addreſs'd the King in theſe Words:

Morton's Enemies reſolve to deſtroy him.

"The Duty I owe your Majeſty brings me to this Place, to diſcover a "Crime which has hitherto been conceal'd, by the Power and Intereſt of "the Author. The Earl of *Morton* was one of thoſe who conſpir'd your "Father's Death; therefore how dangerous it is to have him ſo near your "Majeſty's Perſon, or in your Council, the Noblemen here preſent can beſt "determine. As for what I have ſaid (let the Earl be ſecur'd, and brought "to his Trial) I ſhall either make my Accuſation good, or willingly un-"dergo what Puniſhment the Law inflicts upon thoſe who unjuſtly endea-"vour to rob a Man of his Reputation, Life and Fortune."

Capt. *James Stewart* accuſes him of the late King's Murder.

The Earl riſing up, with a diſdainful Smile, anſwer'd, "That he knew "not who had perſuaded Capt. *Stewart* to accuſe him of a Crime, whereof "he was intirely innocent, and had moſt ſeverely puniſh'd in others; but

The Earl's Anſwer.

A. D. 1580. " that there, or before any other Judge, he was ready to anſwer; and doubted not, but by his Innocence, his Majeſty would be fully convinc'd of the " Captain's Raſhneſs, and the Malice of his Enemies."

Captain *Stewart*'s Reply.

The Captain (kneeling all this time) reply'd, "That neither Malice, private " Grudge, or any other Motive, but out of a juſt Regard to his Majeſty's " Honour and Safety, and a ſincere Deteſtation of the Crime, had in- " duc'd him to accuſe the Earl: But (added he) if the Earl of *Morton* had " ſo ſeverely puniſh'd others for this Murder, let me but ask him, why did " he prefer his Couſine, Mr. *Archibald Dowglaſs* to be a Senator of the Col- " lege of Juſtice, who was known to have been an Actor in the Murder, if " he himſelf had no Part in it?

To this the Earl was about to anſwer, but the King order'd the Earl and the Captain to be remov'd: And after a ſhort Conſultation in the Council, the Earl was confin'd to one of the Chambers in the Palace, where he continu'd two Days; and the third Day he was ſent, under a Guard, to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*: There being a Company of his Friends with him, they preſs'd him to make his Eſcape, but he declin'd the Attempt, in Hopes of making ſome Objections againſt their Evidences at his Trial. In ſome Days after, he was remov'd to *Dunbarton* Caſtle, whereof his Enemy, the Earl of *Lenox*, was Governor, and Sir *William Stewart* of *Traquhair*, was Conſtable. Mean time Orders were given to apprehend his Couſine, Mr. *Archibald Dowglaſs*, who was then with his Wife at *Norham* Caſtle: But being inform'd of his Danger by *George Dowglaſs* of *Lang-Niddery*, he made his Eſcape into *England*.

The Earl ſent Priſoner to *Dunbarton* Caſtle.

1581. In *January*, 1581. Sir *Thomas Randolph* came Ambaſſador from Queen *Elizabeth*, to interceed for the Earl of *Morton*'s Liberty: He made a long Speech to the King, enumerating the Earl's great Services to the Crown and Country; and that *Lenox*'s Proceedings would make a Diviſion between the two Kingdoms, as he had nothing more in View than to renew the Alliance between *Scotland* and *France*, which muſt of Conſequence produce a War between them and *England*. To this Purpoſe he continu'd his Speech for near an Hour, and concluded with the Queen his Miſtreſs's Requeſt to his Majeſty, to reſtore the Earl of *Morton* to his Freedom; being commanded to aſſure him, *That ſhe would take it as a ſingular Favour and Kindneſs done to her; which if deny'd, ſhe could not but take it in ill Part.*

A Meſſage from the Queen of *England*.

The King heard this long Speech patiently, and without taking any Notice of his long Digreſſion about *Lenox* and *France*, reply'd very calmly, " That the many good Offices he had receiv'd from his Couſine, the Queen " of *England*, made him long for an Opportunity to repay them, and was " ſorry it did not happen now; as that Particular of his Father's Murder " touch'd him ſo very near, he knew ſhe would excuſe him in that Affair: " However he would take Care, becauſe ſhe interceeded for him, to have " his Trial carry'd on with all imaginable Caution; and, as Liberty had " been given to the Earl's Adverſaries to accuſe him, ſo the ſame, and grea- " ter, ſhould be allow'd him for his Defence."

The King's Anſwer.

A Parliament being call'd at that Time, *Randolph* pretended that his Inſtructions concern'd the Eſtates of the Kingdom; and being admitted into the Houſe, he made the following Speech:

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Speech to the Parliament of *Scotland*.

" My Lords, I'm commanded by my Miſtreſs, the Queen of *England*, to " acquaint you, That the Earl of *Lenox* has, ever ſince his coming into the " Kingdom of *Scotland*, endeavour'd to alienate his Majeſty from a " friendly Correſpondence with *England*; and has turn'd all his Majeſty's " moſt faithful Servants out of Employments; and made him deſpiſe his " Clergy, and loook upon the moſt faithful Preachers of the Word, as Sowers " of Sedition, and Trumpeters of Rebellion. He has turn'd the Borderers " looſe, rob'd Juſtice of her Sword, and practis'd underhand with foreign " Princes to invade the Kingdom of *Engladd*: Think not (my Lords) that I " urge theſe Things upon ſlight Grounds, here are ſome of his Letters in my " Hands, which were happily intercepted, and may be perus'd by your Lord-

" ſhips,

" ſhips, if requir'd. 'Tis with no ſmall Grief and Concern that the Queen " of *England* ſees a young Prince of ſuch rare Hopes, her near Relation, and " for whoſe Welfare ſhe has hitherto taken ſuch Care, thus miſled by his and " her Enemies. But now (my Lords) if ſuch a Perſon as *Lenox* ought to be " ſuffer'd to abuſe your King, and to rule the Nation at his Pleaſure, your " Lordſhips are beſt able to judge." *A. D.* 1581.

This inſolent Speech, which would never have been ſuffer'd in any preceding Reign, (but that the Dependance of the four laſt Regents, to ſupport their Rebellion, had given ſuch Freedom to the *Engliſh*) was receiv'd by the Parliament with the utmoſt Contempt; and were it not for ſuch Reaſons as before-mention'd, the empty Title of Ambaſſador had not kept him from the Caſtle. For thoſe Letters, which he with ſo much Impudence offer'd to produce, were found to be actually forg'd.

When *Randolph* found his Hopes fruſtrated, he made private Application to ſuch as he knew to be the Earl of *Morton*'s Friends, and envy'd *Lenox*, to take Arms to procure *Morton*'s Freedom, and the Baniſhment of *Lenox*; aſſuring them of Men and Money from Queen *Elizabeth*. By this Means he perſuaded ſeveral of the Nobility to join in an Aſſociation, to perform both Actions. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Plot.

The Chief of theſe that undertook this Plot were, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Montroſe*, *Angus*, *Marr*, and *Glencairn*; who, having been amongſt thoſe who aſſiſted the former Regents againſt the Queen, were now jealous of *Lenox*, that he would prevail with the King to call thoſe to Account, who had been in Arms againſt his Mother: Therefore embrac'd this Opportunity to remove *Lenox*, as the only Enemy they ſuſpected. But their Plot was ſoon found out, and diſcover'd to the King, who was ſo much inclin'd to Mercy, that he pardon'd, and receiv'd into Favour the Earl of *Argyle*, *Montroſe*, and *Glencairn*; they having return'd ſpeedily to their Duty: But the Earls of *Angus* and *Marr* ſtood reſolute to relieve the Earl of *Morton*, or periſh: To them *Randolph* gave Aſſurance, that the Queen would ſend down Forces to proſecute their Deſigns; which Promiſe was made good, by ſending an Army to the Borders, under the Command of the Earl of *Huntington* and the Lord *Hounſdon*: But finding that none had join'd the Earls of *Marr* and *Angus*, they did not advance any further than *Berwick*, where they lay ſome Days, and diſperſs'd up and down the County of *Northumberland*. The Nobi combine againſt *Lenox*. The *Engliſh* aſſiſt them.

The King, in the mean time, in caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould come forward, doubled his Guards, encreas'd the Number of his Troops and Garriſons, and commanded all his Subjects to be in Readineſs to attend the Royal Standard, upon ſix Hours warning.

At the ſame time all thoſe who appear'd for the Earl of *Morton* were proſecuted with all Severity: The Earl of *Angus* was baniſh'd beyond the River *Spey*, the Laird of *Lochleven* be-north the River *Cromarty*, the Laird of *Johnſtone* was turn'd out of the Office of Warden of the weſt Marches, and the Lord *Maxwell* put in his Place. The Lairds of *Mains* and *Carmichael*, with the Earl of *Morton*'s Baſtard Sons, *James* and *Archibald*, were ſummon'd to appear before the Council, but they refuſing, were denoune'd Rebels.

Randolph finding that the *Scots* were not to be frighten'd at what was threaten'd from *England*, he begun to be afraid of himſelf, for the Forgery of the Letters, and his Private Advice to *Marr* and *Angus*, to riſe in Rebellion; wherefore he, to eſcape any Violence or publick Diſgrace for his treacherous Actions, ſtole away in the Night, and got undiſcover'd to *Berwick*. Immediately Sir *John Seaton*, Maſter of the Horſe to the King, was ſent after him, to complain of his baſe Practices, and to know if Queen *Elizabeth* actually deſign'd to come to a War with *Scotland*: But Sir *John* was ſtop'd at *Berwick*, by an Order from the Court of *England*, and not permitted to go any further.

Theſe vigorous Endeavours of the *Engliſh* to releaſe the Earl of *Morton*, made it plain, that his before-mention'd Correſpondence and Deſigns to be-

A. D. 1581. tray the King, were not groundleſs; for which his Deſtruction was ſo much the more haſten'd, to remove the Danger. Wherefore an Order was given to the Earl of *Montroſe* and Capt. *James Stewart*, (now call'd Earl of *Arran*) to bring him from *Dunbarton* to *Edinburgh*, under a ſtrong Guard of Soldiers; which was accordingly perform'd on the 29th of *May*. The ſame Day *Robert Stewart*, Earl of *Orkney*, was, by the King's Order, ſet at Liberty. This Earl ow'd his Safety to *Morton*'s Fate, for beſides 7000 Pounds which he had before given to the Earl, he had afterwards offer'd to marry his eldeſt Son to any of the Earl of *Morton*'s Relations, without any Portion.

The Earl of *Orkney* ſet at Liberty.

Upon the 1ſt Day of *June*, the Earl was brought to his Trial, and charg'd with *Conſpiring and Concealing the Murder of the late King, and of being Art and Part in committing the ſame.* He heard the Indictment read without any ſeeming Concern; and, with all outward Appearance of Courage, pleaded *Not Guilty*. When the Jurors were call'd, he excepted againſt the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Seaton*, and Laird of *Waughton*; but they having purg'd themſelves by Oath, of all Malice and partial Council, were admitted. The Evidences being examin'd, the Jury were ſworn, and retir'd from the Court; where having ſtaid but a ſhort Space, they return'd, and the Earl of *Montroſe*, their Foreman (or Chancellor of the Aſſize) declar'd him *convicted of Council, concealing, and being Art and Part in the Murder of the late King* Henry. Notwithſtanding of the Earl's former Courage and Calmneſs, yet upon the Declaration of the Verdict, he ſeem'd very much ſurpriz'd, and beat the Ground twice or thrice, and cry'd out in a Paſſion, *Art and Part! Art and Part! GOD knows it is not ſo.* When Sentence was pronounc'd, that he ſhould be taken to the Market Croſs, there hang'd on a Gibbet, his Head cut off, and his Body quarter'd, he utter'd not one Word, but ſmil'd on thoſe about him. It being then Night, he was return'd to the Lodging where he was formerly kept; and the next Day, being the 2d of *June*, one Mr. *James Lawſon*, a Miniſter, and two more, were ſent early in the Morning, to wait upon him from the King, to exhort him to diſburden his Conſcience, by a plain Confeſſion of his Guilt. To which he anſwer'd:

The Earl of *Morton* brought to his Trial.

He is found guilty.

His Confeſſion.

" That upon his Return from *England*, whither he had been baniſh'd for " the Murder of Signior *Rizio*, the Earl of *Bothwell* came to him at *Whi-* " *tingham*, and propos'd the Murder of the King to him, allegding, That " it was the Queen's own Deſire to have him diſpatch'd, as being the prin- " cipal Author of *Rizio*'s Death, and deſir'd his Aſſiſtance in the Affair: " To which he reply'd, That if *Bothwell* would bring it under the Queen's " own Hand, he might then probably engage in the Deſign: But that, tho' " *Bothwell* had often endeavour'd to draw him in, and promis'd to bring the " Queen's Hand-writing, yet could never procure any ſuch Thing; and if " he had, was reſolv'd never to have meddled in it. As to Mr. *Arbhibald* " *Dowglaſs*, his Couſin, he ſaid, he knew he was engag'd in the Murder " before it was committed; and that after it was done, he told him, that " he had accompany'd *Bothwell* and *Huntly* to the Place, and aſſiſted them " in the Execution of the Fact." After this he fell into ſome Heat, and complain'd of the King's Severity and Partiality of the Judges. Upon which Mr. *Eawſon* told him, That by his own Confeſſion he merited Death, in fore-knowing and concealing the Murder of his Prince. " Ay, but, Sir " (ſaid he) had I been as innocent as St. *Stephen*, or as guilty as *Judas*, I " muſt have come to the Scaffold: Pray, what ought I to have done in this " Caſe? You knew not the King's Weakneſs; for if I had inform'd him of " the Plot againſt his Life, he would have reveal'd it to his greateſt Ene- " mies, and theſe concern'd in the Deſign; and I ſhould (it might be) have " loſt my own Life, for endeavouring to ſave his to no Purpoſe. But of " that I am not now to complain, nor will I offer to juſtify my ſelf; being " aſſur'd, howſoever Men have carry'd themſelves in it, GOD hath dealt " juſtly with me; and I am to ſuffer nothing, but that which I have me- " rited; yea, worſe."

This

This Confeſſion being more than was expected from him, his Sentence was chang'd, to be beheaded: Many Arguments were us'd at the ſame time, to perſuade him to tell where he had laid his Money, which had been carry'd off in Barrels, by his Son *James*, and one *Macmorean*, but he never gave any Account of it. 'Tis ſuppos'd that he conceal'd his Money, in Hopes that the Court would, at the laſt Moment, offer him his Life for the Diſcovery: But they did not think it by any Means ſafe to grant him ſuch a Reward. His Servants were ſeverely tortur'd to extort a Diſcovery, but no Information could be obtain'd from them, or any one, where theſe vaſt Sums were convey'd to. Some would affirm, that he had ſunk it without the Knowledge of any Perſon, where it never was found nor heard of. *A. D.* 1581. The Earl denies to diſcover his Money.

About two a-Clock in the Afternoon he was brought under a ſtrong Guard, commanded by Capt. *Stewart*, to the Place of Execution. Aſſoon as he mounted the Scaffold, the Captain deſir'd to be reconcil'd to him, and ſolemnly proteſted, he had done nothing againſt his Lordſhip out of Malice or private Pique. *Sir* (ſaid the Earl) *this is not a Place to reckon Quarrels in, I freely forgive you and all Men.* Here he repeated the Sum of what he had confeſs'd to Mr. *Lawſon*, and farther own'd * his keeping a Correſpondence, *and that he deſign'd to have ſent the King into* England; *but it was only to ſecure the Succeſſion to that Crown, by being bred up amongſt them.* He ſpent about half an Hour in Prayer, (having before deſir'd the Prayers of all preſent) and ſeem'd in a great Agony: After raiſing himſelf, he laid his Head upon the Block, and often cry'd with a loud Voice, *LORD JESUS receive my Soul!* So his Head was ſtruck off, by the falling of the Inſtrument, call'd, *the Maiden*; which is ſaid to have been contriv'd by himſelf, after the Patern of an Inſtrument he had ſeen in *Halifax* in *Yorkſhire*; and that as he had the firſt Blow of it, 'twas ſaid to have the Maidenhead of it. His Corps lay from about four a-Clock till near Eight at Night, upon the Scaffold, cover'd with an old blue Cloak, without any Perſon to take Notice of it, or coming near him, to ſhew their Gratitude for ſome paſt good Office, or to expreſs the leaſt Sign of Grief for his unfortunate End. When it was near dark, the Body was carry'd away by common Porters, and ſuch as attend the Corps of the meaneſt Malefactor after Execution. His Head, the next Day, between the Hours of Eleven and Twelve, was fix'd upon the moſt conſpicuous Pinacle of the Tolbooth.

He is brought to the Scaffold.

* *Drumfor's Mem.* p. 371.

He is executed.

Thus fell *James* Earl of *Morton*, the laſt of the four Regents, during the King's Minority. He was of a low Stature, but of a comely and graceful Countenance. He was a cunning Stateſman, having ready Wit upon all Occaſions; but ſo much given to Luſt and Covetouſneſs, that no Crime could debar him from gratifying his Luſt, or encreaſing his Riches: So that at laſt his Crimes were ſo publick, and his Preſumption ſo great, that nothing but his Death could ſecure the Perſon of the King, or Safety of the Subjects; which when he was brought to his End, he fell unpitied, or even taken Notice of, by thoſe many Sycophants, who (when in Power) were ready to give him the moſt punctual Attendance, and fawn, and flatter him into a Belief of their being his ſincere and truſty Friends. His Character.

The next Day after the Execution, Capt. *Stewart* (commonly call'd Lord *Arran*) in the Council made a Speech of his Proceedings, in the Accuſation and Trial of the Earl of *Morton*, declaring, that in coming to the Knowledge of what the Earl ſuffer'd for, he had been oblig'd to uſe ſome of his Servants with the utmoſt Severity, by Torture; therefore deſir'd, that the King and Council would approve of what he had done, and acknowledge it as good Service done to his Majeſty and the State, by a publick Act: Which Requeſt he eaſily obtain'd.

In *Auguſt* after, the Earl of *Lenox* was created a Duke, by the ſame Title; and *Robert Stewart*, who was Baſtard-Uncle to the King, by his Mother, was acknowledg'd Earl of *Orkney*; *William* Lord *Ruthven*, created Earl of *Gowry*; and *John* Lord *Maxwell*, was made Earl of *Morton*. Capt. *James Stewart*, who before had the Title of *Arran*, was alſo created an Earl; The Earl of *Lenox* created a Duke.

A. D. 1581. which so elevated him, that he could not endure to see any one enjoy an Office above himself; and seeing the Duke of *Lenox* in such great Favour and Familiarity with the King, he took all Opportunities to affront and lessen him in the King and People's Eyes. At that time the Laird of *Farneherst* return'd from *France*, where he had liv'd in Exile for many Years; and being, in that time, made known to the now Duke, he took upon him to procure his Pardon from the King; which, when the Duke propos'd, the Earl of *Arran* contradicted; alledging, the Council had resolv'd, and made a Vow at *Stirling*, that no Remission should be granted to any of the King's Enemies. At this the Duke was highly offended, insomuch that in the next Parliament, which was held at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *October*, there was an open Breach between the Duke and the Earl of *Arran*. The latter insisted, that himself, as Captain of the King's Life-Guard, had as great a Privilege as the other had, by being Lord High Chamberlain. The Duke, upon this, absented from Court, which being known to the King, he went to *Dalkeith*, taking the Duke in his Company, and charg'd *Arran* not to come near the Court.

Arran envies the Duke of *Lenox*.

He is discharg'd the Court.

Many who had observ'd *Arran*'s Pride, were glad to see him forbid the Court: Mean time he bethought him of a Way to gain the Esteem of the Populace, which was by going constantly with his Lady (whose vicious Life was too well known) to hear the most eminent Ministers, attending their Prayers, with great outward Appearance of Devotion: And gave out, that the Quarrel between the Duke and him was upon the Account of Religion; that, as the Duke favour'd the Popish Doctrine, he had defended the Principles of the Reform'd. But finding that that Pretence was of no Service to him, and being in Danger of the King's Displeasure, he employ'd some of his Friends to make Offer of Satisfaction to the Duke; so that at last the Matter was agreed, and *Arran* resign'd his Command of the Guards; which was given to the Duke.

He submits to the Duke.

This Division between *Lenox* and *Arran* was no small Satisfaction to some of the Nobility, who were highly offended that they two, who were but young Men, should have so much Influence over all the King's Actions: For at first, when the Duke came to *Scotland*, he being very much a Stranger to the Customs and Constitution of the People, made use of the now Earl of *Arran* and his Wife's Advice, in many Things; and became so intimate with them, that he did nothing without consulting them: But when this Affair of the Prosecution of the Earl of *Morton* came to be so much applauded, that the Safety of the King and Nation was intirely attributed to this young Man's Courage and Conduct, it rais'd his Ambition so, that he look'd upon the greatest Place or Preferment in the Government, next to the King, to be too little a Reward for such great Service. Whereupon the other Noblemen, seeing his Pride and bade Conduct, were so jealous of him, that they could not think themselves safe whilst he had the King's Ear: Nor were they less jealous of the Duke of *Lenox*, who being a Foreigner, and a Professor of the Church of *Rome* (tho' he had oblig'd the King so far as to admit a Reform'd Preacher into his Family, as his Chaplain, and attended the Protestant Sermons and Prayers) those who were once a little disgusted at his being such a great Favourite with the King, or had any Apprehension of being call'd to Account for their Prosecution and Banishment of the Captive Queen; made use of his Religion to raise Enemies against him, and were so successful in their Designs, that all the Preachers join'd with them in a Resolution, to have the Duke entirely remov'd from the King: And as this Difference between the Duke and *Arran* happen'd at that Time, they improv'd the Opportunity to the best Advantage.

The Nobility jealous of *Lenox*.

The King having a great Desire to see a Deer-hunting in *Atholl*, in the Month of *August* he went thither with a small Retinue, while the Duke of *Lenox* staid at *Dalkeith*, and the Earl of *Arran* was at *Kinniel*: Whereupon the Noblemen (who had join'd in Confederacy to remove the Duke of *Lenox*) met at the new made Earl of *Gowry*'s House, and there concerted their Plot,

They resolve to seize the King and remove the Duke.

to

to ſeize the King, and to keep him in their Hands, until they could accompliſh their Deſigns; and reſolv'd to come about the King at his return from *Atholl*, and deliver in a Petition, which they drew, containing a Sum of their Complaints, and the Reaſons why they then came to wait upon his Majeſty. This Deſign, however ſo well concerted, was made known to Sir *James Melvill* of *Hallhill*, and he acquainted the Duke of *Lenox* thereof; but before the Duke could inform the King, thoſe Lords had met him at *Huntington*-Houſe (on his Return from *Atholl* to *Dunfermling*) and carry'd him to *Ruthven*-Houſe, where they detain'd him for ſome Days. *A. D.* 1582.

The King carried to *Ruthven*-Houſe.

The chief Perſons in this Attempt, were the Earls of *Marr*, *Gowry*, the Lords *Lindſay*, *Boyd*, *Glamis*, *Oliphant*, the Abbots of *Dunfermling*, *Paiſly*, *Drybrugh*, and *Cambuskenneth*, the Lairds of *Lochleven*, *Eaſterweems*, *Cleiſh*, and Conſtable of *Dundee*. The firſt Complaint they made to the King was, *That the Miniſters of the Nation having for ſome Time found the intollerable Inconveniency of Biſhops or Supperiors in the Church, had made grievous Complaints; that thoſe who advis'd his Majeſty to maintain the two Archbiſhops of St.* Andrew's *and* Glaſgow, *and the other Biſhops, were ſuch as had no Reſpect to his Safety, the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, or the Word of* GOD. *And that as the Perſon, whom his Majeſty had created Duke of* Lenox, *was known to be a Papiſt, and an Agent for Popiſh Princes, to alter the true Religion in the Nation, they entreated that he might be remov'd from Court, and forthwith order'd to return to* France.

The Names of the Lords, &c. that confin'd the King at *Ruthven*.

Their Complaint.

To this the King made Anſwer, That he would conſider of what they ſaid, and uſe all Means to ſecure the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Religion; and for the firſt Day did not ſeem to take Notice of whatever Notion he had of being confin'd: But the next Day, being dreſs'd, he propos'd to go abroad to his Deverſion; as he was ſteping to the Room Door, the Maſter of *Glamis*, ſhut the Door, and told him, *He muſt ſtay within*: Which put the King in a violent Paſſion, ſo that he burſt out into Tears, complaining of their Treachery: Upon which *Glamis* ſaid, *It is better that* * *Bairns ſhould weep than Bearded-Men.* Which Words the King, tho' young, took ſuch Notice of, that he never forgot them.

The King's Anſwer, and Behaviour in his Confinement.

* Children.

The News of the King's being confin'd on his Way, ſoon came to the Earl of *Arran*; who, taking his Brother Sir *William Stewart*, whom he ſent on the High-way to *Perth*, and went himſelf, with only one Servant; and coming to *Ruthven*, he went ſtraight into the Houſe, deſiring Acceſs to the King: But he was carry'd to another Room in the Houſe, and told, he muſt be ſatisfy'd with not ſeeing the King, and be thankful that his Life was ſafe: Which he eaſily underſtood in a few Hours after, when he had Notice, that ſeveral Horſemen were ſent to lye in Wait for him on the Road, into whoſe Hands his Brother Sir *William* fell; who having made ſome Reſiſtance, he receiv'd ſeveral Wounds, and was carry'd Priſoner. 'Tis ſaid that ſome of the Lords were for diſpatching the Earl of *Arran*, but that the Earl of *Gowry* interceeded for his Safety, as it was in his Houſe; and they agreed to let him eſcape.

The News of the King's Confinement coming to the Duke of *Lenox*, he wrote to the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntly*, *Montroſe*, *Crawford*, *Rotheſs*, and *March*, giving Account of what he had heard, and deſir'd their Advice and Aſſiſtance: Whereupon ſome of them went to *Perth*, and deſir'd Acceſs to the King; but were deny'd to ſpeak with him, or ſee him, until they were ſeparately examin'd, and injoin'd not to meddle in adviſing the King, until they met in a Convention, which his Majeſty intended to call ſoon at St. *Andrew*'s. Mean time the Duke, with ſome of the before-mention'd Lords, were about to raiſe Forces to releaſe the King, when they receiv'd his expreſs Orders to the contrary, in Writing.

The Nobility deny'd Acceſs to the King.

For when his Majeſty had cry'd out, that he was a Captive, and requir'd all his faithful Subjects to procure his Liberty, the Conſpirators told him, That he ſhould have Leave to go any where, provided the Duke of *Lenox* and Earl of *Arran* ſhould not have Acceſs to his Majeſty; that they were reſolv'd,

A. D. 1582. solv'd, "That neither of these two should any longer mislead him, as they "had done for some Time past: And said, that the Duke would do well to "retire to *France*, otherwise they would be oblig'd to call him to an Account "for his past Actions, and proceed against him with Rigour of Law. De-"siring his Majesty to order some Nobleman to signify the same to the Duke, "and that they were resolv'd to maintain what they had then undertaken, "at the utmost Hazard of their Lives and Estates."

The Conspirators desire the King to send *Lenox* from Court.

The King being, by this Time, compos'd from his first Rage, consider'd, that to shew the Respect and Affection he really had for the Duke, at this Time, would rather endanger his Life, than be any ways serviceable to him; therefore seem'd to comply with whatever they propos'd, till he might once obtain his Liberty: So that, at their Desire, he issu'd a Proclamation, containing, "That for removing some Differences fallen out among the Nobi-"lity, he had interpos'd himself as Mediator; and for the better pacifying "these Divisions, he had resolv'd to reside at *Perth*, by his own free and vo-"luntary Choice; and lest any one should misinterpret the Attendance of "these Noblemen, who were with him, as detaining or confining him, he de-"clar'd they had done nothing but what their Duty oblig'd them to, which "he accepted of as good Service; and commanded all such of his Subjects "as had taken Arms (on Account of a false Report of his being confin'd) "to lay down their Arms and disband, within six Hours, upon the Pain of "Death.

A Proclamation at the Conspirators Request.

This Proclamation was dated at *Ruthven*, the 28th of *August*, 1582. and the Duke of *Lenox*, who had levy'd what Forces he could, receiv'd a Letter from the King, wherein he notify'd to him, *That it was his Pleasure he should leave the Realm, before the* 20th *of* September.

The King orders the Duke out of the Kingdom.

This Letter the Duke communicated to his Friends, who advis'd, for the present, to retire to *Dunbarton* Castle, where he might, with more Safety, remain for a while; and that, if he could not do himself Justice against those rebellious Lords, that there he might have a safe and ready Opportunity to take Ship for *France*; which Advice he took, and went thither streight: But as most Part of the Nobility and others resorted to him there, the Conspirators were offended, and wrote him Letters, charging him to live more private, with a less Retinue, and to order all others that were in his Company, to retire to their own Houses, within 24 Hours after he receiv'd that Charge; and not to come nigh any Place he should reside in, during his Abode in *Scotland*.

The Duke goes to *Dunbarton*.

The Noise of the King's Confinement was soon carried to the Courts of *England* and *France*; upon which Queen *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Henry Carry*, Son to the Lord *Hunsdon*, and Sir *Robert Bowes*, as her Ambassadors to the King, to advise him with Regard to the Danger he was in by the evil Council of the Duke of *Lenox* and Earl of *Arran*; desiring he would take the Confinement in good Part, and also desir'd he would restore the Earl of *Angus*, who had been banish'd since *Morton*'s Death. This last Request the King King readily granted, so that *Angus* incontinently return'd home, and was receiv'd into Favour: But as the Queen of *England* did advise him to take his Confinement in good Part, he had great Reason to suspect, that she had Foreknowledge of the Attempt, and was assisting in it: However at this Time he gave satisfactory Answers to whatever was propos'd to him; and as he thought, that by fair Means he could prevail with the Lords to be reconcil'd to the Duke of *Lenox*, he became more complaisant to them than he had beeen at first: But he found them so very resolute in the Duke's Banishment, that it was with much adoe that he could obtain their Consent to prolong the Time of his Stay for a few Days, upon Assurance that, unless he departed at the Time limited, he should be pursu'd as a Rebel; yet the Time was, upon several Pretences, shifted till the midst of *December*.

Q. *Elizabeth*'s Message to the King.

Mean time the Lords brought the King to *Edinburgh*, on the first of *October*, and he lodg'd in his Palace of *Holy-rood-House*; they having had Assurance of the People in and about the City, to take their Part, if any Com-

The King brought to *Edinburgh*.

motion

motion ſhould appear; for the Preachers in all the Kirks from the Pulpits highly applauded their Enterprize, as the only way to maintain the true Religion; and upon their coming to *Edinburgh*, they went up the Street, ſinging the 124th Pſalm, *Now Iſrael may ſay*, &c. Upon the 10th of *October*, in a general Aſſembly of the Miniſters, they paſt an Act, ratifying and approving the Attempt at *Ruthven*, *to have been done for the Safety of the King's Perſon, the Security of Religion, and the Eſtates of the Realm: Therefore the General Aſſembly heartily concur'd in ſo good a Deed; and declar'd, that if any ſhould offer to oppoſe their good Intentions, or aſperſe the Noblemen, who had undertaken ſuch a good Enterpriſe to maintain the Cauſe of the Lord, they ſhould be liable to the Proſecution of the Elderſhip: And in caſe they continu'd obſtinate, and perſiſted in their Wickedneſs, they ſhould be delated to the King and Council to be puniſh'd for their Offences.*

A. D. 1582.

An Act of the General Aſſembly, approving the King's Confinement.

This Act of the Aſſembly of the Kirk was dated the 13th of *October*, 1582. But the Lords knowing that an Act of the Aſſembly was not enough to ſecure them, they prevail'd with the King to convocate the Eſtates, which was appointed upon the 28th of the ſame Month; upon which Day the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Dunkell*, *Orkney*; the Abbots of *Dunfermling*, *Newbottle*, *Paiſly*, *Dryburgh*, *Cambuskenneth*, *Culroſs*, *Inchaffry*, *Coldingham*, and *Pittenweem* for the Church; and of the Nobility, the Earls *March*, *Errol*, *Marſhal*, *Bothwell*, *Marr*, *Rotheſs*, *Glencairn*, *Eglinton*, *Gowry* and *Morton*, and the Lords *Lindſay*, *Hume*, *Oglivy*, *Herries*, *Boyd*, *Sinclair*, and *Cathcart* met; but from the *Burghs* there came no Commiſſioners, nor could they be perſuaded to countenance any thing that was done at this time, as they conſider'd that as ſoon as the King ſhould be at Liberty he would condemn the Fact as treaſonable.

A Convocation of Eſtate

To theſe conven'd the King made a Speech, ſhewing, *That of all the Trouble he had met with ſince the time he had accepted of the Government in his own Perſon, the Diſtraction of the Nobility was the greateſt; for which he had call'd them together, and expected their beſt Council and Advice in that Matter.* One of the Lords (whoſe Name is not mention'd) ſtood up, and ſaid, That thoſe Diviſions were occaſion'd by ſuch as had his Majeſty's Ear, and abus'd his Favour, by ruling all things at their Pleaſure; and nam'd the Duke of *Lenox* and the Earl of *Arran* to be the Authors of the Complaints. After this the Earls of *Marr*, *Glencairn* and *Gowry* ſtood up, and declar'd, that what had mov'd them to take the late Action in Hand, was what the before-mention'd Lord had repreſented; and they offer'd to ſubmit themſelves to the Cenſure of his Majeſty and the Eſtates; and thereupon removing themſelves out of of the Convention, it was declar'd, *That their coming to the King, upon the* 22d *of* Auguſt *laſt, was right and neceſſary; and whatever they had done, ſince that time, was eſteem'd as good Service to the King and State. Therefore they, and all their Aſſiſtants and Adherents in theſe Actions, ſhould be diſcharg'd, and exempted from all Action or Proſecution, civil or criminal, that might be intended againſt them, and charg'd all the Subjects not to utter any Words reflecting on them, under Pain of the ſevereſt Puniſhment.*

The King's Speech to the Convocation.

The Attempt of *Ruthven* approv'd by the Convocation.

After this Declaration it was ordain'd, that the Earl of *Arran* ſhould be kept in *Ruthven* till the Duke of *Lenox* was gone out of the Realm; and that he ſhould be confin'd to the North ſide of the River *Erne*; and that four Companies ſhould be levy'd at the publick Expence, two of Horſe, and two of Foot, to guard the King and Noblemen who attended him, till thoſe Troubles were quieted. The Churchmen propos'd ſome Grievances to be redreſs'd in the Church; but the Noblemen, having ſecur'd themſelves, did not think proper to trouble the King any further at that time: Beſides, the moſt part of theſe Lords had ſided with the Preachers againſt the Biſhops, and therefore would not meddle in their Cauſe, eſpecially upon this Occaſion, ſince they had obtain'd all their own Deſire.

The Duke of *Lenox*, being deſirous to obey the King, and take away all Complaint from the Conſpirators, took Ship for *France* about the midſt of *October*

The Duke of *Lenox* falls ſick at Sea, and returns.

A. D. 1582. *October*; but by contrary Winds was detain'd, and fell ſick at Sea; whereof, when the King had Notice, he ſent to deſire that he might travel by Land thro' *England*, and deſir'd he might ſtay at *Blackneſs* till there might be a Paſſport obtain'd from Queen *Elizabeth*. But while he ſtay'd there, it was rumour'd that he was return'd with Intent to ſtay in the Kingdom to create new Troubles, which made new Complaints; whereupon the Lord *Herries* was ſent to him, deſiring he might begin his Journey, and be in *Berwick* by the 22d of *December*, which Orders he was ready to obey, but deſir'd he might ſee the King, only to ſalute him before he left the Kingdom; but that Requeſt, tho' ſmall, being deny'd him, he departed in great Heavineſs.

He travels by Land thro' *England*.

The Captive Queen, having Information how Matters were carry'd on in *Scotland*, and knowing that her Son was ſtill in the Hands of thoſe Lords who had confin'd him; ſhe had no way to afford him any Aid, but by her earneſt Supplications to Queen *Elizabeth*: Therefore, to ſhew her Motherly Care and Concern for his Condition, ſhe wrote the following Letter.

MADAM,

Queen *Mary's* Letter to Q. *Elizabeth*.

CONCERNING what is brought to my Knowledge, touching the Conſpiracy in Scotland *againſt my Son, finding by my own Example, that I have juſt Reaſon to fear the ſad Conſequence: I ſhould employ all the Strength that is left me, to diſcharge my Heart plainly to you, by my Complaints, which are as Juſt as they are Lamentable. I deſire, that after my Death, this Letter may ſerve you as a perpetual Remembrance; which, in the deepeſt Characters, I would imprint in your Conſcience; as well as for my Diſcharge unto Poſterity, as to the Shame and Confuſion of all thoſe who, under your Warrant, have ſo unworthily, and ſo cruelly uſed me. And, becauſe their Practices and Proceedings (tho' never ſo detaſtable) have always prevail'd on your Side, againſt my moſt juſt Remonſtrances, and all the Sincerity of my Deportment, I will therefore have Recourſe to the Living GOD, our only Judge, who, under him, hath equally eſtabliſh'd us for the Government of his People.*

Remember, Madam, that GOD is a Judge whom the Painting and Policy of this World can no way deceive, altho' Men, for a Time, may obſcure the Truth, by the Subtlety of their Inventions: I now proteſt to you, before that impartial Judge, that beholding my ſelf purſu'd to Death by my rebellious Subjects, I ſent unto you expreſly, by a Gentleman, the Diamond Ring which you ſent me, with Aſſurance to be protected by your Authority, ſuccour'd by your Arms, and receiv'd into your Realm with all Courteſy. This Promiſe ſo often repeated by you, did oblige me to throw my ſelf into your Arms, if I could be ſo happy as to approach them. But endeavouring to come to you, behold I was ſtopt in my Way, inviron'd with Guards, detain'd in ſtrong Holds, confin'd to a lamentable Captivity in which I do at this Day die, without numbering a thouſand Deaths, which I have already ſuffer'd.

After that Truth had laid open all the Impoſtures, which were contriv'd againſt me, that the chiefeſt Nobility in your Kingdom have acknowledg'd in Publick, and declar'd my Innocence; after it hath been made apparent, that what paſs'd between the late Duke of Northfolk *and me, was treated, approv'd, and ſign'd by thoſe who held the firſt Places in your Council. After ſo long a Time I have always ſubmitted to the Orders which were preſcrib'd for my Captivity. I do behold my ſelf to be daily perſecuted in my Perſon, and in the Perſons of my Servants; which entirely hinders me, not only from relieving the preſſing Neceſſities of my Son, but from receiving the leaſt Knowledge of his Condition.*

This

This is that, Madam, which makes me once more beſeech you, by the dollorous Paſſion of our Saviour and Redeemer JESUS CHRIST, *that I may have Permiſſion to depart your Kingdom, to aſſiſt my dear Child, and to find ſome Comfort for my poor Body, travelled with continual Sorrows; and withal, Liberty of Conſcience, to prepare my Soul for* GOD, *who hourly doth call for it. Your Priſons hath deſtroy'd my Body, there is no more left for my Enemies to ſatiate their Vengeance. My Soul is ſtill intire, which you neither can, nor ought to captivate: Allow it ſome Place to breathe more freely after its own Safety, which a thouſand times I do more deſire, than all the Greatneſs in the World. What Honour can you receive to ſee me ſtifled in your Preſence, and to fall at the Feet of my Enemies? Do you not conſider, that in this Extremity, if by your Means (tho' late) I ſhall be reſcu'd from their Hands, That you ſhall oblige me, and all mine, eſpecially my Son, whom, moſt of all, you may aſſure your own.* A. D. 1582.

I muſt beſeech you, that I may know your Intentions concerning this, and that you will not remit me to the Diſcretion of any other but your own. In the mean time I demand two Things: The one, That being ready to depart this World, I may be ſuffer'd to have ſome Clergyman of good Reputation to aſſiſt me. The other, That I may have two Maids, of my own Servants, to attend me in my Sickneſs: Grant me theſe Petitions, for the Honour of GOD; *and let it appear, that my Enemies hath not as much Credit with you, as to exerciſe their Vengeance and Cruelty in a Thing of ſo ſmall a Conſequence. Reſume the Marks of your former good Nature, oblige your own to your ſelf. Grant me that Contentment before I die, to ſee all Things remitted betwixt you and my ſelf, to the End that my Soul being enlarg'd from my Body, it may not be conſtrain'd to lay open its Groans before* GOD, *for the Injuries you have ſuffer'd to be done to me upon Earth: But on the contrary, that departing this Captivity in Peace and Concord, it may with all Content repair to him, whom I moſt humbly beſeech to inſpire you, to condeſcend to the moſt juſt Requeſts of,*

Your moſt Diſtreſs'd,

Sheffield, Nov. 28. 1582.

Moſt Near, And Moſt

Affectionate Kinſwoman,

MARY R.

This Letter coming to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe ſeem'd very much concern'd for the Miſeries of Queen *Mary*, and mov'd to her Council to conſider of her Complaints: Whereupon it was by ſome propos'd, that ſhe ſhould be ſet at Liberty upon the following Conditions.

Conditions propos'd to ſet Q. *Mary* at Liberty.

I. That ſhe and her Son ſhould promiſe, to practiſe nothing hurtful to Queen *Elizabeth* or the Realm of *England*.

II. That they ſhould voluntarily confeſs, that whatever was done by *Francis* II. King of *France*, her Husband, againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, was done againſt her Will, and that ſhe would utterly allow the ſame as unjuſt, by confirming the Treaty of *Edinburgh*.

III. That ſhe ſhould condemn all the Practices ever ſince that Time, and ingenuouſly renounce them.

IV. She ſhould bind herſelf not to practiſe any thing directly, or indirectly, againſt the Government of the Realm of *England*, in Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Affairs; but by all Means oppoſe herſelf and reſiſt ſuch Practiſers, as publick Enemies.

V. That ſhe ſhall challenge unto herſelf no Claim nor Right of *England*, during the Life-time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and that afterwards ſhe ſhall ſubmit her Right of Succeſſion to the Eſtates of *England*.

A. D. 1582. VI. And, to the End ſhe may not hereafter uſe any Cavil, or ſay, That ſhe condeſcended unto thoſe Conditions (being a Priſoner, and by Coaction) ſhe herſelf ſhould not only ſwear unto them, but alſo procure the Eſtates of *Scotland* to confirm them by publick Authority.

VII. That the King her Son, ſhould alſo ratify them by Oath and Writing.

VIII. And that Hoſtages be given.

To theſe Conditions the Captive Queen readily agreed, ſo that Queen *Elizabeth*, (who would not meddle with the Article of the Conjunction of the Queen with her Son) ſent her Secretary *Daviſon* with the Articles to be conſider'd and ratify'd by the King and Council of *Scotland*. But as the moſt of the Council were the Lords of the Reform'd Religion, who had join'd in the Aſſociation againſt the Queen, they utterly rejected theſe Articles; nor would they conſent that the Queen ſhould be reſtor'd to any Part of the Government, pretending that her Relations in *France* would uſe Means to alter the Reform'd Religion.

The Aſſociators againſt the Queen's Releaſe.

1583. In the beginning of *January*, 1583. Secretary *Daviſon* came to *Scotland*, and with him came two Ambaſſadors from the King of *France*, the one nam'd Monſieur *la Motte*, the other Monſ. *la Menvil*; their chief Buſineſs was to ſet the King at Liberty, and to treat with the Council about Means to releaſe the Queen: But upon their coming to *Edinburgh*, the Preachers were ſo incens'd againſt them, (as Monſ. *la Motte* was a Knight of the Order of St. *Eſprit*, and wore the Badge of that Order, *viz.* a white Croſs upon his Shoulder) they cry'd out, *That he was the Ambaſſador of the bloody Murderer* (meaning the Duke of *Guiſe*) *and wore the Badge of Antichriſt*. The Ambaſſadors were very much troubled at the daily Outcries againſt them; but knowing how the King's Authority was laid aſide by that Set of People, who had him in their Hands, and who encourag'd theſe Preachers in their Inſolence, they took little Notice of them, and deſir'd to be diſmiſs'd. The King, who was deſirous to keep a good Underſtanding between the two Nations of *France* and *Scotland*, ſhew'd the Ambaſſadors all the Reſpect he could in his Condition, and deſir'd the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* to make an Entertainment for them before they departed, which they accordingly did: But ſuch was the Envy of the Miniſters, that they order'd a Faſt to be kept throughout the City, on the Day appointed for the Entertainment; and becauſe the Magiſtrates attended the Ambaſſadors, according to the King's Orders, the Preachers threaten'd to excommunicate them, for not obſerving their Faſt which they had proclaim'd.

The *French* Ambaſſador inſulted by the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*.

The King being weary of his long Confinement in the Keeping of that Party, he took Collonel *Stewart*, the Captain of his Guards aſide, and communicated his Deſire of freeing himſelf, to him; and being then at *Falkland*, he propos'd to viſit his Uncle, the Earl of *March*, at St. *Andrew*'s; where he went, and after refreſhing himſelf, he deſir'd to ſee the Caſtle; and entering with Collonel *Stewart*, he commanded the Gates to be inſtantly ſhut, ſo that all that attended him were inſtantly ſhut out: Whereupon the King immediately ſent for the Earls of *Argyle*, *Marſhal*, *Montroſe*, and *Rotheſs*, who came to him early the next Morning, and were receiv'd with all Marks of Reſpect and Favour by him. Of all thoſe who attended the King the while paſt, none were admitted into the Caſtle, except the Earl of *Gowry*, who was brought in by Collonel *Stewart*; and coming before the King, fell upon his Knees, and beg'd his Pardon for the Part he had acted in the laſt Plot, and ſubmitted to his Mercy. The King, after ſome ſharp Reproof of his Treachery and Ingratitude to the Duke of *Lenox*, promis'd him Forgiveneſs, upon Condition of his being loyal for the future.

The King frees himſelf from the Lords, in the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s.

Upon the 2d of *July* the King call'd a Council within the Caſtle, and made Choice of the Earls of *March*, *Argyle*, *Marſhal*, *Montroſe*, *Rotheſs*, and *Gowry*, to ſtay with him conſtantly; and order'd a Proclamation, That all the Subjects ſhould retire to their reſpective Homes, and live in Quietneſs; and that none ſhould come to Court without being call'd, and then

that

that they ſhould obſerve the following Rules: That no Earl or Biſhop ſhould have above fifteen Perſons in their Retinue; a Lord, Abbot, or Prior, ten; and a Baron ſix. Now the King did not confine himſelf any longer, but went abroad freely; and went to *Edinburgh*, from thence to *Falkland* and *Perth*, where he ſtaid ſome Weeks; and there, by the Earl of *Gowry*'s Means, the Earl of *Arran* was brought to Court, and receiv'd into Favour. *A. D.* 1583.

The King's Declaration concerning his Confinement.

Mean time the King publiſh'd a Declaration, wherein he affirm'd, That what the Lords had done at *Ruthven* was a treaſonable Contrivance; that what he had ſaid, or given in Writing, acknowledging their Proceedings to be dutiful and good Service; That he was thereto induc'd out of Fear, and Regard to the publick Peace and Quietneſs of the Nation; yet to ſhew the World that he did not delight in the Ruin and Deſtruction of his People, he freely forgave all thoſe who were any wiſe concern'd in that Conſpiracy, and receiv'd them into Favour as his other faithful Subjects, burying in Oblivion all paſt Tranſgreſſions of whatſoever kind.

Thoſe Lords, who had before confin'd the King, ſeeing the Earl of *Arran* again in Favour at Court, were for making the beſt Terms they could for their own Safety; and had ſeveral Meetings to that Purpoſe, which being known to the King, he reſolv'd to confine ſome of them; ſo the Earl of *Angus* was confin'd to the North ſide of the *Spey*; the Laird of *Lochleven* beyond the River *Neſs*, *John Livingſton* of *Dunipace*, and *Patrick Drummond* of *Garnock*, and the Maſter of *Glamis* were charg'd to enter themſelves into the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*. But of all theſe none were obedient to the King's Commands except the Earl of *Angus*, who went into the Shire of *Murray*; ſo that the others were denounc'd Rebels, and all the Subjects charg'd by Proclamation to reſiſt their Practices, and all the King's Domeſticks bound by Oath, not to keep any Correſpondence with them.

Q. Elizabeth ſends Secretary *Walſingham* Ambaſſador to *Scotland*.

The King's Anſwer to the Ambaſſador.

The Queen of *England*, being inform'd of the Alterations of the Court of *Scotland*, ſhe ſent Sir *Francis Walſingham*, her Principal Secretary, to *Scotland*, with Orders to charge the King with a Breach of his Promiſe, in taking the Earl of *Arran* to Court, and turning off thoſe Lords who had been ſerviceable to him. To this the King made Anſwer, "That he was a free "Prince, and in ruling his Affairs, might follow the Courſe which he "thought moſt convenient; That the Queen of *England* would not take it "well, if he, or any of his Subjects, ſhould direct her in Matters that con-"cern'd her Subjects." And for the Promiſe alledg'd, he ſaid, "It was "made in the time of his Confinement, to the Performance of which he was "not tied." As to theſe Subjects, of whom the Queen ſeem'd ſo careful, he ſaid, "That he had freely offer'd to pardon them, upon the Acknowledg-"ment of their Offences, and Promiſe of Amendment, which he would faith-"fully obſerve; expecting of the Queen, his Siſter, that good Neighbourhood "which became Princes living together in Amity and Friendſhip; and that "ſhe would not countenance his Subjects in their Rebellion.

The Ambaſſador, at the ſame time ſaid, that one *Holt*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, who being apprehended in *Scotland*, was ſet at Liberty, at the Requeſt of the *French* Ambaſſador, when the Queen of *England* expected to have had him deliver'd up, to anſwer for Crimes, wherof he was ſaid to be the Author.

The King anſwer'd to this, "That it was not promis'd he ſhould be de-"liver'd, but as the Queen of *England* anſwer'd my Ambaſſador, when I "deſir'd *Archibald Douglaſs* to be render'd, who is known to be guilty of "my Father's Murder. I ſaid the Man was charg'd with ſeveral ſuſpicious "Practices in my Kingdom, which I intended firſt to try; and if the Queen "had deliver'd up my Subject to one, whom I had more than Reaſon to de-"mand, I would have made no delay in delivering of *Holt*: But for his Diſ-"miſſion, or my Connivance at his Eſcape, there is no ſuch thing; and if "you can learn that any indirect means have been us'd for letting him eſcape, "the Trial and Puniſhment of the Doers ſhall clear my Part. With this *Walſingham* ſeem'd well ſatisfy'd, and propos'd means for preſerving the

A. D. 1583. Peace between the two Kingdoms, and to make a new League with the Queen of *England*; againſt which the King ſaid nothing; ſo that the Ambaſſador return'd well pleaſed.

The Miniſters Complain of the King's Behaviour to them.

In *October* this Year, An Aſſembly of the Preachers conven'd at *Edinburgh*, where great Complaints of Grievances were made, and a Repreſentation of them ſent to the King, wherein they charg'd his Majeſty with having encourag'd Papiſts, by giving them Offices in the Government, eſpecially ſuch as came from *France*, with Intention to breed Diviſion in Church and State, were reſpectfully entertain'd; and that *Holt*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, had eſcap'd, without a Trial or Puniſhment: That ever ſince his Majeſty took the Government upon himſelf, he had done nothing to encourage the true Faith, but, on the contrary, allow'd all their Enemies Freedom to defraud them of their Privileges and Profits. At this the King was very much offended, but as he had not brought Matters to ſuch a Conformity, ſince he had obtain'd his Liberty, as to reſent ſuch inſolent Accuſations; he therefore gave them fair Speech, and told them, *That he would conſider of their Complaints, and give them all poſſible Aſſurance of his Favour, being willing to hearken to any ſuch Advice as might compoſe the Differences in Church and State.*

Lodwick Stewart, eldeſt Son to the late Duke of *Lenox*, comes to *Scotland*.

In the Beginning of *November* this Year, *Lodwick Stewart*, eldeſt Son to the late Duke of *Lenox* (who dy'd ſoon after his landing in *France*) arriv'd at *Leith*, and was convey'd by the Earls of *Huntly*, *Crawford* and *Montroſe*, to the King; for his Majeſty, upon the firſt Notice of the Duke's Death, ſent over the Maſter of *Gray* to *France*, to bring over his Children to *Scotland*; but the reſt being young, and unable to endure the Fatigue of ſo long a Journey, none came but the eldeſt, who was then but thirteen Years of Age. The King having receiv'd the Youth with all Marks of Affection, was immediately inveſted in his Father's Titles and Lands, and committed the Truſt of his Affairs to the Earl of *Montroſe* till he came of Age. Sometime after two Daughters of the Duke came to *Scotland*, and the eldeſt, nam'd *Henrietta*, was married to *George*, Earl of *Huntley*, and the ſecond named *Mary*, was married to *John*, Earl of *Marr*: To the third Daughter the King had perſuaded an honourable Match; but ſhe having vow'd herſelf to G O D, could not be perſuaded to leave the Cloiſter. The youngeſt Son came over after the King went to *England*, as ſhall be mention'd hereafter.

The King confers his Father's Lands and Titles on him.

About this time, thoſe who had not given Obedience to the late Charge, to enter into the ſeveral Places of Confinement, had ſeveral Conſultations, and made great Complaints, that the Time aſſign'd them, to go into the Places nam'd, was ſo ſhort, they could not obey the Charge, tho', it ſeems, they only wanted Time to aſſociate with others, to raiſe new Combuſtions in the Nation: However, by this Complaint, they were allow'd till the firſt of *December* to ſurrender themſelves; but not giving Obedience at that time, the King call'd a Convention of the Eſtates the 17th of *December*, wherein he made a Speech, ſhewing that he had been ſo much inclin'd to pardon all thoſe who had join'd in the late treaſonable Conſpiracy at *Ruthven*, That the utmoſt Puniſhment he had inflicted, was a ſmall Confinement; but ſince ſome of them had deny'd giving Obedience to his Command, he therefore call'd the Eſtates to witneſs, that ſince they had not ſubmitted themſelves to his Clemency, but went about to raiſe Commotions in the Kingdom; he therefore commanded all his loyal Subjects to forbear any manner of Correſpondence, by Word or Writing, with any of theſe Perſons under Pain of Treaſon. Mean time the Earl of *Rotheſs* proteſted, that his ſubſcribing to the Act paſs'd in *October*, 1582, approving of the Attempt of *Ruthven* for good Service, ſhould not be laid to his Charge, being thereto induc'd by his Majeſty's Advice, which Proteſtation the King acknowledg'd to be true, and therefore admitted.

Upon the paſſing of this Act in the Convention, moſt of the Perſons, ſo out-law'd, ſent Petitions by their Friends to intercede for the King's Pardon, which he granted for their Lives, upon Condition they would imediately depart

part the Realm, and not return without his Majesty's Licence: Whereupon, the Earl of *Marr*, the Master of *Glamis*, with the Abbots of *Dryburgh* and *Cambuskenneth* went over to *Ireland*; the Lord *Boyd*, and the Lairds of *Lochleven* and *Easter-Weymes* into *France*, and the meaner sort were permitted to stay in certain Places of the Kingdom. *A. D.* 1584.

The Earl of *Gowry*, who, altho' pardon'd, and reconcil'd to the Earl of *Arran*, yet desir'd Leave to retire into *France*; but before the limited Day to depart, he was found out to be concern'd in a new Plot: For having had a Consultation with some of the chief Preachers, they resolv'd to raise a Party, and to call home the Earl of *Marr* and Master of *Glamis* from *Ireland*, to head them; so that they would take Arms for the Reformation of Abuses, securing of Religion, and Preservation of the King's Person from his Enemies and evil Counsellors. After this Resolution the Earl of *Gowry* went to *Dundee*, pretending to make Preparation for his Journey, tho' really to wait for the Return of the Earl of *Marr* and Master of *Glamis*: Whereof the King had secret Information, and sent Colonel *Stewart*, Captain of his Guards with a Party to apprehend him. The Earl, being then lodg'd in the House of *William Drummond*, a Bailiff of *Dundee*, when he saw the Colonel, he arm'd himself and Servant, and defended the House for some Space; but the Town coming to the Colonel's Assistance, he was forc'd to yield, and was carried Prisoner to *Edinburgh*, and committed to the Custody of *James*, *Stewart*, Earl of *Arran*. Two Days after, the Earls of *Angus* and *Marr* met, and having got a Party, surpriz'd the Castle of *Stirling*, intending to fortify it for their own Safety, till they could raise a strong Party to execute their further Designs; but the King's Forces came so suddenly upon them, that they were oblig'd to leave the Castle and all their Provisions, and fled straight into *England*. The City of *Edinburgh*, and all the Country about, upon the first Alarm of this new Attempt, arm'd themselves, and came to the King, who went with an Army towards *Stirling*, and sent *Alexander*, Master of *Livingston* to the Castle, which yielded immediately upon hearing of the King's Approach, and was deliver'd in keeping to the Earl of *Arran*.

The Earl of *Gowry* enters into a Plot.

He is apprehended, and carried Prisoner to *Edinburgh*.

Stirling Castle surpris'd by the Earls of *Angus* and *Marr*.

The Earl of *Gowry*, after he had been some time kept at *Kenneil*, was brought to *Stirling*, where he was examin'd, and confess'd, *That he had been prevail'd upon by one Mr.* James Erskine, *a Preacher, to join the Earls of* Marr, Angus, *and others, to raise an Army to redress their Grievances; that there were several other Noblemen who were to join them; and it was affirm'd that a Supply would be sent them from* England *by the Queen's Orders*. Besides this Confession, *Gowry* sent a Letter to the King, wherein he petition'd to be brought to his Majesty, he having something of great Consequence to communicate to him, alledging that his own and his Mother's Lives were in great Danger: But his Request was deny'd, and his Petition made use of against him in an Indictment, and upon the fourth of *May* he was brought to a Trial before Mr. *John Graham*, who sat Judge, being assisted by Sir *John Gordon* of *Lochinvar*, *Alexander*, Master of *Livingston*, *Alexander Bruce* of *Arith*, and *James Edminston* of *Duntraith*. The Indictment being prov'd, the Noblemen of the Jury (or Assize) now call'd, who were *Colin*, Earl of *Argyle*, *David*, Earl of *Crawford*, *John*, Earl of *Montrose* *James*, Earl of *Glencairn*, *Hugh*, Earl of *Eglinton*, *James*, Earl of *Arran*, *George* Earl of *Marishal*, *Alexander* Lord *Seaton*, *Hugh* Lord *Sommervil*, *James* Lord *Down*, *William* Lord *Livinston*, *Patrick* Lord *Drummond*, *James* Lord *Ogilvy*, *Alexander*, Master of *Oliphant*, *John Murray* of *Tullibardine*; They being order'd to retire, return'd in a short Space, and declar'd him Guilty. Whereupon Sentence was given against him, to be taken to the Market Cross, have his Head cut off, and dismember'd as a Traitor. When he was brought to the Scaffold, he seem'd very sorrowful for the past Actions of his Life, and was heard to make the Reflection, which many other great Men have done in their latter unhappy Ends, *That if he had serv'd God as well as he done the King, he had been happy.* The same Day, and at the same Place, *Archibald Dowglass* (commonly call'd the *Constable*)

The Earl of *Gowry*'s Confession.

The Judges and Jury on his Trial.

He is sentenc'd and executed at *Stirling*.

A. D. 1584. and Mr. *John Forbes*, Servant to the Earl of *Marr*, were executed. The reſt of theſe taken in the Caſtle, were either baniſh'd or pardon'd.

The King, after the Execution, return'd from *Stirling* to *Edingburgh*, and gave Orders to ſearch the Houſes of the Fugitives, and having Information of the Miniſters, who had join'd with the Rebels to raiſe the intended Rebellion, Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *Andrew Polwart*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, and Mr. *James Carmichael* were ſummon'd to appear before the Council. Mr. *Andrew Hay* appear'd, having known but little of their Deſigns, and after Examination was only confin'd to the North: But the other three, being more engag'd in the Plot, fled to *England*, and were denounc'd Rebels.

Several Miniſters ſummon'd to appear. They deny, and are denonc'd Rebels.

The Convention or Parliament, which was before only prorogu'd, met again the 22d of *May*, and the King's Declaration, condemning the Attempt at *Ruthven*, was ratify'd; as alſo the King's Authority over all Perſons, in all Cauſes, confirm'd. The declining of his Majeſty's Judgment, and of the Council, in any Caſe whatſoever, declar'd to be Treaſon; the impunging the Authority of the three Eſtates, or procuring an Innovation, or Diminution, of the Power of any of them, inhibited under the ſame Pain. All Juriſdictions and Judicatures, Spiritual or Temporal, not approv'd of by his Highneſs and the three Eſtates, diſcharg'd; and an Ordinance made, *that none of whatſoever Function Quality, or Degree ſhould preſume, privately or publickly, in Sermons, Declamations, or familiar Conferences, to utter any falſe, untrue or ſlanderous Speeches, to the Reproach of his Majeſty, his Council and Proceedings, or to the Diſhonour, Hurt or Prejudice of his Highneſs, his Parents or Progenitors, or to meddle with the Affairs of his Higneſs and Eſtates, under the Pains contain'd in the Acts of Parliament, made againſt the Makers and Reporters of Lies.*

The Proceedings of the Parliament.

Whilſt this Act was in Conſultation, the Miniſters had Information thereof, and ſent Mr. *David Lindſey*, Miniſter of *Leith*, to entreat that nothing ſhould paſs into an Act againſt the Church, till they were firſt heard: But *Lindſay*, inſtead of being admitted, was taken into Cuſtody, and ſent the next Day to *Blackneſs* Upon this Mr. *James Lawſon*, Mr. *Walter Balcangel*, Miniſters of *Edidburgh*, fled into *England*. Mr. *John Drury*, ſome Weeks after was confin'd to *Montroſe*. Mr. *Robert Pont*, after taking an Inſtrument in the Hands of a Notary, That the Church had not conſented to the before-mention'd Acts, and therefore were not oblig'd to give Obedience to the Laws ſo made, alſo fled into *England*, and was denounc'd Rebel. Upon this, the other Miniſters of the Nation rais'd Reports, that the King was inclin'd to Popery, and had made ſeveral Acts to hinder the free Paſſage of the Goſpel. To ſuppreſs which, the King and Council publiſh'd a Declaration of his Majeſty's Intentions, in making thoſe Acts concerning the Churchmen. To this Declaration Replies were made in ſeditious Pamphlets, Poems, and Libels, againſt the Court and Council, which was known to be diſpos'd of by thoſe that fled into *England*; whereupon the King ſent his own Chaplains to ſupply the Places of theſe Preachers in *Edinburgh*, and order'd the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s to attend the Court inſtead of a Preacher.

The fugitive Miniſters write to the Council and Seſſion at *Edinburgh*.

Mean time the fugitive Miniſters ſent a Letter to the Seſſion of the Church and Council of the Town of *Edinburgh*, wherein they exclaim'd againſt the King, the Council, the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, and the Seſſion of the Church, in ſuch opprobrious Language, that the King and Council were highly offended thereat, and order'd the Seſſion of *Edinburgh* to write an Anſwer to their Letter; charging them with the greateſt of Crimes, againſt the Eccleſiaſtical, as well as Civil Laws of the Nation, and concluded with Thanks to GOD, who had reveal'd their ſecret Plots againſt the King and his Subjects, whereby they were freed from ſuch ravenous Wolves, who had diſguis'd their baſe Deſigns under the pretended Zeal for Religion.

The Anſwer ſent them.

When the fugitive Miniſters receiv'd this Letter at *London*, 'tis ſaid, that they were very much afflicted; and that Mr. *James Lawſon*, one of the moſt noted of them, died ſoon after, of meer Grief.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding of the Proſecution of theſe Miniſters, yet others of their Faction did not ceaſe to offend the Government, by keeping Correſpondence with them; among whom was one Mr. *Nicholas Dalgliſh*, who was convicted of correſponding with them by Letters, for which he was impriſon'd in *Edinburgh* Tolbooth for ſome Time, and afterwards releas'd: But *David Hume* of *Argety*, with *Patrick Hume* his Brother (who were ſome tims before pardon'd, for the Attempt of *Stirling* Caſtle) being again convicted of keeping a Correſpondence with ſome of the baniſh'd Gentlemen, were try'd and executed. And, at the ſame time, a Proclamation was iſſu'd, *That whoſoever ſhould diſcover any Perſon offending in the like Manner, ſhould, beſides his own Pardon, receive a ſpecial Reward.* Whereupon Information was given by *Robert Hamilton* of *Ecclesfechan*, againſt *Malcolm Dowglaſs* of *Mains*, and *John Cuningham* of *Drumquhaſſil*, that they intended to intercept the King at Hunting, and detain him in ſome ſtrong Hold, till the baniſh'd Lords might come to receive him. They were tried, condemn'd, and (tho', 'tis ſaid, were unjuſtly accus'd by *Hamilton)* executed in the High-ſtreet of *Edinburgh*, upon the 9th Day of *February*, 1585. This *Patrick Hamilton* was, ſome Time after, kill'd by *James Johnſton* of *Weſterhaw*, who had made a Vow to revenge *Malcolm Dowglaſs*'s Death.

A. D. 1585.

David Hume of *Argety*, and his Brother executed.

As likewiſe *Malcolm Dowglaſs* of *Mains* and *John Cuningham* of *Drumquhaſſil*.

In the Month of *May* this Year, died *Colin*, Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord Chancellor, ſo the Earl of *Arran* ſucceeded him in that Office, and Mr. *John Maitland*, Son to the late Laird of *Lethington*, was made Secretary. The Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* being, at this time, in the Hands of the Earl of *Arran*, he was alſo choſen Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*; and, at the ſame time, was made Lieutenant-General of all the Forces in the Kingdom; whereby he had now all the great Offices in the Kingdom, either in his own Poſſeſſion, or in his Power to diſpoſe of. The Maſter of *Gray*, a Man of great Parts, was a great Favourite with him, yet he, as alſo Mr. *Maitland* the Secretary, and Sir *Lewis Ballendine* (who was by his Intereſt made Juſtice-Clerk) were very much offended at his Proceedings; and, notwithſtanding of all his Favours to them, they not only fell off from him, but likewiſe ſecretly plotted his Deſtruction; tho' they continu'd ſtill to ſhew him outward Reſpect.

The Earl of *Argyle*, the Chancellor dies, and is ſucceeded in that Office by the Earl of *Arran*.

The Earl of *Arran*'s Favourites become his Enemies.

The Earl, however, was nowiſe ſuſpicious of their Malice, nor did he conſider the Chances and Changes of State Affairs ſo much, as to guard againſt ſuch as might work his Deſtruction; but ſtill ſtudied all Means to augment his Power and Grandeur. Mean time he conſider'd, that to obtain the Friendſhip of the *Engliſh* Queen and Court, would be a ſure Means to eſtabliſh the Power he then poſſeſs'd; therefore ſent the Maſter of *Gray* (whom he took to be his ſincere Friend) to make an Appointment of a private Meeting with the Lord *Hunſdone* (who was Governor of *Berwick)* at ſome convenient Place near that Town; whereupon *Floden* was agreed upon, and thither the Earl went very ſecretly, and had a Conference with the Governor; who gave him great Aſſurance of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Friendſhip, and promis'd, that the baniſh'd Lords, who then lay near the Borders, waiting to raiſe ſome new Broils, ſhould be call'd to *London*, and upon Certification of the Conſpiracy, for which *Mains* and *Drumquheſſe* had been executed, they ſhould be ſent out of *England*. Mean time the Maſter of *Gray* was ſent Ambaſſador to *England*, with a Commiſſion to demand the fugitive Lords to be deliver'd up; or at leaſt, to be remov'd farther from the Borders of *Scotland*: But his private Inſtructions were, to win the Queen's Favour to the Earl of *Arran*; who then ſet up for a great Defender of the Proteſtant Religion. And, to verify his Care of the King's Regard for that Religion, he ſent the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, to inform Queen *Elizabeth* of the King's Sincerity in Religion; becauſe of the Rumour which the ſeditious Preachers had, ſome Time before, diſpers'd to the contrary. The Queen of *England* receiv'd this Certification of the Archbiſhop's with great Pleaſure, and promis'd her continu'd Friendſhip to the King, upon Condition, that he would be conſtant in his Profeſſion of the Religion then eſtabliſh'd.

His ſecret Dealings with *England*.

A. D. 1585. The Master of *Gray*, tho' reputed a *Roman* Catholick, was receiv'd respectfully; and in Answer to his demanding the exil'd Lords, Queen *Elizabeth* excus'd them, saying, They never intended any Hurt to the King's Person; but if the contrary could be made appear, they should not be permitted to stay in her Kingdom. And, as to the Request of their being remov'd from the Borders, she order'd them to stay at *Norwich*, till their Cases were examin'd.

The Master of *Gray*, upon his Return, made his Report of the banish'd Lords: Whereupon Sir *Lewis Ballendine*, Lord Justice-Clerk, was immediately sent Ambassador, to accuse the Lords, and to verify the Conspiracy for which *Mains* and *Drumquhassil* had suffer'd. Whereupon the Lords were sent for to *London*, and there, before the Ambassador, gave in a Vindication of their Innocence. And the Master of *Glamis*, answering for the rest, so wrought upon the Ambassador, that, instead of continuing his Accusation, he join'd in their Vindication; and, at the same time, concerted Measures for their Restoration, and for the Destruction of the Earl of *Arran*: The Queen and Council of *England* being privy to all, and secretly advanc'd their Designs. The Earl of *Arran*, at the same time, (having had former Promises given him of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Friendship and Assistance) run on precipitately to his own Ruin, by committing such Follies, as drew upon him the Hatred of all such as had been formerly his Friends, or were his Relations. He having caus'd the Earl of *Atholl*, the Lord *Hume*, and the Master of *Cassils*, to be committed to Prison for slight Causes: For, he being near of Kin to the first, us'd Means to make him divorce his Lady, because she was the Daughter of the late Earl of *Gowry*; but his real Design was to make the Earl of *Atholl* settle his Estate upon himself. The Lord *Hume* had deny'd him a Part of the Barony of *Dirleton* which he coveted; and the last, for denying the Loan of a considerable Sum of Money, which he had desir'd. And, about the same time, he quarrel'd with the Lord *Maxwell*, for the Lands of *Maxwell-heugh*, which he desir'd to have Possession of, as it had, some Time formerly, been annex'd to the Barrony of *Kinneil*, which he was in Possession of, by the Forfeiture of the Lord *Hamilton*. The Lord *Maxwell* not being willing to change his Inheritance, excus'd himself: But *Arran* thinking to force him, dealt with the Lady *Johnstone* (who attended the Court) to cause her Husband to be elected Provost of *Drumfrees*, and prevail'd with the King to write to the Town, to favour him in the Election, so that when he was Warden of the west Marches, he would be able to serve him in his Designs. The Lord *Maxwell* looking upon these Proceedings, as it was really design'd to carry the Election against him, he gather'd all his Friends, and when the Election came on, hinder'd *Johnstone* from entering the Town, and got himself elected Provost of *Drumfrees*.

The Earl of *Arran* acquainted the King of this, adding, that no Peace nor Quietness could be expected, while the Lord *Maxwell* continu'd in such Power; therefore he found Means to lay a Commission on him, which he could not possibly execute in the Time limited, wherefore he was denounc'd Rebel; and Orders given to *Johnstone* to pursue and apprehend him, and sent two Captains with their Companies, to assist him. Whereof when the Lord *Maxwell* had Notice, he sent his Bastard-Brother, *Robert Maxwell*, to intercept the Captains e'er they could join *Johnstone*. They meeting in *Crawford*-Muir, had a sharp Conflict, wherein the Captains were defeated, one of them (nam'd *Lambie*) being slain, with most of his Company; the other (nam'd *Cranstone*) with most of his Company, were taken Prisoners.

The Earl of *Atholl*, Lord *Hume*, and Master of *Cassils* imprison'd by the Earl of *Arran*'s Means.

The Lord *Maxwell* denounc'd Rebel.

Wars between the *Maxwells* and *Johnstons*.

The War being thus begun betwixt the *Maxwells* and *Johnstons*, they invaded one another's Lands with Fire and Sword for some Time, till, at last, the Laird of *Johnston* was, in a Scuffle, defeated and taken Prisoner; the Grief of which Lose threw him into such lingring Sickness, that he died soon after. The Earl of *Arran* being griev'd at this Victory falling to the Lord *Maxwell*, prevaild with the King to raise Forces to suppress him, as a Disturber of the Peace and Quiet of the Nation: And accordingly, a Subsidie of

20000

20000 lib. was granted for levying Soldiers, and all fencible Men, being on South Side of the *Forth*, were commanded to attend the King's Standard, for an Expedition to ſuppreſs the Lord *Maxwell*. But, at that time, the Plague breaking out at *Edinburgh*, rag'd ſo, that nothing could be done that Year: So that the Expedition was entirely laid aſide. *A. D.* 1585.

Mean time there fell out an Accident in the Border, which quite withdrew the Queen of *England*'s Favour from the Earl of *Arran*. For Sir *John Foreſter* and *Thomas Ker* of *Farneherſt*, Wardens of the middle Marches, being met for reſtoring ſome Goods taken off the *Engliſh* Side; a Quarrel happen'd between them, ſo that ſeveral Perſons were kill'd, among whom was Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*. The Blame was laid upon *Farneherſt*, who was ſaid to have been ſet on by the Earl of *Arran*'s Advice, he having been, for ſome time before, very familiar with the Earl. The Queen of *England* ſent a Complaint againſt them both, deſiring *Farneherſt* to be deliver'd up; but *Arran* oppos'd that Requeſt: However, ſoon after, the Earl was confin'd in St. *Andrew*'s, and *Farneherſt* in *Aberdeen*, where he died ſoon after.

A Quarrel between the Wardens of the *Scots* and *Engliſh* Marches, which being complain'd of by Q. *Elizabeth*, the Earl of *Arran*, and *Ferneherſt* are confin'd.

Immediately after this Accident Sir *Edward Wotton* came Ambaſſador from *England*, to contract a League, offenſive and Defenſive with the King in the Cauſe of Religion: For at this Time, 'tis ſaid, that the Pope, the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, and others Potentates of the Church of *Rome*, had enter'd into a League, to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, wherefore the Queen of *England* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Scotland*, *Denmark*, and the Proteſtant Powers of *Germany*, to enter into a League to oppoſe the *Roman* Catholicks.

Upon this Embaſſy the King call'd a Convention of the Eſtates at St. *Andrew*'s, and concluded the League with *England*, and all other Proteſtant Powers, to defend the Proteſtant Religion, with their Lives and Fortunes; which Contract or League was confirm'd by the Eſtates, and ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Dunkell* and Commendators of *Culroſs*, *Balmirinoch*, *Dryburgh*, *Kinroſs*, *Lindores*, *Blantire*, and *Pittenweem*, of the Spiritual Members; and by the Earls of *Argyle*, *March*, *Atholl*, *Montroſe*, *Mariſhall*, and *Rotheſs*; the Lords *Oliphant*, *Thirlſtane*, *Gray*, *Sinclair*, *Down*, and *Fleming*, for the Nobility; and by the Commiſſioners of Burghs, and all Officers of State.

A League between *Scotland* and *England* in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion.

With this the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador ſeem'd well ſatisfied, and had Leave to return; but having ſecret Inſtructions to commune with the Maſter of *Gray*, and the Lord Juſtice Clerk, he with great Difficulty obtain'd a private Conference with them, they having made all poſſible Intereſt to procure their Liberty to return; but found that the only Way for them was to make up all former Quarrels with the Lord *Hamilton*, and his Brother Lord *Claud*, who were likewiſe at that Time in *England*, under the King's Diſpleaſure.

Which Advice being communicated to the exile Lords, they immediately apply'd to the two Brethren, who readily accepted of their Propoſals, and they undertook to take one Courſe, and join in the ſame Cauſe, to obtain their Liberty to return; but the Lord *Claud*, remembering former Grudges, took a ſeparate Courſe, and obtain'd Leave to return, upon Condition that he would diſcover the Deſigns of the other Lords: But yet he was ſoon after his coming into the Kingdom, firſt confin'd to *Aberdeen*, and in a few Days, commanded to leave the Kingdom, and go over to *France*.

The exile Lords propoſe to return.

Lord *Claud Hamilton* returns to *Scotland* by himſelf, but is again baniſh'd.

July the 12th, there arriv'd an Ambaſſador from the King of *Denmark*, pretending to redeem the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Zetland*, which of old belong'd to that Crown; but their real Errand was to propoſe the Marriage, which was concluded ſome Years after, between the King and the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*.

An Embaſſy from *Denmark*.

The King receiv'd the Ambaſſador with all Teſtimonies of Reſpect; but excus'd the Affair of the Iſles, becauſe, at that Time the Plague rag'd at *Edinburgh*, where the publick Regiſter was kept, promiſing to give all reaſonable Satisfaction to the King their Maſter, at a convenient Time. Mean time, the King had Notice that the baniſh'd Lords were come to the Border, and

A. D. 1585. that the Lord *Maxwell* was ready to join his Forces with them; wherefore he ſent for the Earl of *Arran*, and caus'd iſſue a Proclamation commanding all the Subjects to meet him at *Crawford* Caſtle, upon the 22d of *October*, to reſiſt the Attempts of the Rebels: But this Rendezvous was prevented by the Lords, who came, with great Haſte, to *Linton* in *Tweedale*, within 12 Miles of *Edinburgh*, and being met, they made a ſolemn Contract, never to ſeparate nor give over till the King could be pleas'd to pardon, and receive them into Favour, and put *Arran* away from the Court.

The King raiſes an Army to oppoſe the Return of the Lords.

The Lord *Maxwell* brought with him 300 Soldiers, and 700 Horſemen that he had employ'd againſt *Johnſton*, which was a greater Number than all the others brought; tho' the Earl of *Bothwell*, and Lords *Hume*, *Teſter*, *Ceſford*, and *Drumlanrig* had join'd them, to juſtify their Proceedings; and they gave out in all Places, *that they intended nothing but the Defence of the Truth, the Deliverance of the King from evil Counſellors, and to preſerve Amity with* England. And at the ſame Time, they muſter'd all the Crimes they could charge *Arran* with, to make him odious to the People; and having muſter'd their Forces, they march'd to *Falkirk*, and the next Day to St. *Ninian's*, where they ſtay'd till Night, and then went ſtraight to *Stirling*, where the Earl of *Arran* and Collonel *Stewart* kept Guard, with ſeveral other Noblemen; but they attack'd the Gate, which was defended by the Collonel, who, with the Loſs of two or three Sentinels, was beat back: So they took Poſſeſſion of the Town, and the next Morning ſurrounded the Caſtle, which, being deſtitute of Proviſion, could not reſiſt them.

The Lords come to *Stirling*, which they take with the Caſtle.

The King ſends to know what they intended.

Their Anſwer.

In the Midſt of this Combuſtion the King ſent the Secretary and Juſtice Clerk to the Lords, complaining of their Violence, and to know what they intended by this new Rebellion; to which they anſwer'd, *That they were ſorry that they were compell'd to uſe ſuch Means, ſince nothing was more dear to them than the King's Honour and Safety; but that as their Enemies had contriv'd to have them baniſh'd from their Houſes, Families, and Relations, to wander in Exile, without having ſo much Liberty as to ſend their Petitions to implore his Majeſty's Pardon: Their coming in that Manner, was only to endeavour, to obtain Admittance to ſupplicate on their Knees, his Majeſty's Mercy and Favour, which being granted, they would endeavor to compoſe all Diviſions among themſelves, and the other Subjects, to his Majeſty's Honour and Satisfaction.*

This being reported to the King, he ſeem'd pacified, and upon ſome eaſie Conditions, he conſented to put the Earl of *Arran* and Colonel *Stewart* from Court, and take from them ſuch Offices as they then enjoy'd; and the Lords were admitted into his Preſence, where falling upon their Knees; the Lord *John Hamilton*, in the Name of the reſt, ſaid, *They were come, in the moſt humble Manner, to beg Mercy, and his Majeſty's Favour.* The King anſwer'd him, My Lord, *I did never ſee you before, and muſt confeſs, that of all the Company, you have been moſt wrong'd; you were a faithful Servant to the Queen my Mother, in my Minority, and (when I underſtood not, as I do the Eſtate of Kings) hardly us'd.: As for the reſt of you who have been exil'd, you cannot ſay, but it was your own Faults.* And turning to the Earl of *Bothwell*; *but what ſhould have mov'd thee*, Francis *(ſaid he) to take Arms againſt me, did I ever do thee Wrong? I wiſh thee a more quiet Spirit, and that thou mayſt learn to be a good Subject, otherwiſe thou'lt fall into Trouble.* To the reſt he ſaid, as he did not think that they meant any Hurt to his Perſon, he forgave what was paſt, and freely gave them his Hand and Heart, provided they for the future liv'd as became dutiful and loyal Subjects. Whereupon they roſe and kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand one by one: But it was obſerv'd that he receiv'd the Lord *Hamilton* with more Reſpect than any of the reſt, in Conſideration of his Relation to him.

They are admitted into his Preſence.

Lord *John Hamilton's* Speech to the King.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

The Lords are pardon'd.

The Earl of *Arran* deveſted of all Offices and Titles.

Two Days after the King confirm'd their Pardon by an Act of Council, which was proclaim'd by Sound of Trumpet at the Market Croſs. The Earl of *Arran* being depriv'd of all Offices and Titles, he retir'd to *Kyle*, and liv'd privately among his Friends; and Collonel *Stewart* alſo left the Court. Mean time

time the Lord *Hamilton* had the Keeping of *Dunbarton* Caſtle, and *Stirling* reſtor'd to the Earl of *Marr*, the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* to Sir *James Home* of *Coldingknows*, and the Maſter of *Glamis* was made Captain of the Guards. *A. D.* 1585.

The Miniſters who had fled return'd alſo with the Lords, and were pardon'd; yet were ſo imprudent as to give new Offence, by deſiring the King to repeal an Act which was made againſt their Diſcipline; which when refus'd by the King, they ſtirr'd up one of their Brethren, to rail againſt him and the Government from their Pulpits, particularly one Mr. *James Gibſon* in *Edinburgh*, ſaid, *That Captain* James (for ſo the late nam'd Earl of *Arran* was now call'd) *his Lady, and Collonel* William Stewart *were taken to be the Perſecutors of the Church: But now it was ſeen to be the King himſelf againſt whom they denounced the Curſe that fell on* Jeroboam, *that he ſhould die childleſs and be the laſt of his Race.* For which Speech he was ſent Priſoner to *Blackneſs*, with ſeveral others who had us'd ſeditious and impertinent Expreſſions.

Mr. *James Gibſon* for his ſeditious Sermon is impriſon'd in *Blackneſs.*

The Lord *Maxwell*, after he had been pardon'd went with ſome of his Friends to Maſs at the College Church of *Lincluden*, which being repreſented to the King by the moſt rigid of the Proteſtants, they procur'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd commanding all Prieſts, Jeſuites, and traffecting Papiſts to leave the Kingdom by a Day limited upon Pain of Death; which Proclation gave ſome Satisfaction to the Preachers: But as the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and other Biſhops were ſtill in Favour at Court, they ſtudied Revenge on them, as being the Authors of the late Act of Parliament paſs'd againſt them; wherefore they call'd a Synode among themſelves, and beſides the Miniſters they call'd a Number of Barons and Gentlemen; that proceeded to cenſure the Biſhops, and cited the Archbiſhop to compear before them. He hearing of their Proceedings went in among them, and after proteſting againſt the Legality of their Judicatory, he deſir'd to know what they had to charge him with. They ſlighted his Proteſtation, and told him that he had devis'd the late Act which was intended to ſupport Popery and Epiſcopacy, againſt which Accuſation he made an Appeal to the King and Council, and ſo left their Synod. Upon his going out, they enter'd into a Conſultation, and concluded to excommunicate the Archbiſhop, and others of his Friends, which accordingly they did in ſome few Days after; and after ſeveral Repreſentations to the King and Council, and altho' the King ſeem'd to be much for continuing Epiſcopacy; yet for Reaſons of State he gave Way to the Independent Miniſters, and aboliſh'd the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; ſo that then, neither the Biſhops, nor others had any ſuperior Power in Church Affairs, but were ruled by Aſſemblies, Synods, and Seſſions; and that the Biſhops, then in Being, ſhould have no more Power than the ordinary Preachers, and be liable to the Trial of Presbytries and Synods.

The Miniſters Proceedings againſt the Biſhops.

The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s proteſts, and appeals to the King.

The Miniſters prevail againſt the Biſhops.

At this Time Mr. *Archibald Dowglaſs*, who had fled into *England*, when the Earl of *Morton* was firſt accus'd came into *Scotland*; and notwithſtanding that he was declar'd to be the chief Executer of the late King's Murder, yet ſuch Intereſt was made for him by private Agents from *England*, that he was acquitted of the Crime by an Aſſize, and declar'd innocent.

This Summer there happen'd a Quarrel in the Iſles, between *Mackneil* and *Macklane*; for they being Brothers-in-Law, *Mackneil* bore ſome Grudge to *Macklane*, and having invited him to make merry, he intended to have kill'd him, and ſuch of his Clan as attended him: But *Macklane* having defended his own Life, ſeveral of his Clan were ſlain in his Sight, and had alſo been cut off; but that it happen'd that *Mackneil*, by a Fall from his Horſe, broke his Leg, whereupon *Macklane*, in Revenge, fell upon *Mackneil*'s Tenants with Fire and Sword, and burnt and ſlew ſeveral People and Houſes.

A Quarrel between *Mackneil* and *Macklane* in the Iſles.

About the ſame Time, *Hugh Montgomery*, Earl of *Eglinton*, was murder'd by three of the Earl of *Glencairn*'s Kinſmen, who were ſet on by the Earl their Chief. The Earl of *Eglinton* was a very hopful young Nobleman, and very much lamented by all Men: But his Death did not eſcape unpuniſh'd; for

The Earl of *Eglinton* murder'd.

A. D. 1585. *Robert Montgomery*, Brother to the Earl, ſlew thoſe who had committed the Murder, with ſeveral others concern'd in it.

In the Month of *June* this Year, the beforemention'd League with *England*, in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, was concluded, and Commiſſioners went to *Berwick*, where they were met by others from the Queen of *England*, and the League, comprehending thirteen Articles, for the Support of the Proteſtant Doctrine, was ſign'd by *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, and Sir *Francis Home* of *Coldinknows*, as Commiſſioners for the King; and by *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Evers*, and Sir *Thomas Randolph*, Commiſſioners for the Queen of *England*.

The League with *England* ſign'd at *Berwick*.

Immediately after the Ratification of this League, the Queen of *England* ſent an Ambaſſador to the King, giving him a further Proof of her Kindneſs to him, which was the giving up to him the Lands belonging to the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Lenox*; which, tho' ſeveral Times deſir'd by the King, he could never obtain till then: But this new created Friendſhip was ſoon chang'd. For about the latter end of *July* this Year, a Conſpiracy was diſcover'd, whereof one *Ballard* was the firſt Coutriver; as, 'tis ſaid, that he having made himſelf acquainted with many *Roman* Catholicks in *England* and *Scotland*, return'd to *France*, with one *Maud*, who was ſaid to be a Spy, hir'd by Secretary *Walſingham*; who paſs'd upon *Ballard* for an intimate, faithful Friend, and thereby found all his Secrets, which he diſcover'd to *Walſingham*. *Ballard* having once concerted his Plot abroad, he return'd to *England* in the Habit of a Soldier, and meeting with *Anthony Babington*, of *Dithick* in *Derbyſhire*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, and plentiful Fortune, who had been liberally educated, and being ambitious of Grandeur, he readily conſented to join in any Plot, ſo that he might be a leading Man in it. Mr. *Babington* having been for ſome Time in *France*, had been acquainted with the Biſhop of *Glaſgow* (who reſided at *Paris*, as Ambaſſador from Queen *Mary*) and one *Morgan*, who was employ'd between the Queen and her Ambaſſador; and having heard them often ſpeak of their Queen's Misfortunes, and of her many excellent Qualifications, he thought this would be a proper Opportunity to ſet her at Liberty, ſo that her Friends would ſtill encraſe their Party, and ſtrengthen their Deſigns. Mean time *Ballard* had contriv'd his Plot ſo, that a Rebellion ſhould be rais'd, and a few of the moſt reſolute of their Party ſhould aſſaſſinate Queen *Elizabeth*: To execute which, they brought in ſeveral Perſons of as little Conduct as other good Principles; ſo that, inſtead of keeping the Matter ſecret, it became known to ſeveral Perſons, who freely ſpoke of it in Taverns, and ſuch Places as they frequented.

Ballard's Conſpiracy.

He draws in *Babington*.

They intend to releaſe Queen *Mary*,

And to aſſaſſinate Queen *Elizabeth*.

Babington having ſuch Hopes of Succeſs from the Promiſes of his Aſſociates, he could no longer forbear writing to the Queen of *Scotland*, to acquaint her of the Means he intended for ſetting her at Liberty, with the other Circumſtances of their Plot: But at that Time, the Queen being in a bad State of Health, her Secretaries had Power to receive her Letters; and finding by what *Babington* wrote, that by their Plot the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* was intended; they knowing the Queen, their Miſtreſs, to have always declar'd ſolemnly, that ſhe would never be concern'd in any thing againſt her Life, or the Government of *England*; they, without communicating the Letter, made uſe of the Queen's Name, in giving an Anſwer to the *Babington*; wherein they counterfeited the Queen's Approbation of their Undertaking, and advis'd him to proceed in the Matter with all poſſible Caution, as not to move in it, until they had Aſſurance of foreign Aſſiſtance, and to engage all the moſt noted *Roman* Catholicks in *England*, in the Deſign; with particular Directions how to aſſiſt the Queen's Eſcape. With this Anſwer *Babington* was extremly pleas'd, and immediately employ'd all thoſe of his Party to draw in others, ſo that ſeveral young Gentlemen of good Families were entic'd to join in the Plot, which was communicated to each of them by *Babington* and *Ballard*, who were allow'd to be the principal Managers.

Babington writes to Queen *Mary*.

To which her Secretaries return an Anſwer.

Among

Among thoſe Conſpirators was one *Pooly*, who having been well acquainted with the Affairs of Queen *Mary*, had the more Credit among them: But he being a Dependant on Secretary *Walſingham*, deſignedly inſinuated himſelf with greater Proteſtations of Fidelity and Secreſy than any of the reſt; and, as they knew his Intereſt to be conſiderable with *Walſingham* and other Courtiers, they judg'd him a neceſſary Member of their Aſſociation; and as *Babington* had not yet any Aſſurance of foreign Forces to aſſiſt their Plot, he concluded to ſend over *Ballard* privately to *France*, and to go over himſelf ſoon after; and being ready, he employ'd *Pooly* to procure him a Paſſport from Secretary *Walſingham* to go over to *France*, pretending to do the Government what Service he could, in diſcovering the Deſigns of ſuch as were Agents abroad for the Queen of *Scots*. But by this time *Pooly* had diſcover'd all their Deſigns, with all the Circumſtances of their Plot, to *Walſingham*; and, to keep himſelf from being ſuſpected by them, he contriv'd it ſo, that *Babington* and *Ballard* employ'd a young Gentleman, nam'd *Giffard*, to receive and keep all their Writings and Letters concerning the Plot; whereof *Pooly* inform'd *Walſingham*, who caus'd apprehend *Giffard* privately; and upon delivering up the Papers, and promiſing to communicate whatever came afterwards to his Knowledge, to the Secretary, he had Aſſurance of his Life, Pardon, and Protection. So that, when *Babington* thought their Deſigns were ſtill kept Secret, and he might obtain Leave to go over to *France*, *Walſingham* knew their whole Plot, yet ſo far diſſemb'd his Knowledge of it, that when *Babington* deſir'd the Paſſport upon the before-mention'd Promiſes, he not only promis'd the Paſſport, but likewiſe commended his Deſigns of going over, and aſſur'd him of great Rewards, if he could make any Diſcoveries for the Advantage of the Government; yet put him off from time to time, in giving the Paſs, 'till having brought the whole Matter to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Knowledge, Orders were given to apprehend *Ballard*, (who was taken in *Babington*'s Houſe) without giving the reſt of the Conſpirators any Cauſe of ſuſpecting their Plot to be diſcover'd; ſo that upon his being apprehended, *Babington* went to *Walſingham* again, deſiring the Paſs, and at the ſame time entreated him to releaſe *Ballard*, as he would be a fit Perſon to be employ'd in the Diſcoveries he intended to make in his Travels. *Walſingham* ſeem'd to grant his Requeſt, blaming one *Young* as the Perſon who had caus'd *Ballard* to be apprehended: But at the ſame time he gave ſecret Orders to one *Scudmore*, to watch *Babington* cloſe, and not to let him out of his Sight, till further Orders from him; which he did, till the ſecond Night after, being at a Tavern, there came a Letter to *Scudmore*, deſiring he ſhould take Care that *Babington* ſhould not make his Eſcape: Which Letter gave *Babington* ſome Suſpicion, ſo that he immediately (without any ſeeming Concern) roſe and went to the Door, without his Sword and Cloak, which were in the Room; and being once out, made all poſſible Speed to *Weſtminſter*, where he met with ſome of his Aſſociates, with one of whom he chang'd Cloaths, and went ſtraight to St. *John*'s Wood, near the City, where he appointed the reſt to meet him; and accordingly they met, and there lurk'd for ſeveral Days; in which time they ſent to ſeveral Perſons for Money and Horſes; but the great Danger which they appear'd to be in, made every one deſert and deny them: So that *Babington*, after cutting his Hair, and diſguiſing himſelf in mean Apparel, he, with ſeven more were taken at *Harrow on the Hill*, where they had been hid in Barns for ſeveral Days. Others fled to *Wales* and *Cheſhire*, but were ſoon after taken, and brought to *London*, where they were examin'd for ſeveral Days: *Giffard* having been ſent over to *France*, he left all the Papers with the Secretary, which were made Uſe of on their Trial, by which they were found guilty, and ſentenced to ſuffer as Traitors; and accordingly *Babington*, *Ballard*, with twelve more, were executed in St. *Giles*'s Fields, upon the 13th and 20th Days of *September*.

A. D. 1585.

Babington's Plot diſcover'd to Secretary *Walſingham*.

Ballard apprehended.

Babington flies to St. *John*'s Wood.

He is taken,

And executed, as alſo *Ballard* and 13 more.

Upon the firſt Information of their Plot, Queen *Mary* was carried from *Chartly*, in *Staffordſhire*, to *Fotheringby* Caſtle, in *Northamptonſhire*, where ſhe

Queen *Mary* remov'd from *Chartly*, to *Fotheringby* Caſtle.

A. D. 1585. She was so strictly guarded, that she knew nothing of those Persons being taken or executed, till she found her Secretaries taken into Custody, and all her Writings seiz'd by Sir *Amias Pawlet*, who likewise seiz'd all her Money, which he told her Majesty he had Orders to do, lest she should corrupt People by Bribes; but gave his Promise to be accountable to return it again when she could demand it.

Her Sreretaries taken into Custody, and her Money seiz'd by Sir *Amias Pawlet*.

The Secretaries, *Nan* and *Curles*, being in Custody, were examin'd, and confessed, that they had receiv'd a Letter from *Babington*, and sent him an Answer by the Queen their Mistress's Order: tho' it is said they were brib'd to make that Confession. Among all the Papers, which were seiz'd in the Queen's own Possession, nothing could be found to be made use of against her, as being concern'd in the Conspiracy.

The different Opinions of the *English* Council concerning Q. *Mary*.

Mean time the Council of *England* met, and it was debated what Method was most proper to be taken with Queen *Mary*. Some were of the Opinion, That as by the Accusation she appeared only as a Confederate, and not the Author of the Plot; she could not be liable to any other Punishment than close Confinement: Others alledg'd, That as the Conspiiracy against Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life, was founded on the Hopes they had of Queen *Mary*'s Succession, their Queen could not be safe whilst the *Scots* Queen was alive; but they could not agree in the Manner of putting her to Death. Whereupon ('tis said) that the Earl of *Leicester*, advis'd to dispatch her by Poison, and sent a Court Divine to Secretary *Walsingham*, to persuade him to consent: But *Walsingham* oppos'd him, urging how dangerous and dishonourable the Action would be to Queen *Elizabeth*; therefore desir'd they might proceed against her by Form of Law; whereupon they concluded to condemn her by a Statute made in the 25th Year of *Edward* III. wherein it is mention'd, *that whosoever shall compass or imagine the Destruction of the King or Queen, raise War in his or her Kingdom, or adhere to his or her Enemies, is guilty of Treason.* Or by a late Act of the 27th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, confirming the * Association; which Act being made upon that Occasion, therefore they determin'd to proceed against her by it. And accordingly several Noblemen and other Privy-Councellors, were, by a Patent made Commissioners for her Trial, who came to *Fotheringby* Castle, upon the 11th of *October*; and the next Day they sent Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and one *Barker* a publick Notary to Queen *Mary*, who deliver'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s Letters into her Hands. She read them with a compos'd Countenance, and after said to them, "I am griev'd the "Queen my Sister should be misinform'd of me; and that after so many "Years Confinement and Infirmity of Body, I should be so neglected by "her, notwithstanding the many reasonable Conditions I have offer'd for my "Liberty: and although I have given her Notice of several Dangers which "threaten'd her, yet found no Credit with her; but have been always "slighted and despis'd by her, tho' her neareſt Relation. When the Asso"ciation was enter'd into, and the confirming Act of Parliament made upon "it, I forsaw that whatever Dangers should arise either from foreign Prin"ces, or ill-dispos'd People at Home, or about Religion; the whole Blame "would be laid on me, who have so many Enemies at the Court. And "what can be more unjust in your Queen, than having made a late League "with my Son, without my Knowledge or Consent; but to pass by these "Matters, and come to the Letter in my Hand: It seems strange to me, "that the Queen of *England* should command me as a Subject, to submit to "a Trial. I am an absolute Queen, and will do nothing which may be pre"judicial either to Royal Majesty, or to other Princes of my Rank and Qua"lity, or to my Son. My Mind is not yet so much dejected, nor will I "sink under my present Calamity.

Leicester's Advice oppos'd by *Walsingham*.

*The Association subscrib'd by all the Peers and Commoners of *England* to prosecute Q. *Elizabeth*'s Enemies.

Commissioners appointed to try the Queen.

Their Message to her.

Her Answer.

"I refer my self to what I have formerly protested before the Chan"cellor *Bromly*, and the Lord *Delaware*. The Laws and Statutes of *England* "are unknown to me; I am void of Council, and cannot tell who shall be "my Peers. My Notes and Papers are taken from me, and no one dares "appear to be my Advocate. I have committed nothing against the Queen "or

" of *England*, I have ſtir'd up no Man againſt her, and am not to be charg'd " but from mine own Words or Writings, whereof I am ſure nothing can be " produc'd againſt me. As to what I have done in recommending my ſelf, " and miſerable Condition to the Conſideration of forreign Princes, I never " will deny it: But as for the Letters here mention'd, I take GOD, who " knows the Secrets of all Hearts, to Witneſs, I know nothing of it, nor the " Perſon nam'd in it. *A. D.* 1585.

With this Anſwer *Mildmay*, *Pawlet*, and *Barker* return'd to the reſt of the Commiſſioners, who having conſulted about it, ſent them to her the next Day, to tell that her Anſwer was put in Writing, and deſir'd to know whether ſhe would ſtill own and inſiſt upon it. The Commiſſioners ſecond Meſſage.

When ſhe heard it read, ſhe acknowledg'd that her Sentiments were truly expreſs'd in it, and were ſuch as ſhe would ſtill maintaine: " But this " (ſaid ſhe) I had quite forgot, and would have now added. The Queen " ſays, I am ſubject to the Laws of *England*, and to be tried and judg'd by " them; becauſe I have liv'd under the Protection of them: But to this I " anſwer, that I came into *England* to demand her Aid, of which I had " her repeated Promiſes of Succour and Safety in caſe I ſhould at any " time have Need of it, or be in Danger; inſtead of which I was im- " mediately made a Priſoner, and have ever ſince been cloſe confin'd; " ſo that I neither had the Protection of the Laws of *England*, nor ever " knew what manner of Laws they were. The Queen's Anſwer.

They leaving her then, the Commiſſioners, that ſame Afternoon, ſent others to perſuade her to comply; threatning, if ſhe refus'd to anſwer, to what ſhould be objected, to proceed againſt her by Authority of Law, altho' ſhe were abſent; that neither her Impriſonment nor Prerogative could excuſe her from Subjection to the Laws of that Kingdom. Yet ſhe renew'd her former Declaration, and told them, " As ſhe was no " Subject, ſhe would rather die a thouſand Times, than diſhonour the " Dignity of Royal Majeſty by ſuch an Acknowledgement. However " ſhe was willing to anſwer any thing they could charge her with in a " free Parliament; but as for their Meeting, ſhe had Reaſon to believe " that they intended her Deſtruction, and having before hand condemn'd " her, came then to give ſome Shadow of Legality to their Proceed- " ings; therefore entreated they would conſult their Conſciencies, and " conſider that the Theatre of the World was wider than that of *Eng-* " *land.*" And concluded with grievous Complaints of the Inhumanity of Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſuch as had her in keeping during her Impriſonment: But ſhe was interrupted by the Lord Treaſurer, who took upon him to ſum up the many Favours ſhe had receiv'd from Queen *Elizabeth*, whereof he could give no other Inſtances- than that her Life had been preſerv'd from the Fury of her Subjects in *Scotland*. But to what End let the World judge. Another Meſſage to the Queen. Her Anſwer.

After leaving the Queen for a few Hours, they ſent her the Contents of their Commiſſion, with the Perſons Names mention'd in it, as follows, The Names of the Commiſſioners.

John, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Sir *Thomas Bromley*, Chancellor of *Enngland*, *William Cicil* Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treaſurer, *William* Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*, *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, *William* Earl of *Worceſter*, *Ambroſe* Earl of *Warwick*, *Henry* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Henry* Earl of *Lincoln*, *Anthony* Viſcount *Montague*, *Charles* Lord *Howard*, *Henry* Lord *Hunſdon*, *Henry* Lord *Abergaveny*, *Henry* Lord *Zouch*, *Edward* Lord *Morley*, *Wlliam* Lord *Cobham*, *Edward* Lord *Stafford*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* of *Welton*, *John* Lord *Lumley*, *John* Lord *Stourton*, *William* Lord *Sands*, *Henry* Lord *Wentworth*, *Lewis* Lord *Mordaunt*, *John* Lord *St. John* of *Bletſho*, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurſt*, *Henry* Lord *Compton*, *Henry* Lord *Cheyney*, Sir *Francis Knolls*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walſingham* Secretary, *William Daviſon* another Secretary, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Amias Pawlet*, *John Wooly*, Eſq; Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, Sir *Edmund Anderſon*, Sir *Roger Manwood*, Sir

A. D. 1585. *Thomas Gawdy*, and *William Periam*: And desir'd *Pawlet* and the Sollicitor to acquaint her, that they design'd to proceed according to Equity and Justice. She made no Objection against the Commissioners, but objected against the late Act, whereon there Commission was founded, as being unjust, unprecedented; and purposly contriv'd to destroy her. Mean time she desir'd to have her former Protestation admitted and allow'd; but that Request was refus'd, as prejudicial to the Crown of *England*.

The Queen complains of the Queen and Court of *England*.

The Queen continu'd to complain of the many Indignities and Injuries heap'd upon her by the Queen and Court of *England*, and the Illegality of their proposing to bring her to a Trial; but was interrupted by the Treasurer, who desir'd her to tell plainly, Whether or not she would answer before the Commissioners. She reply'd, "That their Commission being found, on a "Law which was made to insnare her, she had Reason to suspect the Queen "of *England*'s Designs; and that tho' her Body was weak, yet her Heart "was whole, and would not derogate from the Honour of her Ancestors, "the Kings of *Scotland*, by owning herself subject to the Crown of *Eng-* "*land*. Yet would not refuse to answer in her own Vindication, in a full "and free Parliament: But would rather suffer any Death, than appear as a "Criminal before any inferior Court."

Vice-Chancellor *Hatton*'s Answer.

To this the Vice-Chancellor *Hatton* reply'd, "You are accus'd, but not "condemn'd, to have conspir'd the Death of our Soveraign Lady the Queen: "You say you are a Queen, be it so; but in such a Cate as this, the Royal "Dignity it self is not exempted from being tried by either the Civil or Ca- "non Law, or Laws of Nature or Nations. For if such Crimes might pass "unpunish'd, all Justice must fall to the Ground. If you are innocent, you "wrong your own Reputation in avoiding a Trial. You may say you are "innocent, but Queen *Elizabeth* fears you otherwise, to her great Grief. She "has appointed you honourable Commissioners, who are Men of Prudence "and Integrity, to examine your Innocence, and are ready to hear you with "Equity and Favour; and will rejoice to find you clear from the Crimes "you are charg'd with. Belive me, the Queen will rejoice; for she told me, "when I left her, that nothing griev'd her so much, as that you should be "charg'd with such Misdemeanours. Wherefore lay aside the Pretention of "your Royal Character, which now can be of no Use to you. Appear in "Judgment, and shew that you are innocent: Lest by avoiding Trial, you "draw upon your self a Suspicion, and cast an eternal Blot upou your Re- "putation."

The Queen still insisted upon answering before the Parliament, but would not submit to the Judgment of her Enemies, with whom her Innocence would not be justify'd, tho' ever so clear.

The Lord Chancellor ask'd her, if she would Answer, if her Protestation were admitted. To which she answer'd, She would never submit to the late made Act, mention'd in their Commission. "We will then proceed in the "Cause to Morrow, tho' you be absent and Contumacious." *Examine your Consciences* (said the Queen) *and have some Regard to your Honour, and may GOD reward you and Yours according to your Judgment upon me.*

The Queen is perswaded to appear before the Commissioners.

The next Day the Queen sent for some of the Commissioners, and desir'd her Protestation might be admitted. Whereupon the Treasurer ask'd her, If she would appear at her Trial, if the Protestation was enter'd in Record, without being admitted. To this she at last consented, with great Difficulty, as being willing to purge herself from the Crimes aledg'd against her.

The same Day the Commissioners met in the Presence Chamber, where they had plac'd a Chair of State, under a Cannopy, for Queen *Elizabeth*, and near it, a Crimson Velvet Chair for Queen *Mary*. The Commissioners having their Places on each Side of the Chamber. When the Queen enter'd and had taken her Place, the Lord Chancellor *Bromly* repeated the Heads of the Commission, and told her, That the Queen, his Mistress, had sent them as Commissioners, to hear the Matters objected against her, and what she could

could offer in her Defence: Afterwards the Commiſſion was read, and declar'd to be founded on an Act of Parliament paſt the preceding Year: Whereupon the Queen repeated her former Proteſtation againſt their Authority, but more eſpecially againſt that Act: But ſhe was told by the Treaſurer, That, that Act was of equal Validity with the more ancient Laws of the Nation; and that whatever Appeals or Proteſtations ſhe would make, the Commiſſioners were reſolv'd to proceed againſt her, by that Law. At laſt ſhe ſaid, She was ready to hear what they had to accuſe her of, with relation to any Fact againſt Queen *Elizabeth*. Upon which *Gawdy*, the Solliciter, read the Charge, containing the Caſe of *Babington* and *Ballard*; whereby ſhe was accus'd of having correſponded with them by Letters, wherein they had conſpir'd the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Subverſion of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Government of *England*. As alſo, That ſhe had written Letters to *Bernerdine de Mendoza*, deſiring foreign Aſſiſtance to ſet her at Liberty; with ſeveral other Reports of Plots and Invaſions, upon which he made a long Speech, ſumming up the Heinouſneſs of theſe Crimes, and the great Danger the Queen, Religion and Liberty of *England* was in from her Deſigns. *A. D.* 1585. The Solliciter reads the Accuſation.

The Queen having with great Attention and Patience heard the Accuſation, deſir'd Leave to ſpeak, which being granted, ſhe ſaid, "I came into this Na- The Queen's Defence.
"tion to implore Succour againſt my rebellious Subjects, which I expected
"by the many Promiſes made me, beſides my Blood Alliance, Sex, Neigh-
"bourhood, and the Title of Queen, might aſſure me Satisfaction. But,
"inſtead of Succour or a hoſpitable Reception, I have met with my greateſt
"Affliction. This is the 18th Year, ſince I have been detain'd Priſoner,
"without Cauſe, without Reaſon, (and which is more) without Mercy or
"Chriſtian Compaſſion, or Hope of Relief. I am no Subject of *England*,
"but a free and abſolute Queen, and ought not to make Anſwer but to
"GOD alone, the Soveraign Judge of all my Actions; nor bring any pre-
"judice on the Character of Royal Majeſty, either in my Son the King of
"*Scotland*, or his Succeſſors, or any other Princes of *Europe*. This is the
"Proteſtation I have already made, and now again repeat in your Preſence,
"before I make Anſwers to theſe Crimes forg'd againſt me.

"I am here charg'd with the moſt horrid Crime of having conſpir'd the
"Death of my Couſin, the Queen; yet after all their Circumventions, all
"the Proofs are reduc'd to the Letter of *Babington*, the Depoſitions of my
"Secretaries, and my Sollicitations to foreign Princes to invade *England*
"with Arms. Therefore will anſwer effectually to all theſe Articles, and
"make the Juſtice of my Cauſe appear moſt clear unto all ſuch as will, with-
"out Malice, look upon it. In the firſt Place, I ſwear and proteſt, before
"the living GOD, I never ſaw, nor receiv'd a Letter from this *Babington*,
"who is made the Principal in this Charge; for I have always abhor'd thoſe
"violent and wicked Councils, which tended to the Hurt of Queen *Eliza-*
"*beth*; and am ready to produce Letters from thoſe, who having other
"evil Enterpriſes, have excus'd themſelves for not diſcovering any thing to
"me, becauſe they knew I hated all ſuch foul Deſigns. I could know no-
"thing of *Babington* and his Confederates, being then a cloſs Priſoner; he
"might write what he thought proper, but I never ſaw, nor heard of any
"Letter from ſuch a Perſon to me: If there be any Anſwer found or alledg'd
"to be from me to thoſe Things, which I never knew, nor ſo much as en-
"ter'd into my Imagination, it muſt be an abominable Forgery, a Practice,
"which is not uncommon in this Age, or the Realm we live in.

"I am told, that one among you, whoſe Name is *Walſingham*, who has
"conſpir'd not only my Death, but the Death of my Son alſo, and hath em-
"ploy'd Perſons to counterfeit Letters to make me guilty of ſuch Crimes, as
"may be a Pretence to accompliſh my Deſtruction; eſpecially thoſe preten-
"ded Anſwers to *Babington*, which Letters being artificially convoy'd to
"him, ſo that he made Oath they came from me: And behold, all this is
"but the Belief of a Man, who would ſay any thing to deliver himſelf from

A. D. 1585. " the Torments and Cruelty of his Enemies; yet this muſt be believ'd a-
" gainſt me. Let them produce but one Letter of my Hand, or one Sha-
" dow of the Crime, and I will ſubmit my ſelf gullty. I ſpeak in the Sin-
" cerity of my Heart, I would not conquer a Kingdom with the Blood of
" the vileſt Perſon, much leſs with the Blood of a Queen. I will never make
" a Shipwreck of my own Soul, by conſpiring the Ruin of one, to whom I
" have promis'd ſo much Reſpect and Honour."

The Solliciter produceth the Letters.

Here the Queen was interrupted by *Gawdy* the Solliciter, who produc'd the Letters of *Babington*, and the Anſwers, written by the Secretaries *Nau* and *Curll*, which, they had made Oath to *Walſingham*, were dictated by the the Queen; as alſo other Letters which were ſeiz'd: And repeated the Teſtimonies and Confeſſions of *Babington*, *Ballard*, and *Savage*. Whereupon the Queen made Anſwer:

The Queen's Reply.

" As for my Secretaries, I always look'd upon them to be honeſt Men. If
" they do charge me in their Depoſitions to have dictated theſe Anſwers to
" *Babington*'s Letters, they have committed two great Faults: The *firſt*, in
" violating the Oath which they gave to be ſecret and faithful to me, their
" Miſtreſs. The *Second*, by inventing ſo deteſtable a Calumny againſt me,
" to whom they ow'd all Reverence and Fidelity. In ſhort, all the Belief
" that you can draw from them, is no more than the Deceit of perfidious
" Men. O! Good GOD! in what a deſperate Condition is the Majeſty
" of Princes, if they depend upon the Witneſſes of their Servants, in Affairs
" of ſo great Conſequence: How many of them proſtitute themſelves, for
" the Greed of uncertain Riches? How many of them, for Fear only, do com-
" ply with the Threatning of powerful ones? If thoſe poor Men have ta-
" ken their Oaths, as you ſay, it was only to deliver themſelves from the
" Horrour of your Torments, and put all upon me, whom, they thought,
" was not ſubject to your Puniſhment.

" But what Lawyers are you, to put *Babington* to Death, without bring-
" ing him before me, Face to Face? You open'd his Mouth by Torments to
" tell a Lie, and immediately ſhut it up for ever againſt the Truth. If my
" Secretaries are alive, bring them before me with thoſe Letters you pro-
" duce, and, I am ſure, they will not perſiſt in ſo falſe a Depoſition.

The Queen deſires to ſee her Commiſſioners, but is deny'd.

'Tis ſaid, that the Quren earneſtly deſir'd to know if her Secretaries were alive: To which it was anſwer'd, That they were. And that ſhe earneſtly requeſted to bring them before the Court; but had no Anſwer return'd to that Requeſt: Whereupon ſhe ſaid, " Doth it not eaſily appear, that you
" proceed upon bad Proof, and that you make uſe of thoſe poor Formalities,
" to give ſome Shadow of Legality to your premeditated Deſigns to deſtroy
" me.

She continues her Defence.

" I never dictated any thing to my Servants, but what Nature did ſug-
" geſt to me for the Recovery of my own Liberty; which is the third
" Objection in your Proceſs againſt me: In Anſwer to which Charge, I de-
" mand of you, If I have committed a Crime, in deſiring that which every
" living Creature doth naturally ſeek? Which Law doth approve, which all
" Mankind do practiſe, which Nature doth prompt to every living thing.
" Do not every little Bird which are impriſon'd in a Cage, deſire Liberty?
" And what can they do leſs who find themſelves ſo long confin'd unjuſtly,
" unlawfully, and unmercifully in a Priſon, with moſt baſe and barbarous
" Uſage; but implore the Aſſiſtance of Friends, and to deſire, that ſome
" ſtrong Hand of Providence might liberate them? I confeſs I have often
" deſir'd Liberty; but deny that ever I ſought it by the Means you alledge.
" So many Years are paſt ſince I have been in miſerable Captivity: Yet nei-
" ther the Offers I have made, nor the Aſſurances I have given, nor the En-
" creaſe of my Sickneſs, nor the declining of my Years, could prevail with
" my Siſter the Queen of *England* to releaſe me.

" Have not I offer'd to contract a ſtrict Friendſhip with her, to reſpect her
" above all Princes in *Chriſtendom*, to forget all paſt Offences, to acknow-
" ledge her the true and legitimate Queen of *England*, ſubmiting all my

" Right

" Right to the Benefit of her Peace. I long ago gave over all Pretentions " I had to the Crown of *England*, and remov'd the Title and Arms of *Eng-* " *land*, which I was compell'd to attribute to my ſelf, by *Henry* II. King of " *France*. And yet all theſe Submiſſions have avail'd nothing to obtain my " Liberty. Am I ſo much to be blam'd if I deſir'd my Allies to draw me " out of the Depth of theſe Miſeries? Yet, notwithſtanding all the Offers " and Importunities of the King of *Spain*, I neither have, nor would never " conſent to confirm into his Hands that Right which he pretends to the " Crown of *England*: But have reſpected Queen *Elizabeth* ſo much, that I " neglected both my Life and Liberty, to ſatisfy her Intereſt. I have con- " tented my ſelf with the Prayers of *Eſther*, without the Sword of *Judith*. " But I now declare, that ſince *England* is ſo unequitable and unkind to me, " that as I ought not, I will not miſprize the Aſſiſtance of other Kings. *A. D.* 1585.

" I have here declar'd my Sentiments to you, in Defence of theſe falſe " Accuſations; and if Right and Equity muſt give Way to Power, and Force " muſt oppreſs Truth among Men, I do appeal to the Living GOD, who " hath an abſolute Power over *Elizabeth* and Me. And I do ſolemnly ſwear " to you, before the ſame Living GOD, and proteſt upon my Honour, " that for this long Time I have had my Thoughts on no Kingdom, but that " of Heaven; which I look on as a Place of Reſt after all my Sufferings.

" I believe I have ſatisfy'd all your Objections, and you know in your Con- " ſciences, that nothing doth charge me but my Birth; nor does any thing " render me guilty but my Religion, about which I never made any Noiſe " or Trouble, further than deſiring Liberty of Conſcience; which Freedom " I always granted to any in my Power. In this I deſire no Advocate to " defend me, I deſire all the World to witneſs; I fear not the ſevereſt " Judge.

Tho' the Commiſſioners heard her all this while, yet had little Regard to any thing ſhe had ſaid, but that of her ſaying, *Since* England *had been ſo unjuſt, ſhe was reſolv'd to accept of the Help of foreign Kings:* Wherefore the Lord *Burleigh* reminded her, and told her, That the Kingdom of *England* was not transferable by any preſumptive Heir; but was to deſcend by Right of Succeſſion; and demanded of her, if ſhe had any thing further to urge. She anſwer'd. That ſhe had ſaid enough at that time to vindicate herſelf from thoſe falſe Accuſations: But deſir'd to be heard in a full Parliament, where ſhe might juſtify herſelf before the Queen and People of *England*: And riſing up with great Majeſty, ſhe continu'd for ſome time in a private Conference with the Lord *Burleigh*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and ſome other Lords, who ſeem'd very courteous to her: And after ſhe withdrew, they adjourn'd the Court to the Star-Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, on the 25th of *October*. And accordingly on that Day they met, and making *Nau* and *Curll* confirm their former Depoſition of the Letters, the Commiſſioners, by unanimous Conſent, pronounc'd Queen *Mary* Guilty of having conſpir'd the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, contrary to a Statute made in the 27th Year of that Reign. And the ſame Day a Declarion was publiſh'd by the Commiſſioners and Judges, ſpecifying, " That the ſaid Sentence did not derogate " from the Title or Honour of *James* King of *Scotland*; but that he ſtood in " the ſame Place, Degree and Right, as tho' the ſaid Sentence had never been " pronounc'd.

The Court adjourn'd to *Weſtminſter*.

They pronounce Sentence againſt the Queen.

Some few Days after the Parliament of *England* met at *Weſtminſter*, and the Sentence againſt Queen *Mary* was confirmed, by the Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, and at the ſame Time the Chancellor preſented a Petition in the Name of the Parliament, wherein they requeſt their Queen for the Safety of her Perſon and Religion, to give ſpeedy Orders to proclaim the Sentence; and give Direction to proceed againſt Queen *Mary* according to the Meaning of the Act contained in her Commiſſion. Mean Time Serjeant *Puckering*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, repreſented the Sentiments of that Houſe, which was to the ſame Effect. Queen *Elizabeth* receiv'd and heard them with great Favour, and expreſs'd her

The Sentence confirm'd in Parliament.

Both Houſes requeſt the ſpeedy Execution of the Sentence.

A. D. 1585. Thankfulneſs for their Reſpect and Affection towards her, but deſir'd they would not expect a ſudden Anſwer, for ſhe would take a Matter of ſuch great Weight to Conſideration for ſome Time: And in Twelve Days after ſhe ſent the Lord Chancellor and Serjeant *Puckering*, to the Houſes of Parliament, deſiring that they would weigh the Matter, and find out ſome better Expedient, whereby the Life of the *Scots* Queen might be ſaved, and her own Safety provided for. After long Debate the Chancellor and Speaker returned from both Houſes, with ſeveral Reaſons confirming their former Reſolution. Hereupon Queen *Elizabeth* acknowledg'd, "That "their Councils and Conſultations were ſo careful and profitable for the "Preſervation of her Life, that ſhe would ſtrive by her Deportment to con- "vince them that their Labour was not loſt." And as to their Petition, (ſhe ſaid) *Pray at preſent content your ſelves without an Anſwer. Your Judgment I condemn not, nor do I miſtake your Reaſons. Excuſe my Doubts, accept of my Thanks, and accept of my Anſwer anſwerleſs. If I ſhould ſay I would not do what you requeſt, I might ſay perhaps more than I think, and if I ſhould conſent, I might plunge my ſelf into Peril.* Upon this the Parliament was prorogu'd, and the Lord *Buckhurſt* and *Beal* were ſent to Queen *Mary* to acquaint her, that the Sentence was pronounced againſt her, and that the Parliament required the Execution of it, for the Security and Safety of the Queen's Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion. The Queen received their Meſſage without any Concern or Trouble of Mind; and ſaid, *She received the Meſſage with great Joy, and gave GOD Thanks for giving her Hopes of being freed from the Miſeries ſhe had endured ſo long on Earth*: And told the Meſſengers who brought her the News, *That ſhe thanked the Parliament for thinking her an Inſtrument fit for reſtoring Religion in the Iſle.*

Queen *Elizabeth*'s Anſwer.

The Houſes ſend their Reaſons confirming their former Reſolution.

To which ſhe gives a miſtical Anſwer.

The Lord *Buckhurſt* and *Beal* ſent to acquaint Q. *Mary* of the Sentence, and the Parliament's Requeſt to execute it.

There came alſo the Biſhop and Dean of *Peterborough* with the beforementioned Perſons, to expoſtulate with Queen *Mary* about Religion, and admoniſhed her to forſake the Errors in which ſhe had ſo long continued, and that they were ready to aſſiſt her upon that Occaſion: But ſhe told them to forbear giving themſelves Trouble about her Religion, in which ſhe found none of thoſe Errors, which either the Prejudice of Education, or immediate Intereſt might induce them to believe. Therefore deſired that the Queen of *England*, might allow her a Clergyman of her own Faith to aſſiſt her in the ſhort Time ſhe might expect to live. The Biſhop ſeem'd much offended, and told her, *That do what ſhe could, ſhe could neither die a Saint nor a Martyr, ſince ſhe was condemned for an Attempt to murder Queen* Elizabeth, *and diſpoſſeſs her of her Throne.* The Queen anſwered, *I preſume not to aſpire either to the Dignity of Sanctity or Martyrdom; but by GOD's Permiſſion ſhall ſuffer cheerfully, in Hopes of a bleſſed Reward hereafter. Altho' you have here Power to kill my Body, yet have no Power over my Soul: Nor can your Perſwaſions make me doubt, or alter the Confidence I have in my Saviour, who died for me; ſince I lay down my Life for profeſſing and maintaining the Faith of his Church, and preferring my Part of the Kingdom of Heaven to an Earthly Crown. I hope in the Merits of my Saviour, that the Perſecutions I have ſuffered on Earth, will in ſome Reſpect plead Pardon for the Offences of my Life. Your Charge of the Crime of attempting to murder the Queen of* England, *is no more than the Contrivance of my Enemies, to give ſome Form of Law to their committing that Crime on me. I pray GOD forgive thoſe who thirſt for innocent Blood.*

She receives their Meſſage cheerfully.

The Biſhop and Dean of *Peterborough* expoſtulates with her about Religion.

Her Anſwer.

Some Days after, Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, came to the Queen and told her, that ſince ſhe had refuſed to make Submiſſion, and acknowledge her Fault againſt Queen *Elizabeth*; they had Orders from her Majeſty to take down her Canopy, and take away the Royal Ornaments. To which ſhe anſwered, *That as GOD of his Grace had called her to the Dignity to be anointed Queen; ſhe only held that Honour of him, and no Earthly Power; therefore would only to GOD with her Soul reſign it. As the Queen of* England *was not her Superior, ſhe could not diveſt her of her*

The Queen's Keeper offer to take away the Royal Ornaments.

Her Anſwer.

Birth-

Birth-Right, tho' ſhe and her Council could, againſt the Laws of GOD, Nations and Nature, take away her Life, yet ſhe would, in Spite of them all, die a Queen. That ſince the Kings of England, *had been ſo often impriſon'd and murder'd by their Subjects, 'twas no Wonder, that ſhe who was deſcended from them, ſhould feel the Effects of their accuſtom'd Cruelty.* A. D. 1586.

All theſe Matters being manag'd ſo very ſuddenly in *England*, the King of *Scotland* had no Notice of their Proceedings, till he had Account of the Trial and Sentence paſt againſt the Queen his Mother; whereupon he immediately diſpatch'd Sir *William Keith*, a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, with a Letter to the Queen of *England*, wherein he ſaid, *That it ſeem'd ſtrange to him, the Nobility of* England, *ſhould take upon them to give Sentence againſt a Queen of* Scotland, *and one deſcended from the Royal Blood of* England; *yet he would ſtill think it more ſtrange, if ſhe would ſtain her Hands in the Blood of his Mother, who was of the ſame Royal Condition with her ſelf, and of the ſame Sex, which, as he could not believe would enter into her Heart to do; if ſo it ſhould be, he deſired her to conſider how much it touch'd his Honour, that was both a King and a Son, to ſuffer his Mother, an abſolute Queen; to be put to an infamous Death.*

The King of *Scotland* having Notice of the Sentence paſt againſt the Queen, ſent a Meſſenger to Queen *Elizabeth.*

The King's Letter to Queen *Elizabeth.*

The King having no Anſwer to this Letter; but had Account from Sir *William Keith*, that the Parliament of *England* preſs'd their Queen to execute the Sentence: He wrote to Sir *William* more ſharply to tell Queen *Elizabeth*, "That he look'd upon the Proceedings againſt his Mother the "Queen, to be moſt unjuſt, and that it would neither agree with the Will "of GOD, who forbids to touch his Anointed; nor with the Laws of "Nations, that an abſolute Princeſs ſhould be judg'd and ſentenc'd by "Subjects; and if ſhe ſhould be the firſt to give that pernicious Example, "of profaning her own and other Princes Diadems; to remember her, "that both in Reſpect of Nature and Honour, it concern'd him to be re-"veng'd of ſo great an Indignity; and which, if he ſhould not do, he ſhould "endanger his Credit both at Home and Abroad. Therefore deſired him "to tell the Queen of *England*, that he deſired a Delay, till he ſent an "Ambaſſador with ſuch Overtures as would ſatisfy her."

The King's Writs to Sir *William Keith.*

Upon Receipt of this Letter, Sir *William* repreſented the Contents of it to Queen *Elizabeth*, whereat ſhe flew into a violent Paſſion, and ſaid they were his Enemies that adviſed him to interceed for his Mother; therefore would give him no Anſwer: But the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and ſome others coming in, and having pacified her a little, ſhe told Sir *William*, *That ſhe would do nothing ſuddenly, ſo that if any did come from the King within a few Days, ſhe would delay all Proceedings till then, and be glad to hear ſuch Overtures as might ſave the Queen of* Scotland's *Life, and aſſure her own.*

Sir *William* communicates the Letter to Queen *Elizabeth.*

Her Anſwer.

This Anſwer coming to the King, he ſent another Letter to repreſent to the Queen of *England*, that he did not ſo much blame her as thoſe about her, who preſs'd her to that violent Act; and as he hop'd ſhe would continue her accuſtom'd Friendſhip, he would upon Occaſions be her moſt ſtedfaſt Friend, and would ask no Favour for the Queen his Mother, but what was juſt and reaſonable, mentioning that he had given Orders to the Maſter of *Gray*, to take his Journey the Week after with ſatisfactory Offers. The Contents of this Letter being communicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe ſeem'd more eaſy than before; for by the laſt, ſhe fear'd the Rumours that were ſpread of his breaking the League, and declaring War, which would encourage the *French*, *Spainards*, and other Foreign Potentates, to follow their Example. Mean Time the King having aſſembled the Eſtates of Parliament at *Edinburgh*, acquainted them with the Queen his Mother's Caſe; whereupon they agreed to give him a ready Sum of Money to defray the Charges: And ſome of the Queen's Friends, adviſ'd the King to join Sir *Robert Melvil* in the Commiſſion with the Maſter of *Gray*, as that Sir *Robert* had been always a faithful Servant to the Queen; ſo he was nam'd, and they both ſet out from *Holy-rood-Houſe*, upon the 20th of *December*, and came to *London* the laſt Day of that Month: And upon their Arrival, having met with

The Maſter of *Gray* and Sir *Robert Melvil* ſent Ambaſſadors to *England.*

with the *French* Ambaſſador Monſ. *Bellievre*, who was ſent to *London* upon that
1586. Occaſion by the King of *France*; and they had ſome Conference with him about that Matter; which being made known to the *Engliſh* Queen, ſhe deny'd to give them an Audience, yet ſome Perſons perſwaded her to admit them, and know what Propoſals they had brought. At the Ambaſſadors firſt coming in her Preſence, ſhe, in a great Warmth, deſir'd to know if they had brought ſuch threatning Letters as Sir *William Keith* had deliver'd before. To which the Ambaſſadors anſwer'd, that Letter of his Majeſty's had been interpreted by another from him, which they hop'd had given Satisfaction. She reply'd, *I am unmeaſurably ſory, that there can be no Means found out to ſave the Life of your King's Mother, and aſſure me of my own. I have labour'd to conſerve the Life of us both, but now I ſee it cannot be done.* The Ambaſſadors anſwer'd, they did not ſee any Thing ſo deſperate, but that both their Lives might be ſafe, and free from any Danger; but as they ſaw her then in an ill Humour, they ſaid nothing of their Embaſſy, but delay'd it to their ſecond Audience; which, when they had, Queen *Elizabeth* deſir'd to know what it was that the King had to offer, according to his Promiſe in his laſt Letter. Sir *Robert Melvil* anſwer'd, that they had Propoſals to make to her, provided they were ſure the Perſon treated of in their Embaſſy were ſafe, and alive, for there went many Reports of the Queen's being put to Death ſecretly in the Priſon. To which Queen *Elizabeth* anſwer'd, that ſhe was then alive, but that ſhe could not promiſe upon one Hour. Nay, ſaid the Maſter of *Gray*, *We do not come to ſhift the Time, but to offer from the King our Sovereign all that can reaſonably be demanded of him; which is, that he will engage his Honour and Credit for the Queen his Mother, and will give ſome of the chief of his Nobility as Pledges; that no Plot nor Device ſhall be contrived againſt your Majeſty, with her Conſent or Knowledge; or if that be not ſufficient to ſend her to* Scotland, *and a Courſe ſhall be taken to ſecure your Majeſty from any Attempt by her, or any upon her Account.* Immediately Queen *Elizabeth* called the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with the Lords Admiral and Chamberlain, and repeated to them the Offers of King *James* before mentioned, which ſhe ſeem'd to contemn. Whereupon the Maſter of *Gray* ſaid, *Pray Madam what ſhould induce any Man to attempt ought againſt you for our Queen? Becauſe*, (ſaid ſhe) *they think ſhe ſhall ſucceed me, and that ſhe is a Papiſt. But if theſe Dangers be removed*, (ſaid the Maſter) *the Fears will ceaſe. This* (ſaid ſhe) *I would be glad to underſtand. That may be eaſily done*, (ſaid he) *by making over her Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of* England, *to our Sovereign the King, ſo that Papiſts will have no more Hopes; and this I am ſure the Queen his Mother will conſent to make over, by reſigning her Right: But ſhe hath no Right* (ſaid ſhe) *ſhe being declared incapable to ſucceed. Then if ſhe have no Right*, (ſaid the Maſter) *the Papiſts have no Hopes, nor is it to be fear'd, that they will make any Attempt for her. But* (ſaid ſhe) *the Papiſts do not own our Declaration. Then let it fall*, (ſaid he) *in the King's Perſon, by her Reſignation.* Here the Earl of *Leiceſter* objected, that, as ſhe was a Priſoner, her Reſignation could not be valid: To which the Maſter anſwered, that the Reſignation being made to her Son, with the Advice of all her Friends in *Europe*, they would be all oblig'd for her, that the ſame ſhould be valid and effectual. This the Queen would ſeem not to underſtand, but the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſaid, the Ambaſſador meant, that the King ſhould be in his Mother's Place of the Right of Succeſſion. *Is it ſo*, (ſaid ſhe) *then I put my ſelf in a worſe Caſe than before: But by GOD's Paſſion that were to cut my own Throat; he ſhall never come in that Place, and make a Party againſt me.* To this the Maſter anſwered, the King would have a greater Party, if he ſhould come in his Mother the Queen's Right by her Death. *Well* (ſaid ſhe) *tell your King what I have done for him, to keep the Crown on his Head, ſince he was born; and I have a Mind to keep the League between us, which, if he break, it will be a double Fault.* And with theſe Words ſhe went ſuddenly out of the Room; and being follow'd by Sir

They have Audience of Queen *Elizabeth.*

The Ambaſſadors Propoſitions to the Queen of *England.*

Queen *Elizabeth's* Objections.

Sir *Robert Melvil*, who requeſted her to delay the Execution for ſome Time; ſhe anſwer'd in a Paſſion, *Not one Hour*. *A. D.* 1586.

The King having Notice of what paſt from the Ambaſſadors, he wrote to the Maſter of *Gray* with his own Hand, as follows: *Reſerve your ſelf no longer in your dealing for my Mother, for you have done it too long; and think not that any thing will do good, if her Life be loſt; for then adieu with farther Dealing with that State. Therefore, if you look for the Continuance of my Favour, ſpare no Pains nor Plainneſs in this Caſe; but read my laſt Letter to Sir* William Keith, *and conform your ſelf wholly to the Contents thereof; and in this let me reap the Fruits of your good Credit there, either now or never. Fareweel*

The King's Letter to the Maſter of *Gray*.

But before this Letter came to the Maſter of *Gray*, the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh* and Secretary *Walſingham* had wrought him over ſo far to their Meaſures, that he wrote a Letter to the King, wherein he repreſented, that the Execution was ſo far reſolv'd upon, that it would be needleſs to make any further Interceſſion for a Delay; but adviſ'd his Majeſty to moderate his Grief and Concern, as her Death would be a Means to make his Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, and Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Scotland* more certain and ſafe. And, at the ſame time, the Earl of *Leiceſter* wrote a Letter to the King, wherein he told his Majeſty, *That by meddling ſo much in the Cauſe of the Queen, his Mother (however ſo commendable in him) was the only Way to encourage the Papiſts, and diſoblige all others; eſpecially the Queen and Court of* England; *whoſe Friendſhip he ought to prize above all others in the World. Therefore deſir'd him to conſider his own Intereſt and Advantage in that weighty Matter.*

The Earl of *Leiceſter* writes a Letter to the King.

Secretary *Walſingham* wrote another Letter to the Lord *Thirlſtane*, the King's Secretary, wherein he ſaid, "That it was wonder'd by all wiſe and "religious Men in *England*, that the King ſhould be ſo earneſt in the Cauſe "of his Mother, ſeeing all the Papiſts in *Europe*, that affected the Change "of Religion in both Realms, did build their Hopes altogether upon her; "and had ſhew'd herſelf ſo paſſionate in the Point of Religion, that ſhe had "transfer'd her pretended Right to both the Crowns to the King of *Spain*, "in caſe the King, her Son ſhould perſiſt in his Profeſſion of the Proteſtant "Religion.

Secretary *Walſingham* writes to the Lord *Thirlſtane*.

That the captive Queen had made ſuch a Transferrence, was induſtriouſly reported by her Enemies, and even brought in the Charge againſt her by the Commiſſioners at the Trial; tho' there ſeems no Probability that ever ſhe intended ſuch a Thing; for before the Commiſſioners, and at all other Times, eſpecially at her Death, ſhe ſolemnly declar'd the contrary.

The King finding by theſe Letters, that the Queen his Mother's Death was determin'd, he call'd home his Ambaſſadors, ordering them to declare his Diſpleaſure. And, at home, he gave Orders to the Preachers, to remember her in their publick Prayers, which they deny'd to do, tho' the Form to be mention'd was only theſe Words, *That it might pleaſe GOD to illuminate her with the Light of Truth, and ſave her from the apparent Danger wherein ſhe was caſt.* Of all the Miniſters about *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, none gave Obedience to the King's Command in this Matter, except Mr. *David Lindſay* at South-*Leith*, and his own Chaplains: Whereupon ſtrict Charge was given to all Biſhops, Miniſters, and other Office-bearers in Churches, to pray for the Queen in their publick Prayers; and a Day was appointed by the King, for ſolemn Prayers in all the Churches for the Queen; and the Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s was appointed to preach before the King: But the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* got one *John Cowpar*, a young Man, of their Number, to take the Pulpit in that Church, before the Biſhop came in; and the King coming at the Hour appointed, ſeeing him, ſaid from his Seat, *That Place was not deſtinated for you, but ſince you are there, if you will obey the Charge that is given, and remember my Mother in your Prayers, you ſhall go on.* He reply'd, *That he would do as the Spirit of GOD would direct him.* Whereupon he was commanded to leave the Place, but refuſing, the Captain of the

The King commands the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, to pray for the Queen.

Which they deny.

A. D. 1586. Guards pull'd him down, and thruſt him out of the Church. When he was taken out of the Pulpit, he cry'd out aloud, *This Day ſhall be a Witneſs againſt the King, at the Great Day of the* LORD. Immediately after, the Archbiſhop enter'd the Pulpit, and perform'd the Duty requir'd. In the Afternoon, *Cowpar*, with two more, nam'd *Balcanquel* and *Watſon*, were brought before the Council, and ſent Priſoners to *Blackneſs* Caſtle, for the late Intruſion, and other irreverent Words ſpoken of the King and the Queen his Mother.

The King of *France* again ſent an Ambaſſador to interceed for the Queen's Releaſe, yet had no Succeſs, tho' he had propos'd to be bound for Queen *Mary*, that ſhe ſhould never attempt any thing againſt the Queen or Government of *England*. Notwithſtanding of all the Arguments that could be us'd by any who could appear for her, the Queen and Council of *England* reſolv'd upon the Execution, and caus'd the Sentence to be proclaim'd through the City of *London*, and over the Nation. In the Preface of the Proclamation Queen *Elizabeth* did, in a very ſolemn Manner, proteſt, *That this Proclamation was wrung, and extorted from her, not without the greateſt Anxiety of Mind, by great Neceſſity, and the moſt vehement Objections of the Eſtates of the Nation.* Which Excuſe was granted her to ſerve other Ends.

The Sentence againſt Queen *Mary* proclaim'd.

Upon this Proclamation ſeveral Remonſtrances were given unto Queen *Elizabeth* by the foreign Ambaſſadors; and ſeveral of the Nobility of *England* did likewiſe ſend their Opinion to the Queen, ſhewing, *That it was without Example, to commit the Queen of* Scotland, *the only neareſt Kinſwoman ſhe had in the World, to the Hands of a Hangman, ſhe being a Queen, who was not a Priſoner of War, but her Gueſt, whom ſhe had invited into her Kingdom, and ſent all the Aſſurances of her Protection, Friendſhip, and Fidelity.* But all Interceſſion was to no Purpoſe.

The foreign Ambaſſadors and others ſolicit Queen *Elizabeth* for Queen *Mary*'s Life,

But in vain.

When Notice was brought to the Queen that the Sentence was proclaim'd, ſhe was ſo far from being any ways troubl'd or diſorder'd, that ſhe lift up her Hands and Eyes to Heaven with a cheerful compos'd Countenance, and gave Thanks to the Almighty GOD. And having Leave from her Keeper, ſhe wrote the following Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*.

MADAM,

Queen *Mary*'s Letter to Q. *Elizabeth*.

" I give Thanks to GOD, with all my Heart, who, by the Sentence of " Death, hath been pleas'd to put an End to my tedious Impriſonment. I " deſire not that it may be prolong'd; having had too long a Time to try " the Bitterneſs of it. Since I am not to expect any Favour from ſome " zealous Miniſters of State, who hold the firſt Place in your Councils; I " deſire I may receive from your ſelf, and from none other, theſe following " Favours: In the *firſt* Place, Since I am to expect a Burial, I beg I may be " buried according to the Rites of my Religion; and that my Body (when " my Enemies ſhall be ſatiated with my innocent Blood) may be carry'd by " ſome of my Servants, to be laid by the * Body of the Queen, my dear " honour'd Mother; that my poor Body, which found no reſt whilſt join'd " with my Soul, may now find Reſt, being ſeperated from it.

* The late Queen's Body was carry'd, by her own Requeſt, to the Abby of *Rhems* in *Champaigne*, where her Siſter was Lady Abbeſs.

" *Secondly*, I beſeech you (by the Apprehenſions I have of the Cruelty of " thoſe, to whoſe Power you abandon me) That I may not ſuffer in any " private Place; but in the View of my Servants, and other People: And, " *Laſtly*, That ſuch of my Servants as have attended me, with great Fi- " delity, during my long Affliction, may have free Leave to retire to any " Place they pleaſe, and enjoy thoſe ſmall Legacies, which in my Laſt-will, " my Poverty hath bequeath'd to them.

" I conjure you (Madam) by the Blood and Paſſion of JESUS CHRIST, " by the nearneſs of Conſanguinity, by the Memory of *Henry* VII. whoſe " Grand-Children we both are; and by the Title and Name of a Queen, " which I carry to my Grave; not to deny me thoſe reaſonable Demands; " but

" but, by one Word under your own Hand, to appoint me an Aſſurance of " them, and I ſhall Die as I have Liv'd, *A. D.* 1587.

Your Affectionate Siſter,

MARY R.

Whether this Letter came to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hands, or not, is uncertain, for there are no Anſwer found to it.

Upon the firſt Day of *February* the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſent to Secretary *Daviſon*, to attend the Queen with the Warrant for executing Queen *Mary*; and the Secretary coming to the Queen in her Privy-Chamber, ſhe deſir'd to know if the Lord Admiral (meaning the Earl of *Leiceſter)* had not ſent for him to bring the Warrant for the Queen of *Scotland*; which he told he had then, with other Papers to be ſign'd, in his Hand: Upon which ſhe call'd for the Warrant, and after reading of it, call'd for Pen and Ink, ſign'd it, and laying it from her, ask'd *Daviſon* (in a jocular Manner) If he was not very ſorry it was done. He anſwer'd, That he was ſorry a Lady ſo near in Blood to her, ſhould give ſuch Offence, as to oblige her Majeſty to execute the Law againſt her; adding what he thought moſt agreeable to her Humour.

Q. *Elizabeth* ſigns the Warrant for executing Queen *Mary*.

Mean time Queen *Elizabeth* deſir'd him to carry the Warrant to the Lord Chancellor to ſeal it; ordering him to uſe it as ſecretly as might be, and by the Way, deſir'd him to ſhow it to Secretary *Walſingham*, becauſe (ſaid ſhe, ſmiling) the Sight of it will kill him out right. She ſing'd the other Papers, and ſeem'd to be in ſo pleaſant a Humour, that ſhe repeated the ſeveral Reaſons, why ſhe had delay'd the Execution ſo long; concluding, that ſhe never was ſo ill advis'd, as not to ſee and apprehend her own Danger, and the Neceſſity of proceeding in it: But ſaid, ſhe would have it done as ſecretly as it could be, and did not like it ſhould be done in the Court, or Green of the Caſtle, but in the Hall.

Her Conference with Secretary *Daviſon* about Queen *Mary*'s Death.

When *Daviſon* had taken up his Papers, and ready to leave the Room, ſhe began a Complaint againſt Sir *Amias Pawlet* and others, who (ſhe ſaid) might have eas'd her of that Trouble; and earneſtly requeſted *Daviſon* to deal with *Walſingham*, and to write jointly to Sir *Amias* and Sir *Drue Drury*, to ſound their Diſpoſitions, that they might take away Queen *Mary*'s Life, and remove the Blame from herſelf. *Daviſon* promis'd to do as ſhe had deſir'd; and leaving her for that Time, went on his Way to the Chancellor. He call'd on Secretary *Walſingham*, and agreed about a Letter to be ſent to Sir *Amias Pawlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, which was in the following Words.

SIR,

Copy of a Letter from *Walſingham* and *Daviſon*, to Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*

" After our hearty Commendations, we find by Speech lately utter'd by " her Majeſty, that ſhe doth note in you, both a Lack of that Care and " Zeal for her Service, that ſhe looketh for at your Hands, in that you have " not all this time (of your ſelves, without other Provocation) found out " ſome Way to ſhorten * that the Queen, conſidering the great Peril ſhe is " hourly ſubject to, ſo long as the ſaid Queen ſhall live. Wherein, beſides a " kind of lack of Love towards her, ſhe noteth greatly, that you have not " Care of your own particular Safeties, or rather, of the Preſervation of " Religion, and the publick Good of your Country, that Reaſon and Policy commandeth; eſpecially, having ſo good a Warrant and Ground, for " the Satisfaction of your Conſciences towards GOD, and the Diſcharge " of your Reputation towards the World; as the Oath of the Aſſociation " which you have ſo ſolemnly taken and vow'd; eſpecially, the Matter " wherewith ſhe ſtandeth charg'd, being ſo clearly and manifeſtly prov'd

* 'Tis thus in the Manuſcript.

A. D. 1587.

" againſt her. And therefore ſhe taketh it moſt unkindly, that Men, profeſſing that Love towards her that you do, ſhould in a kind of ſort for lack of the Diſcharge of your Duty, caſt the Burthen upon her; knowing, as you do, her Indiſpoſition to ſhed Blood; eſpecially, of one of her own Sex and Quality, and ſo near in Blood, as the ſaid Queen is. Theſe Reſpects, we find, do greatly trouble her Majeſty; who, we aſſure you, hath ſundry times proteſted, that if the Regard of the Danger of her Subjects and faithful Servants, did not move her more than her own Peril, ſhe would never be drawn to aſſent to the ſheding of her Blood. We thought very meet to acquaint you with theſe Speeches, lately paſs'd from her Majeſty, referring the ſame to your good Judgment. And ſo we commit you to the Protection of the Almighty.

London, *Feb.* 9. 1586-7.

Your Moſt Aſſured Friends,

Fra. Walſingham.
William Daviſon.

The Letter was directed, *To the Right Honourable Sir* Amias Pawlet, *Knight, one of her Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.*

The Continuation of *Daviſon*'s Depoſitions of what paſs'd between the Queen and him, after the Letter was ſent to Qneen *Mary*'s Keepers.

Daviſon ſays, that they wrote this Letter to ſatisfy the Queen, tho' they knew that Sir *Amias* would not conſent to make away the Queen of *Scotland* after any private Manner; but after ſhewing it to their Queen, they diſpatch'd it by an Expreſs, that arriv'd at *Fotheringby* about Five in the Afternoon the next Day. And that, early in the Morning the 2d of *February*, he receiv'd a Letter from his Clerk, *Cranmer*, ſignifying Queen *Elizabeth*'s Pleaſure, that he ſhould forbear going to the Lord Chancellor, till he had ſpoken with her; tho', by her Orders the Day before, he had been with the Chancellor at Night, and had the Warrant ſeal'd. And alſo, within an Hour after he receiv'd *Cranmer*'s Letter, *William Killegrew* came to *Daviſon* with the like Meſſage from the Queen; to whom *Daviſon* ſaid, he would be at Court inſtantly, to give an Account of what he had done. When he came to the Queen, ſhe ask'd, whether he had been with the Lord Chancellor: He told her, he had. She ſaid, What need all that Haſte: He anſwer'd, That he had done nothing but what ſhe had before commanded him. But ſhe ſaid, that it might be handled another way, and mention'd the Method (*viz.* Poiſon) which ſhe would like better; and nam'd to him ſome Perſons, who were of that Opinion with her. In two Days after ſhe ſent for *Daviſon* to the Privy-Chamber, and told him in a pleaſant Humour, That ſhe had been troubl'd that Night with him, upon a Dream ſhe had, that the *Scots* Queen was executed; and pretended to be ſo troubled with the News, that if ſhe had had a Sword, ſhe could have run him through. He anſwer'd, That he was glad he was ſo far away, when her Majeſty was in that Humour; but ask'd her, in good Eearneſt, Whether or not ſhe intended to proceed in the Execution? She anſwer'd him, That ſhe would; and confirm'd her Words with a ſolemn Oath, that ſhe would have it done: But ſtill inſiſted that it might be done after another Manner, becauſe publick Execution laid the whole Blame on her: She going then to Dinner, ſent for *Daviſon* in the Afternoon, and ask'd if he had receiv'd any Anſwer from Sir *Amias Pawlet*; but he had not then receiv'd it; whereat ſhe ſeem'd offended. But that Afternoon he receiv'd the following Letter from Sir *Amias Pawlet*.

SIR,

A. D. 1587.

SIR,

" Your Letter of yeſterday coming to my Hands, this Day at Five in the " Evening, I would not fail, according to your Direction, to return my An- " ſwer with all poſſible Speed, which I ſhall deliver unto you, with great " Grief and Bitterneſs of Mind, in that I am ſo unhappy to have lived to " ſee this unhappy Day, in which I am required, by a Direction from my " moſt gracious Sovereign, to do an Act which GOD and the Law forbid- " deth. My Goods, Livings, and Life are at her Majeſty's Diſpoſition; and " I am ready to loſe them all this next Morrow, if it ſhall ſo pleaſe her, " acknowledging that I hold them as of her mere and moſt gracious Favour, " and do not deſire to enjoy them, but with her Majeſty's good liking: But " GOD forbid I ſhould make ſo foul a Shipwreck of my Conſcience, or leave " ſo great a Blot to my poor Poſterity, to ſhed Blood without Law and " Warrant; truſting that her Majeſty of her accuſtom'd Clemency, (and " the rather by your good Mediation) will take this my dutiful Anſwer in " good Part, as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any Chri- " ſtian Subject living in Duty, Honour, Love and Obedience towards his " Sovereign. And thus I commit you to the Mercy of the Almighty."

Sir *Amias Pawlet*'s Anſwer to *Walſingham*, and *Daviſon*'s Letter.

Your moſt aſſured poor Friend,

A. Pawlet.

From *Fotheringbay*, 2*d* of *Feb.* 1586-7.

Poſtſcript.

Your Letters coming in the plural Number, ſeem to be meant as well to Sir *Drue Drury*, as to my ſelf; and yet becauſe he is not nam'd in it, he forbeareth to make any particular Anſwer, but ſubſcribeth in Heart to my Opinion.

Poſtſcript by Sir *D. Drury.*

D. Drury.

The Letter was directed for Secretary *Walſingham*; and when he received it he ſent to *Daviſon*, who carried it to the Queen the next Day in the Morning when ſhe read it, finding his Excuſes, ſhe fell into a Paſſion, and complained of his Dantineſs, (as ſhe term'd it) and charg'd him and others with Perjury, ſince they had, contrary to their Oaths of Aſſociation, caſt all the Burden upon her. She roſe up in a Paſſion, and calling them preciſe Fellows, who in Words would do great Things for her Safety, but in Deed would do nothing, and concluded ſhe would have it done without them; and told *Daviſon* that one *Wingfield*, with ſome others, would undertake what ſhe deſir'd: But *Daviſon* urg'd how diſhonourable ſuch a Courſe would be, and that thereby ſhe would draw theſe Reflections on her ſelf, which ſhe then endeavour'd to ſhun, and excus'd Sir *Amias* and *Drury*, ſo far as to calm her Paſſion for that Time: But two Days after ſhe ſent for *Daviſon*, and begun the Diſcourſe how great Danger ſhe was in, while the *Scots* Queen was alive, and that it was Time it were done, ſwearing an Oath, that it was a Shame for them that it was not already done, therefore deſir'd him to write a Letter to Sir *Amias Pawlet* for the Diſpatch thereof: But as the Lords Treaſurer, Chancellor, Admiral, and other Lords of the Council, the next Day after the Warrant was ſign'd, had it laid before them in the Council by *Daviſon*, they forthwith ſent *Beal* the Clerk of their Council with it, and a Letter directed to the Earls of *Shrewsberry*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and *Pembroke*, commanding them to ſee the Execution done, according to Law, upon the Eight Day of that Month. This Commiſſion being

The Queen's Third Conference with *Daviſon*.

She orders him to write to Sir *Amias* to diſpatch the Execution.

A. D. 1587. known to *Daviſon*, he told the Queen, that the Warrant in it ſelf was ſufficient Authority for the Execution, ſo ſhe left him without ſaying any Thing elſe to him at that Time.

All the above Circumſtances I find to be atteſted by *Daviſon* in his Defence, when he was queſtioned by the Queen for haſtning the Execution, of which Defence there are a Manuſcript Copy in a certain Nobleman's Poſſeſſion, and the Letters to and from *Walſingham* before mentioned; as alſo the Copy of a Letter from *Daviſon* to Sir *Amias Pawlet*, in theſe Words, *I pray let both this and the incloſed be committed to the Fire, which ſhall be done alſo by your Anſwer, after it hath been communicated to her Majeſty for her Satisfaction.* This Letter was dated the 1ſt of *February*, which ſeems to have the before mentioned Letter incloſed in it. Another Letter from *Daviſon* to Sir *James Pawlet*, dated the 3d of *February*, is in theſe Words, *I intreated you in my laſt Letters to burn both the Letters, for the Arguments Sake, which, by your Anſwer to Mr.* Secretary, *ſeemeth not to be done. I pray you make Hereticks of them both, as I mean to uſe yours after her Majeſty hath ſeen it.* In the Poſtſcript of this Letter he ſays, *I pray let me know what you have done with my Letters, becauſe they are not fit to be kept, that I may ſatisfy her Majeſty herein, who otherwiſe might take Offence thereat; and if you treat this in the like Manner, it will not be amiſs.* Upon *Tueſday* the 7th of *February*, the above mentioned Earls came to *Fortheringby* Caſtle, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was then great Marſhal of *England*, ſent in to acquaint the Queen, that he was to wait upon her. She anſwer'd his Meſſage, that ſhe being then indiſpos'd in Bed, could not receive his Viſit; but if he had any Matter of Importance to impart, ſhe would riſe and dreſs with all poſſible Haſte; but the Earl returned Notice, that he muſt ſpeak to her inſtantly, ſhe put on her Morning Gown, and placed her ſelf in a Chair by her Bed; the Earl being admitted, told her Majeſty the Cauſe of their coming, and produc'd the Warrant for her Execution, which *Beal* read before her, and briefly told her to prepare for Death, for ſhe was to die the next Day.

Davidſon's Letter to Sir Amias Pawlet.

The Earls of *Shrewsbury, Kent*, &c. come to *Fortheringby* Caſtle.

Their Meſſage to Q. *Mary*.

They deſire her to prepare for Death the next Day.

The Warrant being read, the Queen with a moſt ſerene Countenance told the Earl, "She did not think that the Queen her Siſter, would have conſented to her Death; but ſince ſhe was ſo reſolved, Death ſhould be to her moſt welcome; nor did ſhe think that Soul was worthy the everlaſting Joys of Heaven, whoſe Body could not endure the Stroke of an Executioner. She then laid her Hand upon the *New Teſtament*, which lay by her on the Table, and made a ſolemn Proteſtation, that ſhe never devis'd, conſented to, or purpos'd the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*." The Earl of *Kent* excepted againſt that Oath, as being made on a Popiſh Book; *and therefore my Lord ſaid the Queen, it is the more to be relied on, as I believe it to be an authentick Tranſlation.* Whereupon the Earl made a long Speech upon the Subject of Religion, adviſing her to lay aſide the ſuperſtitious Follies, and idle Trumperies of Popery, and recommended to her Mr. *Fletcher* Dean of *Peterborrough*, to aſſiſt her, in her laſt Agonies. The Queen told him, "That ſhe was already ſufficiently inſtructed in her Religion, and was reſolv'd to die firm in the Faith ſhe had hitherto profeſs'd; and deſir'd that they would permit her Confeſſor to viſit her, and perform the laſt Offices of the Sacraments of her Church to her; which Requeſt, ſhe ſaid, being granted, ſhou d be the laſt Favour ſhe would ask of them in this World, and beg'd earneſtly that her Requeſt might not be denied. But they refus'd, and told, that what ſhe demanded was ſuch, as in Conſcience they could not comply with: And the Earl of *Kent* falling into a Paſſion, ſaid to the Queen, *Your Life would be the Death of our Religion, but your Death will be the Life of our Religion:* To which ſhe anſwer'd, ſhe hop'd GOD would enable her to lay down her Life for his afflicted Church. Mean Time ſhe enquired for her Secretaries *Nau* and *Curl*; but having no ſatisfactory Anſwer, ſhe ask'd the Second Time, whether *Nau* were alive or not, and being certified that he was, ſhe ſaid, *Well, and ſhall I die, and he be ſav'd?*

Her Anſwer.

The Queen's Requeſt to the Earls.

Which they deny.

ſav'd? I proteſt (with that ſhe laid her Hand on the Teſtament) that Nau *is the Cauſe of my Death, for he hath condemn'd me to ſave himſelf.* And having again deſir'd the Aſſiſtance of her Confeſſor; but being deny'd, ſhe deſir'd the Earl *Mariſhal* to withdraw with the other Lords, till the next Morning, at which Time ſhe would be ready to undergo their Sentence, howſoever unjuſt; and pray'd GOD to forgive thoſe that thirſted for her Blood. *A. D.* 1587.

They being departed, ſhe enter'd her Oratory, where having ſpent a long Time in Prayer, ſhe took a conſecrated Hoſt, which ſhe had allow'd her from the Time that her Chaplains and Confeſſors were deny'd Acceſs to her. Upon her Return to her Chamber, ſhe endeavour'd to comfort her Maids of Honour, and other Attendants, who were all in moſt bitter Cries and Tears, upon the Notice of the Orders given to her Majeſty to prepare for Death: But ſhe intreated them not to grieve, ſince by that Meſſage ſhe had Aſſurance of being freed from all her Miſeries. And having order'd Supper at the uſual Time, and while it was dreſſing, ſhe ſat down and wrote ſeveral Letters, whereof one to the King of *Scotland* her Son, the Second to the King of *France*, a Third to the Duke of *Guiſe* her Uncle, and another to her Confeſſor. And when Supper was ready, ſhe did not propoſe to eat, till adviſed by *Burgoin* her Phyſician, to ſtrengthen her Spirits to undergo the Conflict of that Night and next Day; and complying with his Advice, ſhe ſupp'd ſparingly, according to her Cuſtom. While ſhe was at ſupper, ſhe ſaid to *Burgoin*, and *Melvil* her Steward, who waited at Table, *Ye ſee the Force of Truth is great; for notwithſtanding the pretended Accuſation of my having conſpired their Queen's Death, yet the Earl plainly declar'd I muſt die for the Security of their Religion.*

The Queen begins to prepare for Death.

She writes ſeveral Letters to her Son, and others.

Her Conference with her Phyſician and Steward.

She then took Notice, that the Earl had attempted to convert her, and ſmiling, ſaid, *Indeed he is an unfit Doctor to undertake a Converſion.*

When Supper was over, ſhe ſent for all her Servants, and being come before her, ſhe took a ſmall Glaſs of Wine and Water, and drank to them altogether, who pledg'd her Majeſty upon their Knees, and mixing their Tears with their Wine, begg'd Pardon for any Offences they had at any Time committed againſt her Majeſty; ſhe forgave them with all her Heart, and in Return ask'd Pardon of them. She remember'd them of their Duty to GOD, and exhorted them to continue firm in the Faith of CHRIST, and intreated they would live together in Peace and Charity, conjuring them in the Name of GOD, to lay aſide all Hatred and Malice, and live as Brethren and Siſters, and concluded with deſiring their Prayers for her. She then took her Money and Jewels, and put them into ſmall Parcels, according to the Number of her Servants, and according to the Legacy ſhe bequeath'd each of them, ſhe wrote their Names on theſe Parcels, and in her Will, which ſhe wrote with her own Hand; ſhe left her Wardrop, and all other Things among them, according to their Stations: But ſome choice Jewels ſhe mentioned to be left to the Queen of *France*, and Duke of *Guiſe*, which ſhe deliver'd with her Letters to *Bourgoin*. Some Jewels alſo were deliver'd to be carried to her Son King *James*; and in Teſtimony of the faithful Friendſhip and Services of the Family of *Hamilton*, ſhe ſent a Ring to the Lord *John Hamilton*, (which Ring, I'm inform'd, is ſtill kept among the Jewels of that Family) and having look'd over her Will, which fill'd up Two Sheets of Paper, in her own Hand Writ, wherein every Servant, with every particular Thing left them were mentioned. Which Will ſhe read before them all, and intreated them to accept of theſe ſmall Legacies, which was all her Condition could bequeath them. This being done, ſhe ſaid ſhe would now bid Adieu to the Affairs of this World, and employ the ſhort Remains of her Life in Thoughts of a celeſtial Being; and after having prayed with her Servants in her Chamber, (as was her conſtant Cuſtom) ſhe went to her Oratory, where ſhe continu'd ſome Time in private Devotion, and afterwards went to Bed at her uſual Time, where ſhe ſlept quietly about Three Hours, after which ſhe aroſe, and returning to her Oratory, continu'd there till about

Her Exhortation to her Servants.

Jewels ſent to the Queen of *France*, Duke of *Guiſe*, and others to King *James*.

She ſends a Ring to Lord *John Hamilton*.

She reads her Legacy to her Servants.

A. D. 1587. Break of Day. Then she arayed her self in such Apparel as she us'd to wear on some Festivals; and calling all her Servants, she caused her Will to be again read; and having seal'd it, deliver'd it to *Burgoin*, to be deliver'd by him to the Duke of *Guise*, whom she had nominated chief Executor; she then distributed with her own Hands, the Money, Jewels, and other Things among her Servants, directing each to their Shares of her Wardrop and Furniture. She again admonished and comforted them, and with a cheerful Countenance bid them farewell, and forbid them to grieve, for that Day they should see her freed from all her Trouble and Miseries. She then enter'd the Antechamber, and threw her self upon her Knees before the Altar, (which she had there erected for her private Devotion, whilest her Almoner had been allow'd to attend her) in which Place and Posture she still continu'd till about Eight a Clock, when *Thomas Andrews*, the Sheriff of the Shire, enter'd and sent Notice to her, that the Time appointed for the Execution was come. She immediately obeyed, and came forth with a cheerful majestick Countenance. She was of Stature tall and corpulent, full faced, double chin'd, hazel eyed, and her Eye-Brows dark brown. Her Dress, was on her Head a Veil of Lawn, fastned to her Cawl, edg'd with fine Lace, hung down to the Ground; a Pomander Chain, and *Agnus Dei* about her Neck; her Gown was fine Satin, figur'd with a Train, and long Sleeves to the Ground, set with Acorn Buttons of Jet, trim'd with Pearl, under them short Sleeves of figur'd Sattin, with a Pair of Sleeves of Purple Velvet whole. Her Kirtle whole of figur'd black Sattin, her Petticoat and upper Bodies of Crimson Sattin, unlac'd in the Back, and the Skirts of Crimson Velvet. Her Shoes *Spanish* Leather, with wachet Silk Stockings, clock'd and top'd with Silver, under them white *Jersey* Hose, with green Silk Garters. Having her Chaplet or Beads fastned to her Girdle, with a Gold Cross at the End of them, and in her Hands an Ivory Crucifix and Prayer-Book.

She distributes her Money, Jewels, and other Things amongst the Servants, as in her Will.

She comes forth to Execution.

The Form of her Dress at Execution.

In this Dress her Majesty came forth, and entring the Gallery where all the Earls stood to receive her; she met her Steward Mr. *Melvil*, who threw himself upon his Knees at her Feet in Tears: And so soon as Sighs could permit his Speech, he said in a most doleful Accent, "Ah Madam! unhappy me, "what Man on Earth was ever before the Messenger, of so great Sorrow "and Heaviness, as I shall be when I report, that my most gracious good "Queen and Mistress is beheaded in *England*." At which he stop'd, not being able to say more for Tears and Grief. Then said the Queen to him, "My good Servant *Melvil*, cease to lament, for thou hast Cause rather to "rejoyce than mourn, for now thou shalt see MARY STEWART's great "Troubles ended in an Instant; for know, my good Servant, that this "World is but all Vanity, and subject still to more Sorrow, than an Ocean of "Tears can bewail: But I pray you carry this Message from me, that I "die firm in the ancient Catholick Faith, and like a Queen of *Scotland* "and *France*: But GOD forgive them that have long desir'd my Life, and "thirsted for my Blood, as the Hart doth for the Water Brooks. O GOD! "thou GOD, who art Author of Truth, and knowest the most secret "Thoughts of my Heart, how I have always lov'd *Scotland* and *France*, "and how much I have desir'd to see *Scotland* and *England* united. Well, "commend me to my Son, and tell him, that I have done nothing prejudi-"cial to the Estate and Kingdom of *Scotland*. Good *Melvil* farewell." And then gave him her Hand to kiss, and was observ'd to drop some Tears, (which was thought to proceed from Concern for the King her Son) and again said, "Good *Melvil* farewell, and pray for thy Queen and Mistress." Then turning to the Lords, "She desir'd her Servants might be treated with Civi-"lity, allow'd to enjoy the Legacies she had left them, have Liberty to re-"turn to their own Country with safe Conduct; and lastly desir'd they might "be permitted to be present at her Death." The former Part of the Request they readily granted; but the Earl of *Kent* told her, she could not have her Servants present at the Execution; for by their Speeches or Practices, they might do Things that were not fitting for them to allow.

Mr. *Melvil*'s Speech to the Queen.

The Queen's Answer.

To

To which the Queen reply'd, *My Lord, I will give my Word (tho' it be but dead) that they ſhall not deſerve any* Blame, *in any thing you ſuſpect; but alas! poor Creatures, 'twill be ſatisfaction to them, to take a Laſt Farewell of their Dying Miſtreſs: And I hope your Miſtreſs, being a Maiden Queen, would regard my Sex ſo much, as to allow me ſome of my own People about me at my Death: I know ſhe hath not given you ſo ſtrict Orders, but that you might grant me far greater Favour, were I a meaner Woman than the Queen of* Scotland. A. D. 1587. But ſeeing they were unwilling to grant her Requeſt, ſhe burſt out in Tears, and ſaid, *I am Couſin to your Queen, and deſcended from your Blood Royal, the Grandchild of* Henry VII. *Marry'd Queen of* France, *and Anointed Queen of* Scotland. Then the Lord *Shrewsburry* told her, That her Requeſt ſhould be granted, and deſir'd ſhe might call for ſuch of her Servants, as ſhe thought proper; ſo that *Burgoin* her Phyſitian, her Apothecary, Surgeon, Mr. *Melvil* her Steward, and another old Man, with two Women, that always lay by her in the Chamber, were permitted to attend her Majeſty to the Scaffold.

The Queen aſcends the Scaffold; the Form of it.

Then ſhe went forward, being ſupported by two Gentlemen, *Melvil* carrying her Train, the Sheriff and Lords going before her, ſhe enter'd the Hall, and aſcended the Scaffold, which was about two Foot high, and twelve in Breadth, with Rails round it, being all cover'd with black Cloath; whereon was a Chair, Cuſhon, and Block, likewiſe cover'd with Black; and coming on the Scaffold, ſhe look'd with a moſt ſerene Countenance, and ſat down in the Chair, which was plac'd by the Earl of *Kent*, who, with the other Lords, ſtood on her Right-hand; and on her Left, the Sheriff; before her, ſtood two Executioners; and her own Servants ſtood behind her Chair. Without the Rails ſtood ſeveral Knights, Gentlemen, and other People, ſuch as were permitted to come into the Hall. Silence being made, the Commiſſion for the Execution was read by *Beale*, Clerk of the Council; and when it was done, he, with ſome others, cry'd aloud, *GOD ſave the Queen.*

The Queen hears the Warrant for her Execution read, without any Concern.

Whilſt the Commiſſion was reading it was obſerv'd, that the Queen heard it with as much Pleaſure, as if it had been a Remiſſion to her. Then Dr. *Fletcher*, Dean of *Peterborough*, who ſtood by the Rails, bowing to her, ſaid,

The Dean of *Peterborrough* his Speech to the Queen.

" Madam, the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty (notwithſtanding of this " Preparation for Execution of Juſtice, juſtly to be done upon you, for your " many Treſpaſſes againſt her ſacred Perſon, State and Government) having " tender Care of your Soul, preſently to depart, does, by me, offer to your " Conſideration, that by the true Faith in CHRIST our Saviour, you may " live for ever. *Firſt*, to conſider the Eſtate paſt as tranſitory; the Condi- " tion preſent, and to come; and the Means of Bliſs or Bane everlaſting."

And having made a long Speech of the Body's Frailty, commended her to conſider the Glory of Immortality; and concluded with earneſt Advice, to deny her *Romiſh* Religion. The Queen interrupted him, and ſaid, *He needed not be at ſuch great Trouble, to make her renounce the ancient Catholick Faith, in which ſhe was ſo well grounded, that in the Defence of it, ſhe would ſacrifice her Blood.*

The Queen's Anſwer to him.

The Earls ſaid, *Madam, we will pray with your Grace, that you may be enlighten'd in the true Knowledge of JESUS CHRIST, and dye therein.*

The Queen thank'd them, but refus'd to join with them in any Prayers, but her own Devotion.

Then the Dean began his Prayers, accompany'd by all the Lords and other People in the Hall. during his Prayers, the Queen continu'd in Prayers with her Servants by her, having a Latin Prayer-Book, and the Crucifix before her; and when the Dean had ended, ſhe, with all her Servants, pray'd aloud. in *Latin*, and were all in Tears; and her Majeſty, by herſelf, concluded with a Prayer in *Engliſh*, for the afflicted Church, her Son, Queen *Elizabeth*, and all ſuch as had injur'd or perſecuted her: After which ſhe kiſs'd the Crucifix ſeveral Times, ſaying, *That ſhe hop'd to be ſav'd in and by the Blood of JESUS CHRIST, at the Foot of whoſe Crucifix ſhe would ſhed her Blood.* After Prayer ſhe again kiſs'd the Crucifix, and ſigning herſelf with the Croſs,

A. D. 1587. she said, *Even as thy Arms were stretch'd here upon the Cross, so receive me, I beseech thee, in the Arms of thy Mercy; and forgive me all my Sins.* Then turning to the People without the Rails, she said, "It is a new Spectacle to "see a Queen brought upon a Scaffold, to die by the Hands of a common "Hangman. I have not learn'd to undress my self, and put off my Royal "Ornaments in such a Company, to have Hangmen in the Place of Ser- "vants of my Chamber: But we must submit to what Heaven is pleas'd to "have done! I now protest, before the Face of the Living GOD, I ne- "ver attempted any thing against the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*; neither have "I committed any thing worthy of this Usage. If any thing can be charg'd "against me as a Crime, it is for living and dying in the Religion of my "Ancestors, wherein I was baptiz'd and bred up in. I pray GOD forgive "all my Enemies, and all such as shed innocent Blood under a Pretence of "Religion."

The Queen's Speech to the People.

At this Time, most of all those who were in the Place, were seen to shed Tears. Then forgiving the Executioners, who kneel'd before her, he desir'd her Women to prepare her, by taking off her upper Garments, which, when they were about, she help'd them very diligently, without any Sign of Fear or Terror; and finding they could not refrain from weeping most bitterly, and crying aloud, she said, *Nay, what do you mean? have not I promis'd for your Constancy, and will ye thus be transported with Lamentations, when you see me going to change a Temporal Kingdom full of Misery, for an Everlasting Empire, full of Felicity.* And being now ready for Execution, she embrac'd and kiss'd her Women, and gave her Hand to her Men, who kiss'd it; then signing them all with the Cross, she, with a Smile, bad them all Farewel, and desir'd their Prayers without Mourning. Then one of her Women taking a *Corpus Christi* Cloth out of the Queen's Pocket, kiss'd it, and wraping it Corner-ways, being pin'd to her Coul, drew it over her Face. And kneeling down upon the Cusheon, pray'd aloud in *Latin*, and repeated the whole Psalm, *In te DOMINE confido, ne confundar in eternum*, &c. In thee, O LORD, do I trust, let me never be confounded, *&c.* Then feeling for the Block with her Hand, and laying her Chin over it, she repeated these Words *(Unto thy Hands, O LORD, I commit my Spirit, thou hast redeemed me, O LORD GOD of Truth.)* three times over; and the third Repetition being the Signal given by her Majesty to the Executioner, he sever'd her Head from the Body, at three Blows; and taking it up in his Hand, said, *GOD save the Queen*; and the Dean reply'd, *And so let all Queen* Elizabeth's *Enemies perish.* The Earl of *Kent* approaching the Body, said in a lower Voice, *May such an End happen to all the Queen and the Gospel's Enemies.*

The Death of Q. *MARY.*

It was observ'd, that her little Spaniel Dog lay by the Body, and would not be remov'd till the Body was mov'd, and did never after taste Food, but died the next Day in the Chamber, where the Corps lay. The Body was embalm'd, and some Days after, by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Orders, was entomb'd in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborrow*, after a most sumptuous Manner: But her Funeral Obsequies were much more magnificently perform'd at *Paris*, by the Duke of *Guise* and his Brothers; who, with the whole Court of *France*, went into deep Mourning for her.

A strange Account of the Queen's Dog.

Her Funeral kept at *Paris*, by the Duke of *Guise* and his Brothers.

Upon the first Account of the Execution being brought to Queen *Elizabeth*, she seem'd strangly surpriz'd, and feign'd exceeding great Grief; nor would she appear to any one for several Days; whether her Sorrow was real or feign'd, GOD alone knows. For we are not to Judge how far she might have repented of all her past Hatred to the Queen; or, whether the Thoughts of the unprecedented Action, might terrify or trouble her Mind. However she laid the whole Blame of the Execution upon *Davison*; who, notwithstanding of his drawing up a Defence, containing the before-mention'd Circumstances of the Queen's Orders to him, he was, by the Connivance of the Council, sent to the Tower, where he remain'd 'till his Death, without any Sign of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Favour, more than supplying his

Q. *Elizabeth*'s Behaviour upon the Queen'sDeath

Wants

Wants of the Neceſſaries of Life, which ſhe is ſaid to have done upon ſeveral Occaſions. *A. D.* 1587.

Thus fell MARY, Queen of *Scotland*, whoſe Character has been variouſly repreſented to Poſterity, according to the different Diſpoſitions of ſuch as have written the Tranſactions of her Life: Yet all agree, that ſhe was a Princeſs of the moſt Graceful and Beautiful Body and Countenance, that liv'd in that, or any preceding or ſucceeding Age; and being educated in the Court of *France*, had all the Inſtructions of Literal Sciences, and other Parts of Education, neceſſary to qualify her Mind. And, 'tis ſaid, when come to Maturity, her Wit and Judgment was very much admir'd by Strangers, as well as thoſe of her own Subjects, who ſpoke well of her. As to her Religion, nothing ſeems to have contributed ſo much to her Troubles and Death, as her zealous Profeſſion of it, upon all Occaſions. 'Tis ſaid, She was very charitable and grateful to all ſuch as had ſhew'd her any Friendſhip; and, being of a generous Spirit, was very merciful and indulgent to ſome who requitted her Clemency by the worſt of Actions. She was very credulous, and eaſily impos'd on by many ſuch as could feign Repentance, for the greateſt Crimes committed againſt her, and thereby found Means to be more powerful Enemies to her; and, as the prevailing Power of her Enemies, gave them Opportunity to ſay and do every Thing that could gain over the Populace to approve of all their Actions; they expos'd her to their Hatred ſo far, as to receive for undeniable Truth, whatever Calumny they could invent againſt her Character. But, in my humble Opinion, as ſhe was a Woman, eſpecially a Queen, her alledg'd Vices ſhould not, upon all Occaſions, be made uſe of to eclipſe all her good Qualities. Therefore have narrated the Tranſactions of her Life, according to the Sentiments of the moſt approv'd impartial Authors, of that Part of our Hiſtory; without any View or Intention to oblige, or offend, any Party or Perſon.

Queen *Mary*'s Character.

Some Days after Queen MARY was entomb'd at *Peterborrough*, the following *Latin* EPITAPH was affix'd to her Tomb.

MARIA SCOTORUM Regina, Regis Filia, Regis Gallorum Vidua, Reginæ Angliæ Agnata & Hæres proxima, Virtutibus Regiis & animo Regio ornata; Jure Regio fruſtra ſæpius implorato, barbara & tyrannica crudelitate, Ornamentum noſtri Sæculi & Lumen vere Regium extinguitur; eodemque nefario Judicio, & MARIA SCOTORUM Regina, morte naturali; & omnes ſuperſtites Reges Plebeii facti, morte civili mulctantur. Novum & inauditum Tumuli genus, in quo cum vivis mortui includuntur hic extat: Cum ſacris enim Divæ MARIÆ cineribus, omnium Regum atque Principium violatam atque proſtratam Majeſtratem hic jacere ſcito: Et quia tacitum Regale ſatis ſuperque Reges ſui officii monet, plura non addo Viator.

An Epitaph on Queen MARY.

Thus in *Engliſh*:

MARY Queen of SCOTLAND, Daughter of a King, Widow of the King of France, *Kinſwoman and next Heir to the Queen of* England; *Adorn'd with Royal Virtues and Princely Spirit; having often, but in vain, implor'd to have the Right due to a Prince done unto her; The Ornament of our Age, and Mirrour of Princes, by a barbarous tyrannical Cruelty is cut off; And, by one*

The ſame in *Engliſh*.

A. D. 1587. she said, *Even as thy Arms were stretch'd here upon the Cross, so receive me, I beseech thee, in the Arms of thy Mercy; and forgive me all my Sins.* Then turning to the People without the Rails, she said, "It is a new Spectacle to "see a Queen brought upon a Scaffold, to die by the Hands of a common "Hangman. I have not learn'd to undress my self, and put off my Royal "Ornaments in such a Company, to have Hangmen in the Place of Ser- "vants of my Chamber: But we must submit to what Heaven is pleas'd to "have done! I now protest, before the Face of the Living GOD, I ne- "ver attempted any thing against the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*; neither have "I committed any thing worthy of this Usage. If any thing can be charg'd "against me as a Crime, it is for living and dying in the Religion of my "Ancestors, wherein I was baptiz'd and bred up in. I pray GOD forgive "all my Enemies, and all such as shed innocent Blood under a Pretence of "Religion."

The Queen's Speech to the People.

At this Time, most of all those who were in the Place, were seen to shed Tears. Then forgiving the Executioners, who kneel'd before her, he desir'd her Women to prepare her, by taking off her upper Garments, which, when they were about, she help'd them very diligently, without any Sign of Fear or Terror; and finding they could not refrain from weeping most bitterly, and crying aloud, she said, *Nay, what do you mean? have not I promis'd for your Constancy, and will ye thus be transported with Lamentations, when you see me going to change a Temporal Kingdom full of Misery, for an Everlasting Empire, full of Felicity.* And being now ready for Execution, she embrac'd and kiss'd her Women, and gave her Hand to her Men, who kiss'd it; then signing them all with the Cross, she, with a Smile, bad them all Farewel, and desir'd their Prayers without Mourning. Then one of her Women taking a *Corpus Christi* Cloth out of the Queen's Pocket, kiss'd it, and wraping it Corner-ways, being pin'd to her Coul, drew it over her Face. And kneeling down upon the Cusheon, pray'd aloud in *Latin*, and repeated the whole Psalm, *In te DOMINE confido, ne confundar in eternum*, &c. In thee, O LORD, do I trust, let me never be confounded, *&c.* Then feeling for the Block with her Hand, and laying her Chin over it, she repeated these Words *(Unto thy Hands, O LORD, I commit my Spirit, thou hast redeemed me, O LORD GOD of Truth.)* three times over; and the third Repetition being the Signal given by her Majesty to the Executioner, he sever'd her Head from the Body, at three Blows; and taking it up in his Hand, said, *GOD save the Queen*; and the Dean reply'd, *And so let all Queen* Elizabeth's *Enemies perish.* The Earl of *Kent* approaching the Body, said in a lower Voice, *May such an End happen to all the Queen and the Gospel's Enemies.*

The Death of Q. *MARY.*

It was observ'd, that her little Spaniel Dog lay by the Body, and would not be remov'd till the Body was mov'd, and did never after taste Food, but died the next Day in the Chamber, where the Corps lay. The Body was embalm'd, and some Days after, by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Orders, was entomb'd in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborrow*, after a most sumptuous Manner: But her Funeral Obsequies were much more magnificently perform'd at *Paris*, by the Duke of *Guise* and his Brothers; who, with the whole Court of *France*, went into deep Mourning for her.

A strange Account of the Queen's Dog.

Her Funeral kept at *Paris*, by the Duke of *Guise* and his Brothers.

Upon the first Account of the Execution being brought to Queen *Elizabeth*, she seem'd strangly surpriz'd, and feign'd exceeding great Grief; nor would she appear to any one for several Days; whether her Sorrow was real or feign'd, GOD alone knows. For we are not to Judge how far she might have repented of all her past Hatred to the Queen; or, whether the Thoughts of the unprecedented Action, might terrify or trouble her Mind. However she laid the whole Blame of the Execution upon *Davison*; who, notwithstanding of his drawing up a Defence, containing the before-mention'd Circumstances of the Queen's Orders to him, he was, by the Connivance of the Council, sent to the Tower, where he remain'd 'till his Death, without any Sign of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Favour, more than supplying his

Q. *Elizabeth*'s Behaviour upon the Queen'sDeath

Wants

Wants of the Neceſſaries of Life, which ſhe is ſaid to have done upon ſeveral Occaſions. *A. D.* 1587.

Thus fell MARY, Queen of *Scotland*, whoſe Character has been variouſly repreſented to Poſterity, according to the different Diſpoſitions of ſuch as have written the Tranſactions of her Life: Yet all agree, that ſhe was a Princeſs of the moſt Graceful and Beautiful Body and Countenance, that liv'd in that, or any preceding or ſucceeding Age; and being educated in the Court of *France*, had all the Inſtructions of Literal Sciences, and other Parts of Education, neceſſary to qualify her Mind. And, 'tis ſaid, when come to Maturity, her Wit and Judgment was very much admir'd by Strangers, as well as thoſe of her own Subjects, who ſpoke well of her. As to her Religion, nothing ſeems to have contributed ſo much to her Troubles and Death, as her zealous Profeſſion of it, upon all Occaſions. 'Tis ſaid, She was very charitable and grateful to all ſuch as had ſhew'd her any Friendſhip; and, being of a generous Spirit, was very merciful and indulgent to ſome who requitted her Clemency by the worſt of Actions. She was very credulous, and eaſily impos'd on by many ſuch as could feign Repentance, for the greateſt Crimes committed againſt her, and thereby found Means to be more powerful Enemies to her; and, as the prevailing Power of her Enemies, gave them Opportunity to ſay and do every Thing that could gain over the Populace to approve of all their Actions; they expos'd her to their Hatred ſo far, as to receive for undeniable Truth, whatever Calumny they could invent againſt her Character. But, in my humble Opinion, as ſhe was a Woman, eſpecially a Queen, her alledg'd Vices ſhould not, upon all Occaſions, be made uſe of to eclipſe all her good Qualities. Therefore have narrated the Tranſactions of her Life, according to the Sentiments of the moſt approv'd impartial Authors, of that Part of our Hiſtory; without any View or Intention to oblige, or offend, any Party or Perſon.

Queen *Mary*'s Character.

Some Days after Queen MARY was entomb'd at *Peterborrough*, the following *Latin* EPITAPH was affix'd to her Tomb.

MARIA SCOTORUM Regina, Regis Filia, Regis Gallorum Vidua, Reginæ Angliæ Agnata & Hæres proxima, Virtutibus Regiis & animo Regio ornata; Jure Regio fruſtra ſæpius implorato, barbara & tyrannica crudelitate, Ornamentum noſtri Sæculi & Lumen vere Regium extinguitur; eodemque nefario Judicio, & MARIA SCOTORUM Regina, morte naturali; & omnes ſuperſtites Reges Plebeii facti, morte civili mulctantur. Novum & inauditum Tumuli genus, in quo cum vivis mortui includuntur hic extat: Cum ſacris enim Divæ MARIÆ cineribus, omnium Regum atque Principium violatam atque proſtratam Majeſtratem hic jacere ſcito: Et quia tacitum Regale ſatis ſuperque Reges ſui officii monet, plura non addo Viator.

An Epitaph on Queen MARY.

Thus in *Engliſh*:

MARY Queen of SCOTLAND, Daughter of a King, Widow of the King of France, *Kinſwoman and next Heir to the Queen of* England; *Adorn'd with Royal Virtues and Princely Spirit; having often, but in vain, implor'd to have the Right due to a Prince done unto her; The Ornament of our Age, and Mirrour of Princes, by a barbarous tyrannical Cruelty is cut off; And, by one*

The ſame in *Engliſh*.

A. D. 1587. *and the ſame infamous Judgment, both* MARY *Queen of* SCOTLAND *is puniſh'd with Death, and all Kings living are made liable to a Civil Death. A ſtrange and unheard of Grave is here, wherein the Living are included with the Dead; For with the Aſhes of this Bleſſed* MARY, *know thou, that the Majeſty of all Kings are depreſs'd and violated: But becauſe the Royal Secret doth ſufficiently admoniſh all Kings of their Duty, Traveller I ſay no more.*

The Author of the Epitaph

Great Search was made for the Author of this Epitaph, but he could not then be found nor known: But it was afterwards found to be compos'd by the Famous *Adam Blackwood*.

Q. *Elizabeth* ſends Mr. *Cary* with a Letter to K. *James*.

Mean time Queen *Elizabeth*, who appear'd with the outward Signs of Grief and Concern, having committed *Daviſon* to the Tower, ſhe wrote the following Letter to the King of *Scotland*, and ſent it, with other Inſtructions, by Mr. *Robert Cary*, Son to the Lord *Hunſdon*, who had been formerly at the Court of *Scotland*, and was known to the King.

My Dear Brother,

The Contents of it.

I would to GOD *you knew, tho' not felt, with what incomparable Grief my Mind is tormented and vex'd, by reaſon of the lamentable Event that hath befallen, contrary to my Mind and Will, which you ſhall underſtand fully by my Couſin; foraſmuch as I cannot endure to ſet it down in Writing. I beſeech you, that as* GOD, *and many Perſons can bear Witneſs unto my Innocency in this Matter; ſo I deſire you to believe, that if I had commanded it, I would never have denied the ſame. I am not of that baſe Mind, that for any Fear, I ſhould not do what was juſt, or to deny it being done. But as it is not the Part of a Prince to cover and cloak the Senſe of his Mind with Words, ſo will I never diſſemble nor gloſs mine Actions; but I will perform ſo that they ſhall come to Light, and appear to the World in their Colours. I would have you be aſſuredly perſuaded, that as I know what was done was upon Deſert, ſo if I had imagin'd it, I would not have put it over upon any other; neither will I impute to my ſelf, which I did not ſo much as think. He who ſhall deliver you this Letter, ſhall acquaint, and impart other Things unto you. As for me, I would have you believe, that there is none other who loveth you better, and beareth better Affection to you, or that will have a more friendly Care of you and your Affairs, than my ſelf. If any one putteth other things in your Head, I would have you to think, that they bear more Good-will to others than to you. Thus in haſte I leave to trouble you.* GOD *Almighty keep you in Health, and preſerve you always.*

Your Moſt Aſſured Loving

Siſter and Couſin,

Elizabeth R.

The King denies Acceſs to any Meſſage from the *Engliſh* Queen

Mr. *Cary* being arriv'd at the Court of *Scotland*, found that the King was extremely griev'd for the Death of the Queen his Mother; and was ſo much enrag'd againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, that he forbad Acceſs to any coming from, or in her Name. Thus being deny'd Acceſs to his Majeſty, he wrote to let Queen *Elizabeth* know how Matters ſtood: Wherefore ſhe wrote to him, if he could not have Acceſs, to deliver his Meſſage, with the Letter, to ſome proper Perſon of his Council, who would ſhew it his Majeſty at ſome other Time;

Time; and after a few Days ſtay, he left the Letter, with the following Declaration in Writing, to be deliver'd to the King. *A. D.* 1587.

Mr. *Cary's* Declaration left in Writing

" WHEREAS the Queen's Majeſty, my Miſtreſs, deſiring to have " your Majeſty certify'd aright of the Death of the Queen your Mother, " and in what Manner the ſame was done; hath commanded me, ſince I am " deny'd your Preſence, to declare my Meſſage to certain of your Council. " I have thought beſt to put it in Writing, becauſe Words may be miſtaken, " and my Charge this way better perform'd. *Firſt*, She commanded me to " aſſure your Majeſty, That it never enter'd into her Thought to put the " Queen, your Mother, to Death; notwithſtanding the daily Perſuaſions of " her Council, the Supplications of the Nobility, Knights and Gentlemen; " and the hourly Outcries of her People and Commonality, wherewith ſhe " was weary'd, and out of Meaſure griev'd, to ſee their Determination " fix'd that Way. And that, upon Advertiſements every Day coming unto " her, of the Preparation of Shipping and Men, both in *France* and *Spain*, " to invade the Realm; and the Reports of the breaking open *Fotheringly* " Caſtle, and the Queen, your Mother's Eſcape; leſt ſhe ſhould, in any " ſuch Extremity, be unprovided, ſhe had ſign'd a Warrant to her Council, " for doing what they thought beſt with your Mother: Which Warrant ſhe " deliver'd to her Secretary Mr. *Daviſon*, to be kept, not intending it ſhould " be given out of his Hands, except ſome Invaſion from abroad, or Inſurrecti- " on of Rebels at home, were made to procure her Liberty. But her Secre- " tary, otherwiſe than ſhe had propos'd, having ſhew'd the Warrant to two " or three of the Council, they call'd the whole Number together, and pre- " ſently ſent a Mandate for her Execution; which was done, ſhe proteſts " to GOD, before ſhe knew of it. Hereupon the Secretary is committed, and " will not eſcape her high Diſpleaſure. This is the Effect of my Meſſage; " which, if I could expreſs as movingly as I did hear her utter it, with a heavy " Heart, and ſorrowful Countenance; I think your Majeſty would rather " pity the Grief which we endureth, than in any ſort blame her, for the " Fact whereunto ſhe never gave Conſent.

This Declaration being ſeen by the King gave him little Eaſe, for ſeem'd to be aſſur'd that her Council would not have preſum'd to take away his Mother's Life without her Conſent; therefore look'd upon the Excuſe to be a meer Mockery rather than any Satisfaction for the Injury done him and his Nation, ſo continued his Reſolution of purſuing Revenge; nor did he want many who exclaim'd againſt the unheard of Barbarity of the Queen and Council of *England*; and offer'd to hazard their Lives and Eſtates in taking Revenge; ſo that many were employ'd to prepare the Nation for a ſudden War againſt *England*.

Queen *Elizabeth* finding her Meſſenger return'd, without having Acceſs or any Anſwer to his Meſſage, and hearing of the Out-cries of the People of *Scotland* againſt her ſelf and Council for the Queen's Execution; ſhe employ'd all her Friends to deal with the Councellors of *Scotland* to diſſuade their King from any ſudden Hoſtility, and at the ſame time made Secretary *Walſingham* write a Letter to the Lord *Thirlſtane*, who was then Secretary to the King, and a great Favourite.

Walſingham writes to the Lord *Thirlſtane*.

In this Letter *Walſingham* told, " That he was abſent from Court when " the Execution happen'd (for he had gone to his Country Seat ſo ſoon as the " Mandate was given in to the Council, nor did he return for ſome Days after " to have the better Excuſe for himſelf upon any Occaſion) and upon his " Return knowing what was done without the Queen's Knowledge, he " thought proper to ſend his Opinion of that Matter, that as what had hap- " pen'd could not be recal'd, it would not be for the King's Advantage to " enter into a War againſt *England*, ſince thoſe who were his beſt Friends " in *England*, and wiſh'd well to his Intereſt, were for having Matters com- " pos'd between his Majeſty and the Queen, who was his neareſt Relation.

A. D. 1587. " Whereas his entering into a War would only encourage foreign *Roman* " Catholick Powers; who, tho' they might, upon that Occaſion, aſſiſt him to " ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, " yet would ſoon leave his Intereſt expos'd to thoſe whom he would diſ- " oblige by that Attempt, whereof the Event was very uncertain: There- " fore, as the Friendſhip of *England* would be of more Advantage to his " Majeſty than any Dependance he could have on foreign Aſſiſtance, he " ought to conſider his own Intereſt, and make thoſe his Friends who could " and would be moſt ready to aſſiſt him.

" Theſe Conſiderations he recommended heartily to the Lord *Thirlſtane* to " repreſent to the King, with his own Advice not to come to a War with " the Queen of *England*, which would be the only Means to ſupport that " Intereſt which his Majeſty ſhould look upon inſeperable from his own.

When this Letter came to Hand, the Lord *Thirlſtane* took Opportunity to repreſent the Contents to the King, after ſuch a manner, that his former Rage was very much pacify'd. And, in the Month of *May*, when the Eſtates aſſembl'd at the Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, and ſhew'd ſuch great Forwardneſs in offering their Aſſiſtance to revenge the Queen's Murder (as it was term'd) and to ſpend their Lives and Fortunes in the Quarrel; the King did not ſeem ſo very forward in the Adventure, which gave Hopes to thoſe who wiſh'd well to the *Engliſh* Court, that Matters would be ſoon made up between both Crowns.

The Maſter of *Gray*'s Deſigns diſcover'd.

About this time Sir *William Stewart* (Brother to the before-mention'd Capt. *James*, ſometime Earl of *Arran*) came to Court, and was introduc'd again into Favour, by the Maſter of *Gray*, who at that Time envy'd the great Power of the Lord *Thirlſtane*, Sir *James Hume* of *Coldingknows*, and Mr. *Robert Dowglaſs*; and, 'tis reported, that he intended to kill them: whereof he ſpoke ſome Words to Sir *William Stewart*, who told the ſame to the King. The Lord *Thirlſtane* having Notice thereof made a Complaint before the Council; and deſir'd the Matter might be brought to a Trial. The Maſter deny'd that he had mention'd any thing to that Purpoſe, to Sir *William Stewart*; whereupon he was call'd, and ſtanding to what he had told the King, they fell to high Words, ſo that Sir *William* ſaid, *The Maſter deſerv'd no Credit, as having abus'd his Embaſſy in* England, *and had treacherouſly conſented to the Queen's Death: And that he had written a Letter after he left the Court of* England, *adviſing to put the Queen to Death*; *making uſe of the Phraſe*, Mortui non mordent; *meaning*, *That dead Folk could not bite.* Upon this Challenge, the Maſter and his Accuſer Sir *William*, were committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and being both brought before the Council, the Maſter confeſſed, as to the Letter, *That he finding Queen* Elizabeth *reſolv'd to take away the Queen's Life; he had conſented to her Opinion, of taking her away in ſome private manner, rather than do it by form of Juſtice, and had expreſs'd the Words*, Mortui non Mordent. Whereupon he was re-committed Priſoner to the Tolbooth, and Sir *William Stewart* was ſet at Liberty. Some few Days after the Maſter was arraign'd, and, ſubmitting to the King's Mercy, his Majeſty order'd him to be baniſh'd, without leave to remain in either *England* or *Ireland*, or if he return'd to the Kingdom, to be liable to the Sentence of Death.

He is accus'd by Sir *William Stewart*.

They are both committed to *Edinburgh* Caſtle.

Captain *James Stewart* accuſes the Lord *Thirlſtane*.

Captain *James Stewart*, who had lived privately among his Friends in the *Weſt*, ſince the Enterpriſe at *Stirling*, begun now to appear, and wrote Letters to the King, charging the Lord *Thirlſtane*, and other Counſellers with having been acceſſary to the Queen's Death, and intended to deliver him into *England*. Theſe Informations he ſent incloſed in a Letter to the King, by *Henry Stewart* of *Craighall*; which, when the King receiv'd, he communicated the ſame to the Council, and gave Direction to charge Captain *James* to enter his Perſon, within the Palace of *Linlithgow*, and remain there until the Truth of theſe Reports were tried; which, if he fail'd, a Proceſs of Forfeiture would be laid againſt him, as a Sower of Diſcord between the King and his Nobility: But he failing to appear to the Charge, the Office

But fails to prove his Charge.

of

of Chancellor, of which he ſtill had the Title, was declar'd vacant, and the Lord *Thirlſtane* was made Chancellor in his ſtead. *A. D.* 1587.

The King being now full 21 Years of Age, a Parliament was call'd at *Edinburgh*, the 29th of *July*: But before that Day the King ſent for all the Nobility, eſpecially thoſe between whom there had been any former Quarrel or Strife; and at their coming, he intreated them to be entirely reconcil'd to one another; and having obtain'd their general Conſents, they freely declar'd to forget and forgive all paſt Offences; (only *William* Lord *Yeſter* denying to be reconcil'd to the Lord *Traquhair*, was ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he remain'd ſome Months, till he conſented to the King's Requeſt) all the reſt were entertain'd with a ſplendid Banquet by the King; after which he cauſed them walk in Hands Two and Two in Proceſſion, from the Palace to the Market Croſs of *Edinburgh*, where, in Teſtimony of their Agreement, they drank Healths to one another, to the exceeding great Satisfaction of the King, and other People.

The Lord *Thirlſtane* made Chancellor.

A Parliament call'd at *Edinburgh*.

The Nobility are reconcil'd.

An Aſſembly of the Church having met in *June*, in which the Preachers propoſed ſeveral Articles againſt Epiſcopacy, but did not meet with the King's Approbation: Yet when the Parliament met at the Time and Place appointed, the Preachers ſent Two of their Brethren, who came before the Houſe the firſt Day of their ſitting, and in the Name of the Church deſir'd, *That the Prelates might be remov'd out of the Parliament; as they had no Authority from the Church, and many of them being unqualified, and of no Function in the Church.* Againſt them Mr. *Edward Bruce*, Abbot of *Kinroſs*, ſtood up, and addreſſing the King, ſaid, *That the Miniſters having moſt diſorderly ſhut them out from their Places in the Church, thought now to exclude them from their Places among the Eſtates, which they hop'd his Majeſty would not ſuffer, and would puniſh their preſumptuous Arrogance.* One of the Miniſters, nam'd *Robert Pont*, was about to reply, but the King deſir'd him to be quiet, and preſent their Petitions to the Lords of the Articles, where they ſhould be heard, and have reaſonable Anſwers.

The Preachers propoſe Articles to aboliſh the Biſhops.

The Abbot of *Kinroſs*'s Anſwer to the Miniſters.

In this Parliament the Temporality of Benefices were annex'd to the Crown, for the better Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Court; and, as it was propos'd, to keep the Subjects from being tax'd. But this was occaſion'd by the Under-hand Dealings of the Miniſters and their Friends, for the Subverſion of Epiſcopacy; and when the King found, that by this Act, that all Spiritual Livings were beg'd, or for pretended Court-Service, converted to Temporal Lordſhips, he repented the paſſing of the Act; which Act he afterwards mentioned in his *Baſilicon Doron*, calling it a *vile pernicious Act*, and recommended to the Prince his Son to anull it. In this Parliament an Act was made in Favour of the ſmall Barons, to grant them a Voice in Parliament, and Conventions with the other Eſtates. The Earl of *Crawford*, in name of the other Nobility, vigorouſly oppos'd it, yet it was paſt. The King's Deſign in it, was to free the Barons of their Dependence upon Noblemen, that they would give more particular Account of Abuſes committed in the Country.

Temporalities of Spiritual Benefices annex'd to the Crown.

This Parliament being diſſolv'd, the Lord *Hunſdon*, Governor of *Berwick*, came to intreat Admittance to the King's Preſence. The King comply'd with his Requeſt the more willingly, that he of all the Peers of *England* had not meddled in the Proceedings againſt the Queen his Mother. His Meſſage was to lay before the King, the Hindrance it would be to his Title of Succeſſion, if he enter'd into a War with *England*; and at the ſame Time brought a Declaration, ſign'd by all the Judges and Council of *England*, that his Mother's Death was no ways prejudical to his Majeſty's Succeſſion. His Conferenee with the King, alter'd his Reſolution of purſuing a War: (which then was begun by Incurſions of the *Scots* Borders) But as the Outcries of the People were ſo great, (deſiring earneſtly to revenge the Queen's Murder, as they term'd it:) The King parted with the Lord *Houſdon*, without giving him any determin'd Anſwer: But upon producing the Declaration of the Judges, with the Sentence given againſt *Daviſon* in the Star Chamber; the King

The Lord *Hunſdon* comes into *Scotland*, and hath Audience of the King.

The Effects of his Meſſage.

A. D. 1587. order'd Proclamations, prohibiting the Borderers from any further Incurſions on *England*.

Marriage propos'd by the King to *Anne* Daughter of *Denmark*.

The King turning now all his Thoughts upon a Marriage with the Daughter of *Denmark*; and having ſome Time before ſent over *Patrick Vaus* of *Barnborrough*, and Mr. *Peter Young*, with private Inſtructions to that Court; they about this Time, return'd with Notice of the Death of *Fredrick* King of *Denmark*, Father to the Lady *Anne*, ſo that his Death cauſed a Delay in the Match for ſome Months.

The King her Father dies, which retards the Match for ſome Months.

About the latter End of this Year, Information was given againſt ſeveral Foreigners who came into *Scotland*, which were reported to have been Jeſuites and Prieſts from *Spain*, to deal with the Catholick Noblemen of *Scotland*, to aſſiſt the Preparations of *Spain* againſt *England*. Upon this Information, a Proclamation was publiſh'd againſt all ſuch Perſons, or any who would ſhelter or receive them; and the Miniſters of the Aſſembly propos'd to put the Laws in Execution with the utmoſt Severity, againſt all Jeſuites, Prieſts, or any other Papiſts; and becauſe the King did not ſo readily comply as they propos'd, they utter'd many reflecting Words, from all their Pulpits againſt him; which being reported to his Majeſty, he order'd the Lord Chancellor and Juſtice-Clerk to enquire into the Matter. Among other Things it was prov'd, that one Mr. *James Gibſon*, had in the Pulpit called the King *a Perſecutor of the Church, and ſhould be the laſt of his Race.* For which Offence he was ſilenc'd, yet afterwards repon'd to his Places. The Miniſter having inform'd againſt the Lord *Herries*, Warden of the Weſt Marches, that he drove out the Preachers from *Dumfries*, and had ſet up Maſs; but the Accuſation not being prov'd, the King continu'd him in his Charge, upon Surety of his good Behaviour.

A Proclamation againſt Jeſuites, Prieſts, *&c.*

The Miniſters reflect on the King for not proſecuting the *Papiſts*.

1588. In the Beginning of the Year 1588, the Lord *Maxwel* who had been formerly baniſh'd to *France*, return'd privately to *Scotland*; and upon his landing, employed his Friends in fortifying the Caſtles of *Lochmaben*, *Carlaverock*, and *Langholm*. The Lord *Herries* being Warden of the Weſt Marches, ſent Notice to the King, who order'd him to be ſummon'd before the Council; which he denying, the King rais'd Forces, and went to *Dumfries*, whereupon the Lord *Maxwel* made his Eſcape to *Galloway*. Next Day the before named Caſtles were ſummon'd to ſurrender in the King's Name, which they did, except *Lochmaben*, which was taken by Force Two Days after: The Governor Mr. *David Maxwel* was executed, and the reſt pardon'd and ſent home. Sir *William Stewart* having the King's Commiſſion, to purſue and apprehend the Lord *Maxwel*, overtook him ſetting to Sea in a ſmall Veſſel near *Air*, and brought him Priſoner to *Edinburgh*, where the King was then return'd. 'Tis ſaid, that Sir *William* after this Piece of Service, turn'd very inſolent to ſeveral Noblemen, eſpecially to the Earl of *Bothwell*; ſo that meeting in the High Street of *Edinburgh*, and having ſome bitter Words, the Earl ran him through the Body, whereof he died inſtantly: This Accident happen'd the 30th *July*.

The Lord *Maxwel* comes privately to *Scotland*.

He fortifies Caſtles.

Thoſe Caſtles are taken by the King.

Sir *William Stewart* takes the Lord *Maxwel*.

Sir *William* is kill'd by the Earl of *Bothwell*.

By this Time the News of the *Spaniſh* Fleet being reported over the Kingdom, and the King had Notice from ſeveral Hands of it, eſpecially from the Queen and Court of *England*, who being aſſur'd, that the Deſign was againſt that Kingdom. They earneſtly intreated the King to conſider, that his Religion and Intereſt in the Crown of *England* was at Stake; therefore requeſted he would reſiſt the Attempt. Upon this the King order'd the Eſtates to meet ſpeedily at *Edinburgh*, to have their Advice at this Juncture; and being met he made a Speech, wherein he declar'd, *The Regard he had to all Princes in* Europe; *but conſidering the Right he had to the Crown of* England, *and that their Invaſion was intended to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant Religion, he could not countenance the Attempt which threatned the Ruin of his Religion. And notwithſtanding the Opinion of ſome of his Council, who thought that would be a proper Opportunity to revenge the Death of the Queen his Mother; yet he could not venture to hazard the Right he had to* England *and his Religion, upon ſuch uncertain Grounds, as to truſt to the Aſſiſtance of the* Spainards, *who, if*

Account of the *Spaniſh* Preparation.

Upon which the King aſſembled the Eſtates.

The King's Speech to them.

if they obtain'd the Victory, might claim England *by Right of Conqueſt, and might have further Deſigns againſt* Scotland. A. D. 1588.

His Speech was ſeconded by the Lord Chancellor, who ſpoke much to the ſame Purpoſe; ſo it was determin'd, that ſince the Queen of *England* had not deſir'd any Aid from the King; that they ſhould raiſe all the Forces they could to defend the Kingdom, in caſe the *Spainards* ſhould invade *Scotland* at the ſame Time with *England*. Hereupon a general Muſter was made over the whole Kingdom, and Watches ſet at all the Sea-ports, and Beacons erected at all the higheſt Places, to allarm the Country in caſe any Fleet ſhould appear upon the Coaſts.

The Lord Chancellor agrees with the King's Opinion.

Orders are given to ſet Guards and Watches on the Coaſts.

Notwithſtanding of what the King and Chancellor had ſaid, yet the Earl of *Bothwell* urg'd the King to embrace that Opportunity to invade *England*, as that under their preſent Fears they would grant any Conditions for his Majeſty's Satisfaction: But the King told him to have ſuch Ships as were neceſſary to watch the Seas, the Earl being then Lord Admiral. About this Time one Collonel *Semple*, who had liv'd ſome Time in the Prince of *Parma*'s Service, arriv'd at *Leith*, and pretended ſome Meſſage from that Prince to the King: But the Matters he propos'd were ſo trifling, that he was ſuſpected of ſome other Deſigns, and Orders were given to watch him narrowly. The next Day a Pinnace coming up the *Firth*, a Paſſenger was ſeen to land, and go ſtreight to the Collonel's Lodgings at *Leith*, and being follow'd, was found delivering Letters to the Collonel; whereupon they were both apprehended by the Captain of the Guard, who was carrying them to *Edinburgh*; but the Earl of *Huntly* having Notice, went with a Party and carry'd off the Collonel, and the other, and promiſed to deliver him before the Council. The Chancellor having rais'd a Party in *Edinburgh*, was on his Way to apprehend the Earl of *Huntly*; but being met by the King, who was on his Return from *Falkland*, he order'd the Earl to be call'd before the Council, which he obey'd, and promis'd to produce the Collonel the next Day, but he made his Eſcape that Night, and was never heard of again. The King had been more offended at the Earl, had not he been married to the Lady *Henrietta Stewart*, Daughter to the late Duke of *Lennox*, ſome Days before, by the Kings Conſent, ſo that this Offence was eaſily paſt by.

The Earl of *Bothwell* adviſes the King to invade *England*.

The King's Anſwer to him.

Collonel *Semple* apprehended at *Leith*,

He is reſcued by the Earl of *Huntly*,

And makes his Eſcape.

The King having kept Guards and Watches all the Time that the *Spaniſh* Fleet were on the Coaſts of *England*, and by committing the Lord *Maxwel*, and other Things which teſtified, that he was reſolv'd to oppoſe them. The Queen of *England* ſent Sir *Robert Sidny* to give his Majeſty Thanks for thoſe good Actions, and offering Aſſiſtance, in caſe the *Spainards* ſhould land in *Scotland*: But ſome few Days after Sir *Robert*'s Return to *England*, there came an Expreſs to the King, giving an Account that the *Spainards* were defeated, and beat back.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſends a Meſſage to thank the King, upon his ſhewing himſelf againſt the *Spaniards*.

The Account that is given of this Navy is, that it conſiſted of 134 Sail, moſt Part whereof were unweildy Ships, call'd *Gallaſes*, which were fit for no Action, but for Tranſportation of Men, Horſes, Proviſions and Ammunition. They had on Board 8000 Sailers, 22000 Soldiers, beſides the commanding Officers and Volunteers, to the Number of 124. The chief Officers were the Duke of *Medina-Sidony*, Captain-General *Don Juan de Ricalde*, Admiral, *Don Diego Flores*, General of the Army, of the Gallions of *Caſtile*, *Don Piedro de Valdes*, General of the Army of *Andaluſia*, *Don Michael de Oquendo*, General of the Army of *Givopeſque*, *Don Martin Bretandona*, General of the Ships of the *Levantines*, *Don Gomez de Mendoza*, Commander of the Hulks, *Don Antonio de Hurtado*, Commander of the Pitaches and Zabres, *Diego de Medrano*, Commander of the Gallies. When they ſet to Sea, their Inſtructions were to joyn the Prince of *Parma* in the Channel, and to invade *England*: But whether the Prince had not all Things ready, or was kept in by the *Dutch* Ships, who had ſet to Sea to aſſiſt the *Engliſh*; he did not come up to them. They were firſt diſcover'd off *Plymouth* by the *Engliſh* Fleet, who ſet forward to fight them, but their Number, and prodigious Bulk kept the *Engliſh* from coming to cloſs Engagement with them; however they attack'd ſeveral ſcatter'd Ships, and took Two of them, wherein

Account of the *Spaniſh Armado*.

A. D. 1588. were Two of their chief Commanders, *Don Piedro de Valdes*, and in the other *Don Michael de Oquendo*, who were ſent Priſoners to *Plymouth*; after this they ſteer'd to *Calais Bay*, where they came to Anchor: Whereupon Captain *Francis Drake* contriv'd a Stratagem, which put them into great Confuſion. He having pick'd out Eight old Ships, fill'd them with all Manner of combuſtible Stuff, and loaded the Guns with broken Iron, Bullets, Stones, and Chains; ſo and taking the Advantage of the Wind and Tide, ſent them in among the *Spaniſh* Navy; and having order'd the Trains ſo as to fire the Guns among them, this unexpected ſurpriſing Attack put them into ſuch Diſorder, that they cut their Cables, (not having Time to weigh their Anchors) and ſet to Sea in ſuch a Hurry, that ſeveral of them were ſunk on the Sand Banks near *Calais*. Next Day they rang'd themſelves off of *Gravling*, but ſeeing no Supply come from *Parma*, they made off to Sea towards the Bay of *Biſcay*, where the General, with moſt of the Ships arriv'd ſafe; only Two Galleons of *Portugal*, having their Tackling torn by the Fire-ſhips, were driven upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and taken by the *Zelanders*.

Captain *Drake* contrives a Stratagem, which put the *Spaniſh* Navy into Confuſion.

They cut their Cables, and put to Sea.

They return to *Biſcay*.

A large Ship of *Florence* being driven upon the Weſt Coaſts of *Scotland*, ſplite upon the Rocks, and the Wreck became a Prey to the *Highlanders*; other Ships were loſt upon the Coaſt of *Ireland*, but moſt of the Men ſaved.

Nothing of Moment happen'd in *Scotland* this Year, except the Death of *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*, the Titles of *Angus* and *Mortoun*, which were both entail'd on him, devolv'd on the Lairds of *Glenbervy* and *Lochleven*. He died at *Smiton*, near *Dalkeith*, and was buried at *Abernethy*, the burying Place of his Anceſtors.

The Earl of *Angus* dies, and is ſucceeded by the Laird of *Glenbervy*.

1589. About the Beginning of the Year 1589, it was reported, that the Earls of *Huntly*, *Errol*, and ſome other *Roman Catholick* Lords of *Scotland*, wrote Letters to the King of *Spain* and Duke of *Parma*, promiſing to aſſiſt their Deſigns; and that ſeveral *Scots* Jeſuites came from abroad upon that Account; and that they intended to have come with their Friends to *Holy-rood-houſe*, and ſeiz'd the Chancellor, and others of the King's Council: This Plot being whiſper'd, the King ſent for the Earl of *Huntly*, and committed him to the Caſtle, the Earls of *Errol* and *Bothwell*, being ſummon'd before the Council, and not compearing, were denounced Rebels. The Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſe* were alſo charg'd with the ſame Crime; but they excus'd themſelves before the Council, and had their Freedom, and ſoon after the Earl of *Huntly* was releas'd from his Confinement in the Caſtle; but meeting with the Earl of *Crawford* ſoon after at *Perth*, and having ſent Notice to the Earls of *Errol* and *Bothwell*, the former coming to them to *Perth*, they went to *Aberdeen*, and arm'd themſelves with all the Men that they could raiſe, and the Earl of *Bothwell* went to the South to raiſe his Friends. Mean Time the Lord *Hamilton* and Earl of *Angus*, were employ'd by the King to raiſe Forces, and having an Army in Readineſs, march'd towards *Aberdeen*.

Reports of *Scots* Lords writing Letters to the King of *Spain* and Duke of *Parma*.

Huntly committed, and *Errol* and *Bothwell* outlaw'd.

The Lords raiſe an Inſurrection at *Aberdeen*.

The King raiſes an Army to purſue them.

The Earl of *Huntly* hearing of the King's being ſo far advanc'd, would not conſent to ſtand the Hazard of a Battle, leſt Harm might come to the King's Perſon, therefore advis'd the reſt to diſmiſs their Forces, and retire, which was agreed to; ſo that the King upon his coming to *Aberdeen*, and finding none in Arms, he return'd ſpeedily to *Edinburgh*. Some few Days after the King order'd the Earl *Mariſhal* to be ready to go to *Denmark*, to accompliſh his Marriage, and bring over the Queen; and for his Companions ſent *Andrew* Lord *Dingwall*, Sir *James Scrimzeor* of *Dudap*, Mr. *John Skeen* Advocate, and Mr. *George Skeen* Archdeacon of St. *Andrews*; and having a conſiderable Sum of Money, and all Neceſſaries for their Voyage, they ſail'd from *Leith*, and arriv'd ſoon after in *Denmark*.

The Lords upon the King's approach diſmiſs their Men, and retire.

The Earl *Mariſhal* ſent over to *Denmark*.

Mean time the Rebel Lords made great Intereſt with ſuch Friends as they had about Court, and offer'd to ſubmit to the King's Mercy. To this the King anſwer'd, He was contented that they ſhould enter themſelves before the Court of Juſticiary. Whereupon the Earls of *Huntly*, *Crawford*, and *Bothwell* appear'd before the Court, and being indicted, were found guilty of treaſonable Practices, and committed to Priſons; the Earl of *Huntly* to *Edin-*

The Rebel Lords make Intereſt with the Council.

Edinburgh Caſtle, *Crawford* to *Blackneſs*, and *Bothwell* to *Tantallon*. But in the Month of *Auguſt* after, they were, upon Surety of their good Behaviour, ſet at Liberty; and the Earl of *Errol*, who had been outlaw'd, was par- don'd; as alſo the Lord *Maxwell*, upon giving a Bond and Surety, not to practiſe any thing againſt the King, was ſet at Liberty. *A. D.* 1589.

In the Month of *October*, when the Marriage was acompliſh'd, and the Queen ready to ſet to Sea, the Ships which were to convoy her, were, by a Tempeſt driven into *Norway*, and ſo ſhatter'd, that they could not be repair'd for ſome time; ſo that the Queen could not ſet out till next Spring. The King having Notice thereof, he immediately reſolv'd with himſelf to go over in Perſon; and knowing the many Impediments he might meet with, if he ſhould declare his Intentions to the Council; he therefore order'd ſome Ships to be ready, and ſending for the Lord Chancellor, and Sir *Lewis Bellanaine*, the Juſtice-Clerk, communicated his Reſolution, and taking them, with Mr. *Robert Dowglaſs*, Provoſt of *Lincludden*, Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, and Mr. *David Lindſay*, one of his Chaplains, he ſet to Sea from *Leith*, and landed at *Upſall*, where the Queen then reſided.

The King goes over to *Denmark*.

The Day that the King went on Board at *Leith*, he ſent for Mr. *Alexander Hay*, Clerk of the Regiſter, and gave him a Declaration, written with his own Hand, wherein he gave the Reaſons of his going over in Perſon, and ſo privately, to *Denmark*; and with the Declaration he gave a Mandate, conſtituting the Duke of *Lennox* Preſident of his Privy-Council, to be aſſiſted by *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, with all the State Officers, ſuch as the Trea- ſurer, Comptroller, Maſter of Requeſts, Privy-Seal, Captain of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, Advocate and Clerk-Regiſter: And that the Council ſhould reſide at *Edinburgh*; ordering the Earls of *Angus*, *Atholl*, *Seaton*, *Yeſter*, and *Innermeth*, the Barons of *Lothian*, *Stirling*, and *Strathern* to attend the Council, as they ſhould be occaſionally call'd. He likewiſe appointed the Lord *Hamilton* his Lieutenant, and Warden of the three Marches and Sheriffdome of *Lanark*, to be aſſiſted by the Lords *Herries*, *Maxwell*, *Hume*, and *Ceſſford*, and that they ſhould reſide at *Drumfrees*. This Declaration was dated the 22d of *October*, being the Day on which his Majeſty ſet Sail from *Leith*. And being ſafe arriv'd at *Upſall*, he met the Queen, and the *Sunday* following they were married by Mr. *David Lindſay*, who perform'd the Ceremony in the *French* Tongue.

The King leaves a Declaration.

The Council by him appointed.

He arrives at *Upſall*, and is there married.

Some few Days after, the King determin'd to ſet Sail with the Queen for *Scotland*; but as the Weather prov'd bad to take the Seas, the Counſellours of *Denmark* adviſ'd the King to viſit the Queen Mother, and her Son, the young King of *Denmark*: To which his Majeſty readily conſented, and ſent back the Ships he had brought over, with Sir *James Scrimzeor* and Mr. *Skeen*.

Whilſt the King lay at *Upſall*, the Earl of *Marſhall*, in a Council, made a Report of his Embaſſy; and how, according to the Contract paſt, and in- terchangeably ſeal'd and ſign'd, the Marriage was compleated; and an At- teſtatation taken concerning the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Zetland*, bearing, *That the King and* * *Regents of* Denmark *ſhould ſuperſede all Claim of Right to the ſaid Iſles unto the King's perfect Age; reſerving to each Kingdom their own Right, which by that Treaty ſhould not be prejudic'd.* Whereof he produc'd the Copy ſign'd by the four Governours, with the Form of the Oath given by him and his Aſſociates, for the King's Performance of all Things on his Part concerning the Marriage. So that the Earl's Behaviour, in every Particular of the Embaſſy, was declar'd by the King and his Council to be juſt and honourable.

The Earl *Mariſhal* reports the Proceedings of his Embaſſy.

* The King being under Age.

Mean time Ambaſſadors came from the Queen and young King of *Denmark*, inviting the King to their Court; and upon the 22d of *December*, the King and Queen left *Upſall*, and came to *Babuis* (a Caſtle ſtanding upon the Borders of *Norway* and *Sweden*) on the firſt of *January*. From whence the King ſent Capt. *William Murray* to *Stockholm*, to the King of *Sweden*, for a ſafe Conduct; and he return'd on the 8th Day after, with a Captain and 400

A. D. 1590. Horſemen from the King of *Sweden*, who convoy'd the King and Queen the Space of two *Dutch* Miles into *Denmark*. On the 9th Day his Majeſty came to the Caſtle of *Wertberg*, where he ſtaid five Days, and on the 15th went by *Flankenburg*, *Holmſtadt*, and *Cowholm* Caſtle, to *Elſinbourgh*. On the 21ſt of *January*, he croſs'd the Ferry, and arriv'd at *Cronenburg*, where he was receiv'd by the Queen-Mother and young King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Holſtadt* his Brother, and the four Regents of that Kingdom, with all poſſible Magnificence. There he remain'd till the end of *February*, and then was preparing to return home; but a Match between the Duke of *Brunſwick* and his Queen's Siſter being then agreed upon; at the Requeſt of the Queen-Mother and the Court of *Denmark*, his Majeſty put off his Return till *April*, in the beginning of which Month they were to be marry'd. Mean time the King ſent over to *Scotland William Shaw*, Maſter of his Works, to inform the Council of the Reaſon of his Stay; and to cauſe ſome Ships and expert Pilots to be ſent to attend his Return; and accordingly Capt. *William Stewart* was ſent over, with ſix well furniſh'd Ships, about the beginning of *April*, and landed at *Elſinore*, about the Time of the Solemnity of the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s Marriage; and brought an Addreſs from the Council, ſhewing the King, how much the People long'd for his Return; and how quiet and peaceable a Condition the Nation had continu'd in during his Abſence; for there had not been any Strife nor Broil in any Part of the Kingdom, all that Time. But after the King was married at *Upſall*, there happen'd a Conteſt between the Earl *Mariſhall* and Lord Chancellor, about Precedency. The Earl *Mariſhall* inſiſted on his being employ'd as Ambaſſador; which Embaſſy, the Chancellor ſaid, did expire upon the King's Arrival; therefore claim'd Precedency according to his Office: The Conteſt being referr'd to the King, he decided it in Favour of the Chancellor.

The King and Queen arrive at the Court of *Denmark*.

The Reaſon of the King's Stay at *Denmark*.

The Solemnity of the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s Marriage being over, the King and his Queen took Leave of the Court of *Denmark*, and being convoy'd by ſeveral *Daniſh* Ships, they landed ſafe at *Leith*, the 20th of *May*; where they were receiv'd by a great Concourſe of the Nobility, Gentry, and all Ranks of People; who expreſs'd great Joy at their ſafe Arrival. The King took Opportunity to thank his Council, for the good Order they had kept among the Subjects during his Abſence, and took particular Notice of the Earl of *Bothwell*, for having behav'd himſelf ſo prudently all that Time.

The King and Queen arrive at *Leith*.

The King going firſt to Church, where he heard a Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, one of his Chaplains, went, with the Queen, to the Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, which was magnificently furniſh'd upon that Occaſion; and order'd the Noblemen and others of the *Daniſh* Court who came over, to be ſplendidly and reſpectfully entertain'd.

Next Day after the King's Arrival, the Council aſſembl'd, to adviſe about the Queen's Coronation: Which the King deſir'd might be done in the moſt ſolemn manner; and as the Biſhops had been little regarded for ſome Time before, deſir'd that Mr. *Robert Bruce* ſhould perform the Ceremony of Unction: Whereof, when the Miniſters about the Town had Notice, they exclaim'd againſt that Part of the Form; declaring that Anointing was a *Jewiſh* Cuſtom, aboliſh'd by the coming of CHRIST; and only reviv'd by the Papiſts in Chriſtian Kingdoms: Therefore would not allow of it. But the King having Notice of their imprudent Conduct in that Affair, ſaid, If they refus'd, the Biſhops ſhould be call'd, who would not refuſe to perform that laudable Ceremony; whereupon (to prevent the Biſhops from being call'd to Court) they readily agreed to let the King uſe his Pleaſure. And, upon the firſt *Sunday* after their landing, the Queen was crown'd with all the accuſtom'd Rites, in the Abby Church of *Holy-rood-Houſe*. And upon *Tueſday* after, ſhe made her publick Entry into the City of *Edinburgh*. The reſt of this Month was ſpent in Royal Entertainments for the Strangers that reſorted to Court upon that Occaſion. And when the Queen's Houſhold were regulated, the Foreigners

The Queen crown'd at *Holy-rood-Houſe*.

reigners were diſmiſs'd, after receiving rich Preſents both from the King and Queen. *A. D.* 1590.

Towards Harveſt, there happen'd a Quarrel between the Earls of *Murray* and *Huntly*, which came ſo high, that the Earl of *Murray* call'd his Couſin, the Earl of *Atholl*, to his Aſſiſtance, and rais'd his Friends; as likewiſe did the Earl of *Huntly*. This Quarrel was occaſion'd by the Death of a Servant, belonging to *John Gordon*, Son to *Thomas Gordon* of *Cluny*, who married the Widdow of *Grant* of *Ballendallaugh*. And, in a private Quarrel, the Servant was kill'd (as was alledg'd) by the Tutor of *Ballendallaugh*: And *Cluny* making Information to the Earl of *Huntly*, as being Sheriff of the Shire; he ſent a Party to apprehend the Tutor; but he having fled to the Earl of *Murray* for Refuge, had engag'd the whole Name of *Grant* to take his Part; and the whole Clan met the Earl of *Murray* at *Forreſs*, and went with him to his Houſe of *Tarnway*; where the Earl of *Huntly* came with a Party, deſiring the Murderer to be deliver'd up to Juſtice. But inſtead of any Anſwer, they were ſaluted with ſeveral Muſquet-Shots, by one whereof, the young Gentleman who married the Widow was ſlain on the Spot. To revenge this Affront, the Earl of *Huntly* was raiſing all his Vaſſals and Tenants, when he receiv'd an Expreſs from the King, inhibiting him from paſſing the River *Spey*, or removing from his Caſtle; as alſo the Earl of *Murray* was inhibited from coming over the River *Findorn*; and the Earl of *Atholl* was call'd home; which put a Stop to their Proceedings, but did not end their Feuds.

A Quarrel between the Earls of *Huntly* and *Murray*.

About the ſame time, *William Ker* of *Ancrum* was kill'd in the Border by *Robert Ker*, apparent Heir of *Ceſſford*: Their Quarrel was upon Account of old Differences, between the Families of *Ceſſford* and *Ferniherſt*. The Murderer fled, and liv'd in Obſcurity for ſome Time, but afterwards was pardon'd, by the Lord Chancellor's Intereſt, and had him married to his Neice, the Daughter of the late *Lethington*.

Robert Ker kills *William Ker*.

In the latter end of this Year there were ſeveral Witches try'd, and among other things, they were ſaid to accuſe the Earl of *Bothwell* of conſulting them how long the King ſhould live and reign, and to take away his Life. Theſe Accuſations were look'd upon as very ridiculous; yet the Matter was ſo wrought up, that others were brought to make the like Confeſſions in the next Spring, ſo that the Earl was committed to Priſon, from whence, ſoon after, he made his Eſcape, and fled to *England*, where he ſculk'd all that Year.

Witches accuſe the Earl of *Bothwell* of Deſigns againſt the King's Life.

1591.

He is impriſon'd, and makes his Eſcape.

Mean time, he was by Proclamation denounc'd Traitor, and forfeited. The Words of the Proclamation begun thus; *Whereas* Francis Stewart *Earl of* Bothwell, *being near in Blood to his Majeſty the King, and being advanc'd in Honours and Offices above his Birth, having heretofore, in an unnatural Manner, committed Slaughters, rais'd Arms againſt his Majeſty, and practis'd with Strangers againſt the* Religion; *whereof his Conviction, in* May, 1589. *was ſuperſeded, in Hope of Ammendment: But ſince he had conſulted with Witches againſt the King's Life, as by their Confeſſions appears, and for all being committed, he hath broken Priſon, and thereby taken theſe Crimes upon him, which concludes him a Traitor: Therefore his Majeſty will'd all his Subjects to acknowledge him for no other than a Rebel and Traitor.*

Is denounc'd Rebel.

When the Earl had made his Eſcape, he apply'd himſelf to the Lord *Hume*, and others in the Borders, making great Complaints, that the Chancellor and the Miniſters had contriv'd his Ruin, and impos'd on the King in that and many other Things; whereby his Majeſty was led into ſuch Meaſures by their Contrivances, as would offend all his beſt Subjects. Therefore deſir'd their Aſſiſtance and Concurrence, to uſe ſuch Means as might oblige the King to put the Chancellor from Court, and receive his Nobles according to their Birth and Merit.

The Earl complains of the Chancellor and Miniſters of State.

The Lord *Hume* and others, at firſt gave Ear unto the Earl, and ſeem'd to favour his Deſigns, but upon further Conſideration of the Danger, they forſook him, ſo that he was forc'd to ſeek Shelter in obſcure Places in the Borders.

A. D. 1591. About this time died *Patrick Adamſon*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's*; of whom it was reported, that ſome time before his Death, being afflicted with Sickneſs, and almoſt reduc'd to Want (being for ſome time before depriv'd of the Benefice of the See) the Aſſembly at *Edinburgh* ſent ſome of their Brethren to perſuade him to approve of the Presbyterian Diſcipline, and to condemn the Epiſcopal Government; offering a large Sum for his Subſiſtence: And altho' he refus'd, yet they caus'd print and publiſh a Paper, under the Title of *Mr.* Patrick Adamſon's *Recantation*; which they ſaid was ſign'd by him; wherein he own'd, *That he never allow'd any other Biſhop in the Church but St.* Paul's *Biſhop*. But when this was made known to the Archbiſhop, he deny'd it, with great Complaints of the Wrong they did him by ſo malicious Aſperſions.

The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's* Death, and what happen'd before it.

He was ſaid to be a Man of great Learning, and wrote ſeveral Books, but moſt of them falling into the Hands of his Adverſaries, were ſuppreſs'd.

After his Death, the Miniſters call'd a Presbytery at St. *Andrew's*, where they were in great Confuſion for ſome time, about planting a Preacher in the Kirk of *Leuchers*. They being divided into two Parties, and each having nominated a Miniſter for the vacant Place, about which they contended for ſeveral Days without any Agreement; therefore they referr'd the Deciſion of the Matter to the Arbitration of three eminent Miniſters, *viz.* Mr. *David Lindſay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and Mr *John Spotſwood*, who coming to St. *Andrew's*, could not find it poſſible to determine in Favour of either of the Candidates, without bringing the Contention to a greater Height: Therefore appointed a third Perſon. This Schiſme or Diviſion among them, was look'd upon as ominous, as they, at the beginning of their ſole Power in that Place, ſhould give Occaſion to People to ſay of them, *That of all Men none could worſe endure Parity, and lov'd more to rule, than they who had introduc'd it into the Church.* And as they call'd Aſſemblies, Synods, and Preſbyteries in ſeveral Places, at ſeveral Times, without conſulting the King or Council, it was very much taken Notice of; and thoſe who were not of their Diſcipline, did not fail to obſerve to the King, how little they regarded Royal Authority in their Proceedings, of which he took Notice, as ſhall be ſeen hereafter.

Great Conteſts among the Miniſters.

The Earl of *Bothwell* having liv'd ſome time among his Acquaintance ſo very private, that there was no Notice taken of him, and Son-in-Law, the Laird *Bucleugh*, had Leave to go over to *France*: Yet, as the Chancellor was hated by ſeveral Noblemen about Court, eſpecially the Duke of *Lennox*; ſome of his Retinue concerted Meaſures with Collonel *William Stewart*, *James Dowglaſs* Laird of *Spot*, and *James Naſmyth*, the King's Chirurgeon; and apply'd to the Earl of *Bothwll* to head them, to ſurprize the King, and ſeize (or as ſome ſay to kill) the Lord Chancellor. In this Enterprize they proceeded ſo far, that they came in the Night to the King's Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, and, by their ſecret Aſſociates, had Admittance through the Gates: But *James Dowglaß*'s Servants being then Priſoners in the Palace, on Suſpicion of the Murder of *George Hume*, *Dowglaß*'s Father-in-Law; he went firſt to the Place where thoſe Servants were kept, and being oppos'd, made ſuch Noiſe, that the King and Court were allarm'd. The King, who was then at Supper with the Queen, upon the firſt Noiſe was convoy'd to a remote Tower. Mean time, *Bothwell* order'd the Chancellor's Lodgings to be ſecur'd, and went to the Queen's Appartment, where they expected the King to be, which, when they found ſtrongly barricaded, they cry'd loud to ſet Fire to it: But Sir *James Sandilands*, of the King's Bed-chamber, having got ſeveral arm'd Men ready, came upon them, and beat them off from the Doors; ſo that the Earl and his Followers took to Flight. As they fled, one *John Shaw* encounter'd the Earl of *Bothwell* with his Sword, but the Earl diſpatching him with a Piſtol, made his Eſcape, with ſome of his Aſſiſtants: And nine of his Gang were taken by the Guards, and were all executed the next Day.

Bothwell's Attempt at *Holy-rood-Houſe*.

He is put to Flight.

Nine of his Party taken and executed.

This

This Attempt being defeated, the Earl of *Bothwell* went to the North, and ſupplicated the Earl of *Murray* (who was his Couſin) for Shelter and Aſſiſtance. The Earl of *Murray* giving Shelter to *Bothwell* for ſome few Days, had Enemies enough about the King, to charge him with being concern'd in the Conſpiracy; and would needs affirm, that the Earl of *Murray* had been ſeen in the Attempt at the Palace. Whereupon the King ſent *Andrew* Lord *Ochiltree* to the Earl, to bring him to Court, pretending to have him reconcil'd to the Earl of *Huntly*, who was then at Court. The Earl of *Murray* obey'd the Command, and came South, accompany'd with the Sheriff of *Murray*, and went to his Mother, the Lady *Down*'s Houſe at *Dunybirſtle*, where he waited the King's further Commands. The Earl of *Huntly* having by this time, procur'd an Order to bring him to his Trial, for the before-mention'd alledg'd Crimes; he went with a Party in the Night, and beſet the Houſe of *Dunybirſtle*, and requir'd the Earl to ſurrender himſelf Priſoner. He being ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Alarm, call'd together his Retinue, and made all the Defence they could; but, the Earl of *Huntly*'s Party ſetting Fire to the Houſe, they were all forc'd to come out, rather than to be ſuffocated in the Smoak and Flames. In making ſome ſmall Reſiſtance, the Sheriff of *Murray* was kill'd, while the Earl made his Eſcape; but being diſcover'd by ſome Sparks of the Fire, which ſtuck to the Top of his Head-piece, he was overtaken among the Rocks, and cruelly murder'd.

A. D. 1591.

The Earl of *Murray* accus'd.

He is kill'd by the Earl of *Huntly*.

The Earl of *Murray*'s Death made very great Noiſe over the Kingdom, eſpecially among the Noblemen about Court, who laid the whole Blame on the Chancellor; whereupon he prevail'd with the King, to remove the Court from *Edinburgh* to *Glaſgow*, where he ſtaid, till he had commanded the Earl of *Huntly* to enter himſelf Priſoner in *Blackneſs*; from whence he was ſoon after ſet at Liberty, upon Bail to appear before the Juſtice-Court when call'd. The Earl of *Murray* and the Sheriff's Bodies were carry'd over to *Leith* Church, where they lay embalm'd in Coffins for ſeveral Weeks: Their Relations refuſing to bury them until their Slaughter were puniſh'd. And ſeveral others join'd them in the Deſire of Revenge; among whom, none was more offended than the Lord *Ochiltree*, who having, by the Chancellor's Orders, perſuaded the Earl of *Murray* to come South, was ſo much bent upon Revenge, that he join'd himſelf and Intereſt to the Earl of *Bothwell*: But to make ſome Satisfaction to them, one Capt. *Gordon*, who being wounded at the Surprize of *Dunybirſtle*, and carry'd Priſoner to *Edinburgh*, was publickly executed, as the Author of *Murray*'s Death.

The Earl of *Huntly* confin'd in *Blackneſs*.

The Earl of *Murray*'s Friends offended at his Death.

They join *Bothwell*, to have revenge.

Capt. *Gordon* executed.

In the Beginning of the Year 1592. the Miniſters continu'd their Aſſemblies and Synods, and ſent ſeveral Petitions to the King, to put the Laws in Execution againſt the Papiſts, and to confirm their Form of Diſcipline, with Liberty to exerciſe the ſame, according to the Word of GOD. Which the King interpreted, to deſire Leave to act according to their own Inclinations, without Regard to Regal Authority, and was about to have taken Notice of their Petitions; but was interrupted by another Attempt, made by the Earl of *Bothwell* at *Falkland*. It is ſaid, that in this Attempt he was favour'd by the Earls of *Angus* and *Errol*, the Maſter of *Gray*, Collonel *Stewart*, and the Lairds of *Johnſton* and *Ballwery*; and that they being with the King, were to give *Bothwell* Admittance, when he came with a ſufficient Party to the Palace; but by a falſe Alarm, before *Bothwell* and his Party (to the Number of 300 Horſe, who having march'd from the Border, by Night and Day, came near *Falkland* about Midnight) could come up, they were diſcover'd; and the Earl of *Errol* and Collonel *Stewart* being ſecur'd, were committed to Priſon, the Earl being ſent to *Edinburgh*, and the Collonel to *Blackneſs*.

1592.

Another Attempt by the Earl of *Bothwell*, favour'd by others.

But are diſappointed.

When *Bothwell* and his Party found their Plot diſcover'd, they about the Break of Day broke open ſome of the King's Stables, and carried away ſeveral Horſes, and other Things, ſuch as the Borderers thought uſeful for themſelves. Next Day the King haſtned to *Stirling*, where he found ſeveral of *Bothwell*'s Party had been taken; they having endur'd ſo much Fatigue for Three Days, were overcome with Sleep and Hunger, ſo that by endeavour-

A. D. 1592.

ing to supply themselves with both, they were taken by the Country People, and brought to *Stirling*. Mean Time the King publish'd a Proclamation, offering Pardon to every one who would forsake the Traitor *Bothwell*. Yet *Alexander Lindsay* Lord *Spynie*, who was a great Favourite at Court, intended to have *Bothwell* pardon'd, and receiv'd into the King's Favour; which Intention coming to Collonel *Stewart*'s Knowledge, (as he was then Prisoner in *Blackness*, he was in Hopes of procuring his own Liberty by that good Office) sent Notice thereof to the King by Sir *James Sandilands*; which Information Sir *James* declar'd before the Council, alledging that the Lord *Spynie* had shelter'd the Earl of *Bothwell* at *Aberdeen* for some Days after the late Enterprise at *Falkland*. The Lord *Spynie* denied all the Charge, and challeng'd Sir *James* to a Combate for the Affront; which Sir *James* denying, the Lord *Spynie* was receiv'd again into Favour; but upon some other Disgust he left Court, and openly declar'd his Friendship to *Bothwell*.

A Proclamation by the King.

The Lord *Spynie* joyns *Bothwell*.

The King fearing Insurrections in the Borders, went as far as *Jedburgh*, and return'd by *Tweddale* to *Edinburgh*, where being arriv'd, he found new Disturbance between the Chancellor and the Duke of *Lennox*, who being joyned by the Earls of *Argyle*, *Mortoun*, *Angus*, *Erroll*, the Lords *Glamis* and *Hume*, made the Chancellor resolve to leave Court for some Time, and retire to his Country Seat. Besides this Disturbance at Court, the *Clancattons* or *Mackintoshes* had invaded the Earl of *Huntly*'s Lands, giving out that the Cause of their rising in Arms was to revenge the Earl of *Murray*'s Death: They went over the Lands of *Strathspey*, and other Places, committing great Insolence, especially upon *Gordon* Laird of *Barclay*, who making some Defence was slain, whereupon the Earl of *Huntly* rais'd a strong Party, went over their Lands in the like Manner, till they in a Body encounter'd him, who with his Party gave them a warm Reception, wherein about Sixty of them were slain, but few of the Earl's Party fell in the Encounter, besides the Laird of *Barclay* before mentioned. Upon this Occasion the Earl of *Angus* had a Commission to pass into the *North*, as the King's Lieutenant, to pacify those Broils which he accomplish'd: But upon his Return to Court he was seiz'd, and committed Prisoner to *Edinburgh* Castle, upon Account of Letters said to be sent from him to the Earls of *Huntly*, *Errol*, and others, to the King of *Spain*. And as those Lairds were reputed Papists, and the Letters said to be intercepted by the Ministers; so that their Crimes were the more publickly exclaim'd against; and at the same Time *David Graham* of *Fintry*, being accus'd of having been employ'd as an Agent from the King of *Spain*, and other Foreign *Roman* Catholick Princes, to the *Roman* Catholick Peers of *Scotland*; he was tried, sentenc'd, and executed in the High Street of *Edinburgh*, the 20th of *Frebruary*, and Mr. *John Graham* one of the Senators of the College of Justice, who had made great Interest for *Fintry*'s Life, being charg'd with the like Crimes, was order'd to leave *Edinburgh*, and retire to his House in *Strathern*: But as he was going to the *Ferry* of *Leith*, he was met by Sir *James Sandilands* of the King's Bed-chamber, who had a Law Suit with the Senator, for the Lands of *Hallyards*: Tho' their Meeting seem'd as by Chance, yet they quarrell'd, so that some Pistols were fir'd, and the Senator, and one Sir *Alexander Stewart*, (a grave Gentleman who was Chamberlain to the Duke of *Lennox*) were kill'd on the Spot: Some say that Mr. *John Graham* was not quite dead, when he was carried into a Cottage, but Sir *Alexander Stewart*'s Page seeing his Master dead, stab'd Mr. *Graham* in several Places, till he was dead.

Disturbance at Court.

The *Mackintoshes* invade the Earl of *Huntly*'s Lands.

The Earl with a Party meets and gives them Battle.

The Earl of *Angus* confin'd to the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

He with other Lairds accus'd.

David Graham of *Fintry* executed.

Mr. *John Graham* kill'd.

The same Day that this Slaughter happen'd, the Earl of *Angus* made his Escape out of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and went straight North, where he met the Earls of *Huntly* and *Errol*: But having Notice of the King's being on his Way to *Aberdeen*, they left their Houses, and fled to the Mountains, leaving Orders with their Ladies to wait upon the King, to interceed for them, and offer the Keys of their Houses.

Angus makes his Escape, and joyns the other Lords.

The King at his coming to *Aberdeen*, receiv'd the Ladies courteously, and told them, that if their Husbands would appear and abide Trial, they should receive

The King goes to *Aberdeen*,

receive no Hurt; but if they deny'd, he could not hinder the Courſe of Juſtice, to be executed according to the Crimes they were charg'd with. Mean Time the Earl of *Atholl* was appointed Lieutenant of the Bounds of *Elgin*, *Forreſs*, *Nairn*, *Inverneſs*, and *Cromarty*, and the Earl of *Marſhal* of the Sheriffdoms of *Kincardine*, *Bamff*, and *Aberdeen*. *A. D.* 1592.

And returns to *Edinburgh*, an Ambaſſador from *England*.

Upon the King's Return to *Edinburgh*, the Lord *Burrough* arriv'd as Ambaſſador from *England*, to congratulate his Majeſty upon his Diſcoveries, and Eſcape from the Rebels; and aſſuring him, that the Queen was ready to aſſiſt him upon any Occaſion, eſpecially in purſuing and puniſhing the rebellious Popiſh Lords, whom ſhe adviſed him to baniſh, and confiſcate their Eſtates for his own Safety. The King teturn'd Thanks for the kind Offers of the Queen, and acknowledg'd his Obligations to Sir *Robert Bowes* her Reſident, who had given Notice to her of the Particulars of what had happen'd.

The Ambaſſador's Advice concerning *Bothwell*.

The Ambaſſador at his ſecond Audience, mention'd the Caſe of the Earl of *Bothwell*, and gave ſome Hints to the King, as if it would be for his Safety to receive the Earl into Favour at that troubleſome Time: But the King told him, that as *Bothwell*'s Crimes were unpardonable, he deſir'd that the Queen of *England* would proſecute ſuch of her Subjects, as would give him Shelter or Succour: And as for the Trial begun, he would proſecute it with all Expedition and Juſtice; whereupon the Ambaſſador took Leave and departed, leaving Sir *Robert Bowes* Reſident.

1593.

In *April* 1593, the General Aſſembly met at *Dundee*, where the King ſent Sir *James Melvil* of *Hallhill*, with ſeveral Articles to be obſerv'd by them.

Articles propos'd by the King to the General Aſſembly.

1. *That he would not ſuffer the Privileges and Honour of his Crown to be diminiſh'd, nor Aſſemblies to meet when and where they pleas'd.* 2. *That an Act ſhould be made, inhibiting all Miniſters to declaim in Pulpits, againſt the Proceedings of his Majeſty and Council.* 3. *That ſome of every Presbytery ſhould inform his Majeſty of the Practices of Papiſts, and the Earl of* Bothwel's *Receivers.* 4 *That ſome of their Number ſhould be ſent to the Magiſtrates of Seaport Burghs, to examine all Paſſengers and Plotters againſt Religion.*

The Miniſters Anſwer.

To theſe Articles they anſwer'd in general, that they would follow former Acts; and as for Miniſters declaiming from the Pulpits, there had been an Act already paſt to that Effect, which would be obſerv'd. The Miniſters about this Time propos'd to alter the weekly Market of *Edinburgh*, from *Munday* to *Tueſday*, in regard the Tradeſmen often broke the *Sabbath* in preparing for the Market. To this Alteration they had obtain'd the Conſent of the Town-council. But the Shoemakers, and other Trades, who were moſt concern'd in the Market, having Notice of the intended Alteration, they rais'd a Mob, and coming to the Miniſters Houſes, they threatn'd to drive them out of the City and Suburbs, if they ſhould inſiſt upon having the Market Day alter'd; upon which they gave immediate Aſſurance, that the Matter ſhould be drop'd. Which ready Compliance of the Miniſters, gave Occaſion to ſome Courtiers to ſay jeſtingly, *That Raſcals and Sowters could obtain more from the Miniſters, than the King could in Matters more reaſonalle.*

The Miniſters Deſign to alter the Market Day at *Edinburgh*.

They are oppos'd by the Shoemakers, &c.

Reflection on the Miniſters Submiſſion.

Sir *Robert Melvil* ſent to *England*.

In the Month of *May*, the King ſent Sir *Robert Melvil* Ambaſſador to Queen *Elizabeth*, deſiring her Aſſiſtance againſt the Earl of *Bothwell*, and ſuch of her Subjects as would ſhelter him. And about the ſame Time, the Chancellor (who had ſome Months before retired to his Country Seat, upon ſome Offence given the Queen) having written a Letter to the King, deſiring Leave to leave the Kingdom, ſince he could not attend his Office, and that he could not endure to live in the Nation, and be depriv'd of his Majeſty's Preſence. Promiſing at the ſame Time to return when his Majeſty ſhould be pleas'd to recall him to his Service. When this Letter came to the King, he went to the Queen, and prevail'd with her to forget all Quarrels, whereof he advertis'd the Chancellor, and order'd him to return to Court. Thoſe who hated the Chancellor, having Notice of his Return, made Intereſt with the Earl of *Atholl*, the Lord *Ochiltree*, and others of the

The Lord Chancellor retires, and writes to the King.

The King calls him to Court.

A. D. 1593.

The Lord of the Court brings in *Bothwell* to surprise the King.

Name of *Stewart*, to perswade the Duke of *Lennox* to bring in *Bothwell* to Court, and to keep out the Chancellor. To this the Duke easily consented; and the Earl *Bothwell*, with Mr. *John Colvil* his Follower, were privately convey'd to the Earl of *Atholl*'s Lodgings, joyning the Palace of *Holy-rood-house*. The Parliament being at that Time dissolv'd, the Palace Gates were kept open to the Nobility who resorted thither, to take Leave of the King as they left Town; so that the Countess of *Atholl* taking *Bothwel* and Mr. *Colvil* with her, pretending to take Leave of the King, pass'd through the back Passage to the Bed-chamber, without being seen by any one. The King being retir'd to another Room, upon entring seeing them with their Swords in their Hands, cried out, *Treason, Treason.* They fell upon their Knees, and begg'd for his Mercy and Pardon, which *Bothwell* declar'd was the Design of their coming. He answer'd him, *Thou hast dishonour'd me; strike, Traitor, make an End of me, since I cannot live in Peace I desire to die.* But *Bothwel* protested with many Oaths, that he never did intend any Hurt to his Majesty, and would submit to his Will, hoping for Pardon of those Offences, which were misrepresented by his Enemies. The King replied, that Mercy extorted by Violence was not accounted so; nor was it usual for Supplicants to come with Weapons in their Hands. Whilest the King was talking to him, the Earl of *Marr* and Sir *William Keith* enter'd the Bed-chamber, and were close followed by some of *Bothwell*'s Faction, who by that Time had secur'd the Palace Gates. The Rumour of this Surprise being reported in the City, Sir *Alexander Hume* the Lord Provost, rais'd the Citizens, and came straight to the Palace to relieve the King; but by the Earl of *Marr*'s Advice, the King shew'd himself at a Window, giving Thanks to the People for their Readiness to serve him; he desired they might return to their Houses, and attend his Orders.

The Manner of his coming.

Mean Time the Earl *Bothwell*, having gotten Sir *Robert Bowes*, the *English* Resident, to take his Part, with many others, to interceed for him, they perswaded the King to condescend, 1. *To grant a Pardon of all his former Attempts and Treason, by him or his Associates, and to repossess him and them of whatever they formerly possessed, notwithstanding of whatsoever Proclamations or Process had been laid against them.* 2. *That a Parliament should be called in* November *after, and their Pardons to be confirmed by an Act of the Estates.* 3. *That the King should not receive into his Company the Lord Chancellor, the Lord* Hume, *the Master of* Glamis, *nor Sir* George Hume *of* Coldingknows. 4. *That from that Time for ever after, the Earl of* Bothwell, *his Friends and Followers, should be esteem'd as good and lawful Subjects, and used with as much Favour as if they had never offended.* Which Articles were subscrib'd by the King, and the following Persons; the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earl of *Atholl*, the Lords *Forbes*, *Ochiltree*, *Speynie*, and *Urquhart*; the Master of *Gray*, Mr. *James Elphingstone*, Mr. *Alexander Hay* Clerk Register, *Nicholas Edwards*, *John Morison*, *George Godrick*, and *David Williamson*, Bailies of *Edinburgh*; Mr. *David Lindsay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Walter Balcanquel*, and Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Ministers of *Edinburgh*. And for *Bothwell* it was promis'd, *that he should leave Court, and not come near the King till call'd by his Majesty.*

The King grants a Pardon to *Bothwell* and his Associates.

Those Articles were sign'd at *Holy-rood-house*, the 14th of *August* 1593, being about Twenty Days after the Surprise. Next Day after the King went to *Falkland*, attended by the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earl of *Atholl*, the Lord *Ochiltree*, and *Creighton* of *Cluny*, who promis'd to *Bothwell* to attend the King till *November*, to debar those mention'd in the Articles from being admitted. Mean Time *Bothwell* had himself purg'd by an Assize of the Accusations of the Witches, which had been the original of his Troubles. But the King taking it amiss, went to *Stirling* in *September*, and call'd a Convention, pretending to take a Course with some unruly *Highlanders*. Thither came the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Marr*, *Morton*, *Glencairn*, and *Montrose*, with the Lords *Lindsay* and *Livingstone*, who being conveen'd, the King told them the whole Proceedings of the Earl of *Bothwell*, and the

Bothwell has himself acquitted by an Assize of the Accusation of the Witches.

the Reaſons why he had ſign'd thoſe Articles, deſiring their Opinion and Advice in a Matter of ſuch great Conſequence. *A. D.* 1593.

The unanimous Anſwer of the Convocation was, *That as that very Action of obtaining that Remiſſion was treaſonable, the Conditions granted in that Manner were not to be perform'd. That for pardoning him and his Followers, it ſtill depended upon his Majeſty's good Pleaſure; and that for him to be debar'd the Company of his Servants and Officers of Sate did not conſiſt with the Honour and Dignity of a King.* The King ſaid, *As for a Remiſſion, he would be content to give, for the Quiet of the Nation; but would not do it as by Compulſion: Therefore deſired them to conſider, whether in Law and Conſcience, he was obliged to the Performance of what was done. That if he was, he deſired the ſame might be done by an Act as a free Prince: But as for the Officers and Counſellors, he could not want them in the Adminiſtration of his Affairs.* This being allow'd moſt reaſonable by the Convocation, an Act was paſt, declaring, *That the King, with Advice of his Eſtates, had recall'd the Grant made to the Earl of* Bothwell *in* Auguſt *laſt; and being a free Prince, he might uſe the Service of any of his Subjects, and call them to him at his Pleaſure.* With this Declaration the Prior of *Blantyre* and Sir *Robert Melvil*, were ſent to the Earl *Bothwell*, ſhewing, that the King did not think himſelf bound in Law or Honour, to perform the Articles of *Holy-rood-houſe:* Yet if he would then make humble Suit for Pardon for himſelf and Followers, it would be granted, upon Condition that the ſame ſhould be ſupplicated, and formally paſt before the 20th of *November*. Which being expede, he ſhould depart the Kingdom, and remain in ſuch Parts beyond Seas as the King ſhould appoint, and not to Return without his Majeſty's Licence.

Bothwell's Pardon and other Conditions revock'd by an Act of Parliament.

And new Terms offer'd to him.

Bothwell receiv'd the Meſſage at firſt with ſeeming Content, but upon Notice, that the Lord *Hume* and others, were receiv'd at Court, he fell in a Paſſion, and ſwore he would oblige the King to obſerve the Conditions; and immediately ſent Notice to the Earl of *Atholl* to meet him at *Stirling* the firſt of *October* with his Forces. In Compliance with this Requeſt, the Earl of *Atholl*, with the Earl of *Montroſe*, and ſeveral others, came to *Stirling* by the Day mentioned; but the King going to *Linlithgow*, and being attended by the Lord *Hamilton*, and ſeveral other Noblemen, their Hopes were diſappointed. The King hearing, that *Atholl* was come to *Stirling* with a great Retinue, ſent a Meſſenger charging him to diſmiſs his Company, and turn home to his Houſe, which he obey'd; and to excuſe his coming, ſaid he came to hold a Court at *Down* Caſtle, being then Tutor to the young Earl of *Murray*; and to prove the Truth, carried the Meſſenger thither with him the next Day, which made the King ſuſpect more Danger: So went towards *Stirling*; and hearing that *Atholl* was gone to *Down*; he went forward to overtake him. The Lord *Hume* being ſent before to view the Fields and Roads, met the Earl of *Montroſe*, who ſaid, that he was ſent by *Atholl* to make his Excuſe; yet was made Priſoner, but was ſet at Liberty the next Day. The King went on his Journey to *Edinburgh*, and caus'd ſummon the Earl *Bothwell* to appear before the Council; but denying to appear, he was again denounc'd Rebel.

He rejects the Terms, and ſtudies Revenge.

A new Plot by *Bothwell*, but defeated.

The Earl *Bothwell* ſummon'd to appear, but denying, is denounc'd Rebel.

In *October* the Miniſters aſſembled at St. *Andrews*, where, among other Things, they excommunicated the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, and *Errol*, the Lord *Hume*, and Sir *James Chiſholm*, becauſe they adher'd to the Prelatical Principles of the Church of *Rome*; and ſent Letters to all the Presbyteries, deſiring their Excommunication to be publiſh'd in all the Churches. The King having Notice thereof, ſent for Mr. *Robert Bruce* his great Favourite, and deſir'd him to acquaint his Brethren to delay publiſhing the Sentence, as being altogether unjuſt, and without Form or Precedent. Mr. *Robert* anſwer'd, it was not in his Power to ſtop it, for the Brethren had concluded the ſame, and that the Miniſters had their Reaſons, and would be anſwerable to the General Aſſembly. *Very well*, (ſaid the King) *I could have no Reſt till ye got that which ye call the Diſcipline of the Church eſtabliſh'd; and now ſeeing I have found it abus'd, and that none amongſt you hath Power to ſtay ſuch diſorderly*

The Miniſters excommunicate the ſuſpected Lords, &c.

The King deſires them to delay the Sentence.

Mr. *Bruce's* Anſwer to the King.

A. D. 1593.

The King going to *Jedburgh*, is met by these Lords.

Proceedings, I will think of a Mean to help it. Some Days after the King took a Journey to *Jedburgh*, to enquire into some Disorders among the Borderers, and being on his Way, was met at *Falaw* by the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, and *Errol*, who humbly intreated his Majesty to be tried by Law, and not condemn'd unheard. The King, by Advice of such of his Council as were in his Company, order'd them to enter themselves in *Perth*, the 24th Day of that Month, and to abide there till Orders were taken for their Trial.

The Ministers Behaviour upon Account of their Meeting.

This Meeting, and the King's Answer being made known to the Ministers, they sent some of their Brethren as Commissioners, with several Articles to be represented to the King at *Jedburgh*, wherein they petition'd, that the excommunicated Lords might not be tried, till they had appointed the Time and Assize for their Trial, with several other Demands, which the King judged so unreasonable, that he would not return any Answer to their Commission. This offended them so, that they resolv'd to raise arm'd Men at the Trial, and declare themselves the Pursuers of those Lords, and said, *That as it was in the Cause of God and his Religion, they would not be hinder'd to do their Duty.*

A Proclamation by the King.

Upon this the King issu'd a Proclamation, declaring his Design of trying the Lords, and inhibiting all Convocations or Assemblies of the Subjects, that if any were then met to dissolve, and return home, under Pain of Punishment. Notwithstanding of that Proclamation, great Numbers of People came daily to *Edinburgh*, and were stirring in several Places of the Nation. Mean Time the Convocation assembled at *Edinburgh*, and upon the 12th of *November* the Commissioners (who were formerly appointed to examine and consider the Case of the excommunicated Lords) met at *Edinburgh*, and determin'd, "That the true Religion establish'd in the first "Year of his Majesty's Reign, should only be profess'd in all Time coming "within the Realm; and that none should receive Jesuites, Priests, or E- "nemies to Religion, under the Penalties of Law. 2. That all Persons "should conform to that Religion, before *February* next, or depart the "Kingdom, and not return till they profess'd that Religion. 3. The Earls "of *Angus*, *Huntly*, and *Errol*, Lairds of *Auchindown* and *Chisholm*, should be "pardon'd for the Crimes whereof they had been formerly accus'd, provided "that if they again offended, those Crimes and Accusations should be added "to any new Charge against them. 4. That the said Earls should forbear all "future Correspondence with Popish Potentates, and remove from their Com- "pany all Jesuites and Priests, under the Penalty of 40000 Pounds each, and "to give Security for the same; and the Lairds of *Auchindown* and *Chisholm* "to give like Security, for the Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds each."

A Convocation at *Edinburgh*.

Their Determination concerning the Lords.

These Articles were concluded, and then confirm'd by the King and Council, yet to little Purpose.

The Laird of *Johnston* makes an Insurrection in the South.

The Lord *Maxwell* sent by the King against him.

In the latter End of this Year, the Laird of *Johnston* having made Depredations on the Lands of *Sanquhar* and *Drumlanrig*, and kill'd Eighteen Persons, who follow'd after their own Goods. A Commission was given to the Lord *Maxwell* to pursue him with all Hostility; whereupon *Johnston* made great Interest among his own Name, and others in *Annandale*, as also with the *Grahames* and *Elliots* of *Teviotdale*; so that his Party became strong. Whereupon the Lord *Sanquhar*, *Drumlanrig*, and many others who had suffer'd, enter'd into a Bond with the Lord *Maxwel*, to assist him with their Persons and Estates, in Execution of his Commission; which Bond coming to *Johnston*'s Knowledge, he prepar'd for his Defence, and sent to challenge the Lord *Maxwell* with the Bond, whereof he took no Notice, only answering, that he must obey the King's Orders, according to his Commission; and soon after sent Captain *Oliphant*, with a Company of Horse and Foot to *Lochmaben*, to wait his coming into *Annandale*; but *Johnston* with his Forces, came upon them, and kill'd the Captain and several Soldiers. The Lord *Maxwell* to revenge this, enter'd *Annandale* with a display'd Banner, as the King's Lieutenant, and intended to raise the several Towns of the Shire; but *Johnston*, who had Spies to watch his Motions, took him and his Party at a Disadvantage, and after a sharp Conflict put them to flight. The Lord

Maxwell

Maxwell being in heavy Armour, was overtaken, and ſtruck off his Horſe. And altho' he call'd to *Johnſton* for Quarters (as he had given his Father) yet was moſt barbarouſly kill'd. His Death was very much lamented by many, being a Man who was never known to injure any one but himſelf; which he had done more by evil Council, than Inclination. *A. D.* 1594.

The Lord *Maxwell* kill'd by *Johnſton*.

The Account of his Death gave great Offence to the King, who intended to purſue Revenge; but as the Fears of *Bothwell*, and the Broils between the Popiſh Lords and Miniſters were then doubtful, he could not venture to go in Perſon; therefore gave Commiſſion to the Lord *Herries*, the Barons of *Drumlanrig*, *Lagg*, and others to reſide at *Drumfries* with their Friends, and be ready to ſuppreſs any Inſurection.

In *January* the Eſtates meet at *Holy-rood-Houſe*, and on the 18th Day the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, and *Errol*, (having omitted the Benefit of the late Act) were charg'd to enter themſelves in as follows; the Earl of *Angus* into *Blackneſs*, *Huntly* into *Dunbarton*, *Errol* in *Edinburgh* Caſtle, and *Achindown* in *Tantallon*; but none of them gave Obedience.

The Eſtates meet at *Holy-rood-Houſe*, and charge the Popiſh Lords to enter Ward.

In *February* the King remov'd the Court to *Stirling*, and upon the 16th Day of that Month, the Queen was deliver'd of a Son, which occaſion'd great Joy at Court, and over the Kingdom.

The Queen deliver'd of a Son.

About the ſame time came the Lord *Zouch*, Ambaſſador from Queen *Elizabeth*, with Complaints from his Queen, that the King had not proſecuted the Popiſh Lords with ſuch Rigor as their Crimes merited. But while he remain'd in *Scotland*, the King diſcover'd one of his Servants, who had been ſeen in the Earl of *Bothwell's* Company; and being taken into Cuſtody, confeſs'd, that by his Maſter's Direction, he had ſpoken with the Earl of *Bothwell* and Mr. *John Colvil*, and believ'd they had ſome Enterprize in Hand. Mean time *Bothwell* had been plotting a new Rebellion, and had got ſo far into the Miniſters Favour, that they, in publick Sermons, encourag'd People to join with him; and further, for his Support, gave a Sum of Money, which had been, ſome time before, collected in the Churches, for the Supply of the Brethren in *Geneva*: Which Money he employ'd to liſt Soldiers, to carry on his Deſigns.

The Lord *Zouch*, Ambaſſador from Q. *Elizabeth*.

His Correſpondence with *Bothwell* diſcover'd.

The Miniſters favour *Bothwell's* Rebellion.

When the King made this Diſcovery by the Ambaſſador's Servant, he kept the ſame from his Maſter's Knowledge; nor did he ſhew any Reſentment, more than diſmiſſing him without taking Leave according to Cuſtom: And made uſe of the Diſcovery to guard againſt *Bothwell*, who had by that time rais'd about 400. with whom he came to *Leith*, the 2d of *April*, about three in the Morning. The King being at *Edinburgh*, was very much ſurpriz'd at this ſudden News; and being ill guarded, he ſent the Laird of *Hume* to the Citizens, who arm'd with ſuch Expedition, that they were ready by Noon; and having brought ſome Cannon from the Caſtle, the Lord *Hume*, with the Horſemen and Artillery, march'd directly towards *Leith*, and the King follow'd after with the Foot. But when *Bothwell* found their Number to exceed his, he march'd out of *Leith*, in order to go to *Dalkeith*; but the Lord *Hume* purſu'd him cloſs, till he came to *Niddery*; where the Earl turn'd upon him, and after a ſharp Encounter, put the Lord *Hume*'s Party to Flight, and purſu'd them; which, when the King ſaw (who was at ſome Diſtance with the Foot) he order'd them to advance: But the Earl, in his Purſuit of *Hume*, falling from his Horſe, was ſo bruis'd, that he was forc'd to retire to *Dalkeith*, and diſpers'd all his Forces. The Night after, about Midnight, ſeveral Parties came to *Leith*, to have join'd him, but hearing that he was gone, they return'd home privatly without being diſcover'd.

Bothwell's Attempt at *Leith*.

The Lord *Hume* purſues *Bothwell*.

After this Defeat, the King ſent the Lord *Colvil* and Mr. *Edward Bruce*, Ambaſſadors to *England*; and wrote a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, complaining of the Treachery of her late Ambaſſador, the Lord *Zouch*; deſiring to know, if ſhe would let the ſame eſcape unpuniſh'd; which if ſhe did, he would look upon it as done with her Connivance.

The Lord *Colvil* ſent to *England*.

And after they had deliver'd their Letters and Credentials, the Lord *Colvil*, according to the King's Orders, went to the Court of *France*, to invite the

He proceeds to *France*.

A. D. 1594. *French* King to assist at the Baptism of the Prince, which was to be in *July* after: And having left Mr. *Bruce* at the *English* Court for the Queen's Answer; she excus'd herself of what the King charg'd her with in his Letter, and promis'd to inhibit all her Subjects from giving any Shelter or Succour to the Earl of *Bothwell*; and gave Assurance of her Assistance in prosecuting the Popish Lords. With this Answer Mr. *Bruce* return'd: Whereupon the King sent to return Thanks to Queen *Elizabeth* for her friendly Offers; and at the same time entreated her, to assist at the Baptism of the Prince his Son. And *Peter Young*, Resident at the Court of *Denmark*, had the like Orders; and Sir *William Keith*, and Capt. *William Murray* were sent to the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Meklinburgh*, with the like Message.

Ambassadors sent to foreign Courts, to intimate the Prince's Baptism.

In the beginning of *May*, the Parliament was appointed to meet the 27th of that Month; and upon the 7th Day, the Assembly of Ministers having met, confirm'd the Excommunication of the Popish Lords; the same was publish'd in all the Churches of the Kingdom; but the Lord *Hume* compearing before them, gave Satisfaction, as to his Opinion of their Doctrine and Discipline, and was absolv'd from their Sentence of Excommunication. From this Assembly they sent Commissioners, with several Articles, for the Security of their Religion, to the King, which he referr'd to the Meeting of the Parliament: But sent Sir *Robert Melvil*, and *Alexander Hume* of North-*Berwick*, to the Ministers, complaining, *That several of their Brethren had assisted the Earl of* Bothwell, *in the late Attempt, therefore desir'd they might excommunicate them*; *especially one* Hunter, *who had serv'd* Bothwell *as his Chaplain*: And that, one Mr. *John Ross*, who had spoken irreverently of the King, might be censur'd according to his Crime.

The Ministers confirm and publish the Excomunication against the Popish Lords.

In Obedience to this Message, they depos'd *Hunter*; but as to *Ross*, they only admonish'd him to speak reverently of the King in time coming.

The Parliament being held on the Day appointed, the three Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, and *Errol*, and Laird of *Achindown* were denounc'd Rebels; their Escutcheons of Arms torn by the Heralds, and declar'd to have forfeited their Lands and Honours, for treasonable Practices against the King and Country. In the same Parliament several other Acts were past, some in Favour of the Presbyterian Doctrine, and others against Theft, Robery, and Usury.

The Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*.

The Earls degraded.

In *August*, arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, the Ambassadors of *England*, *Denmark*, *Meklinbourgh*, and the Estates of the Provinces; but from the *French* King came none. The Day appointed being come, the Ceremony thus was perform'd: The Prince was brought from his own Chamber, to the Queen's Chamber of Presence, and laid on a Bed richly adorn'd. The Ambassadors entering the Chamber, the Countess of *Marr*, accompany'd with the other Ladies, took up the Prince, and gave him to the Duke of *Lennox*, who presented him to the Ambassadors. The Earl of *Sussex*, Ambassador of *England*, having the first Place, receiv'd him, and carry'd him in his Arms to the Chapel; the rest follow'd in Order, with the Ladies of Honour, and the Nurse with her Attendants. Before them went the Lord *Hume*, carrying the Ducal Crown, the Lord *Livingston* carrying the Towel, the Lord *Seaton* the Bason, and the Lord *Semple* the Laver. Over the *English* Ambassador, who carry'd the Prince, a Canopy or Pall was carry'd, supported by the Lairds of *Cessford*, *Buckleugh*, *Traquhair*, and *Duddope*; and the Prince's Train carry'd by the Lords *Sinclair* and *Urquhart*. In this Manner they proceeded to the Chapel, the Way being lin'd, on both Sides, by Youths of *Edinburgh*, neatly dress'd; the Trumpets sounding, and other Musick all the while.

The foreign Ambassadors come to attend the Baptism.

The Form of the Ceremony

When they enter'd the Chapel, the King (who was there seated) arose, and receiv'd the Ambassadors at the Quire Door, where the Duke of *Lennox* receiv'd the Prince, and deliver'd him to the Nurse. Then the Ambassadors were conducted to their Places, which were order'd thus: On the King's Right-hand a Chair, which was prepar'd for the *French* Ambassador, being empty, next to it the *Danish* Ambassador was plac'd; on the King's Left-hand the *English* Ambassador and Resident sat; and next to them, the Ambassa-

dors

dors of *Brunſwick*, *Meclinburgh*, and the States. Every Chair had a Taſſel-board, cover'd with fine Velvet; and the Ambaſſador of *England* had Officers ſtanding by his Chair all the while. The Service being begun, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador aroſe, and preſented the Prince to the Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, who perform'd the Office; which being ended, Mr. *David Lindſay* made a Speech, upon the Occaſion, in *French*, to the Ambaſſadors. After this they return'd from the Chapel in the ſame Order they went: And the Prince being laid upon a Bed of State, His Name and Titles were proclaim'd by the *Lion* King at Arms, being call'd, HENRY-FREDERICK, *Knight and Baron of* Renfrew, *Lord of the Iſles*, *Earl of* Carrick, *Duke of* Rothſay, *Prince and Stewart of* SCOTLAND: Whereupon ſeveral Medals of Gold and Silver, were caſt forth at the Windows among the People; and, at Night, a Number of Knights were created. The Ambaſſadors, with their Trains, were entertain'd with the utmoſt Splendor; and the reſt of the Month was ſpent in Diverſions, Plays, and running at Tilts, which were order'd for the Entertainment of the Strangers.

A. D. 1594.

The Prince's Titles proclaim'd.

Soon after the Baptiſm of the Prince, the King had Accounts, that the baniſh'd Lords were plotting ſome new Stratagem, therefore ſent Sir *Robert Melvil* to Queen *Elizabeth*, to require her Aſſiſtance, in caſe they ſhould make any Attempt. Mean time, Letters were intercepted, wherein it was mention'd, That the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, *Errol*, *Bothwell*, and the Laird of *Achindown*, with others, met in a Publick-Houſe in *Angus*, and had ſubſcrib'd a Bond to aſſiſt one another: Which Meeting being made known to the King, he caus'd publiſh the ſame; and there being an Information given in againſt Mr. *James Cochran*, Keeper of *Blackneſs*, and *Allan Orme*, who diſcover'd the Letters, they were both tried, and executed at *Edinburgh*, in the beginning of *September*.

The excomunicated Lords enter into an Aſſociation.

About the ſame time, the Earls of *Argyle* and *Atholl*, the Lord *Forbes*, and ſeveral others, had a Commiſſion to purſue the Lords. The Earl of *Argyle* was not very forward at firſt, knowing the Strength of thoſe Earls in the North; but by the Perſuaſion of ſome Perſons, who expected a Share of their Lands, he undertook the Purſuit; and, about the latter End of *September*, rais'd what Forces he could in *Argyleſhire* and the Iſles, and coming down to *Badynoch*, laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Riven*; but it was fortify'd by the *Macphersons*, ſo that he was forc'd to leave the Siege, and intended to march to the Low-lands, to join the Lord *Forbes*, who was in *Aberdeen*, with the Lairds of *Buquhain*, *Drum*, and *Menzies*. With the Earl of *Argyle* were, the Lairds *Tulibardin*, *Grant*, *Macklaine*, *Mackintoſh*, Clan *Gregory*, and *Mackneil* of *Barra*, with their Friends and Followers; who being all join'd together, were near 9000.

The Earls of *Argyle*, *Atholl*, and Lord *Forbes* employ'd againſt theſe Lords.

The Names of thoſe who aſſiſt each Party.

The Earl of *Huntly*, upon the firſt Notice of their coming into *Badynoch*, rais'd all the Gentlemen of his Name, and ſent Notice to the Earl of *Errol*. Whereupon they reſolv'd to ſtop the Earl of *Argyle*, from going to join the Lord *Forbes*; and having rais'd about 1900 reſolute Men, they march'd from *Strathbogy* to *Achindown*, where they encamp'd the 2d of *October*. They having one Capt. *Ker*, an experienc'd Officer with them, he went out next Day, and view'd the Earl of *Argyle*'s Army; who were upon their March, near them: Whereupon they divided their Army into two Bodies, and with 300 the Earl of *Errol* advanc'd, the reſt being drawn up in Battle Array with the Earl of *Huntly*, and had ſeveral Pieces of Cannon, wherewith, ſo ſoon as the Enemy appear'd, they play'd upon them. The Earl of *Argyle* was ſtrangly ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Meeting, but truſting to his Number, reſolv'd to give them Battle; and order'd *Macklaine*, who commanded his Van, to advance, while he, with the Body of the Army, took the Advantage of the Ground, and form'd on the Side of a Hill, where the Earl of *Errol* and *Achindown* advanc'd; but were ſaluted with ſuch a Shower of Arrows, that *Achindown* was kill'd, and the Earl of *Errol* wounded in his Arm and Leg; and were ſurrounded by *Macklaine*'s Party, who had ſoon cut them all off; but *Huntly* with the Body of his Army advanc'd, and fell upon

The two Armies meet in Battle.

Achindown kill'd, and *Errol* wounded.

A. D. 1594. upon *Macklaine*, who was ſoon beat back to the Body of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Army; where they likewiſe engag'd with the utmoſt Fury, and continu'd cloſe Engagement for two Hours; till at laſt *Argyle*'s Men were ſo broken, that they were at laſt routed and put to Flight; nor could the Earl of *Argyle* himſelf bring them to any Order, tho' he endeavour'd to rally them. *Macklaine*, with ſome Iſlanders, ſtood Battle after the main Body fled, but were at laſt oblig'd to retire. The Earl of *Huntly* purſu'd the Chace, till his Horſe was kill'd under him, in a Brook call'd *Allwhanachy*, and was ſo long before he could be remounted, that the Enemy got to the other Side of the Hill.

The Earl of *Argyle* routed.

In the Earl of *Argyle*'s Side were ſlain, *Archibald Campbell* of *Lochinnell*, his Brother *James Campbell*, *Mackneil* of *Barra*, and 700 Soldiers: But of *Huntly*'s Side none were kill'd, but his Uncle *Achindown*, and 12 Soldiers, tho' many were wounded and bruis'd. This Battle was fought on *Thurſday*, the 3d of *October*, and is commonly call'd, the Battle of *Glenlivet*; tho' the Place where they fought is about a Mile from the Glen.

The Battle of *Glenlivet*.

The Lord *Forbes*, with his Company, were advancing, upon the firſt Account of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Defeat march'd to join him, and perſuaded him to turn upon *Huntly*, but ſuch Diviſions happen'd between them, that they all ſeperated, and return'd home.

The King having Account of *Argyle*'s Defeat at *Dundee*, he took Journey towards *Aberdeen*, where he arriv'd the 13th of *October*, and immediately ſent the Earl *Mariſhal* with a Company, to demoliſh the Caſtles of *Strathbogy*, *Slains*, and *Newton*. Mean time, the Earls of *Huntly* and *Errol* were ſhelter'd by the Earl of *Sutherland* in that Country, expecting to have return'd to their Houſes, when the King return'd South; but the Duke of *Lennox* being left Lieutenant of the North, watch'd them ſo narrowly, and us'd ſuch Severity, that they offer'd to leave the Kingdom; and gave Surety not to return without the King's Leave: To which the King conſented, and they having enter'd Surety, his Majeſty return'd to *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Bothwell* being depriv'd of all Hopes of having Pardon or Aſſiſtance, was in great Diſtreſs, for his intimate Friend, Mr. *John Colvil*, having deſerted him, and his Brother, *Hercules Stewart*, being taken (with ſome Commiſſions to diſturb the Peace of the Nation) was executed at *Edinburgh*; wherefore the Earl reſolv'd to leave the Kingdom, and taking Ship privately in *England*, he landed at *Newhaven*, in *Normandy*, in *France*.

The Earl of *Bothwell* leaves *Scotland*.

The King hearing of his being publickly ſeen at the Court of *Paris*, ſent a Gentleman to the King of *France*, deſiring he might be deliver'd up, or baniſh'd the Kingdom of *France*. The *French* King anſwer'd, *That he ſhould give him no Countenance, but ſince he had taken Shelter there, he could not forbid him the free Air of the Country.* He remain'd but ſhort time in *France*, when he challeng'd a Gentleman to a Duel, contrary to the King's Edict; for which he was oblig'd to leave that Kingdom. From *France* he went to *Spain*, and after to *Naples*, where he liv'd in Obſcurity till his Death, which happen'd ſome Years after the King went into *England*.

He dies at *Naples*.

Soon after the Earl of *Bothwell* left *Scotland*, ſeveral of his Aſſociates offering to diſcover the Confederacy between him and other Lords, were examin'd and impriſon'd, but ſome Days after, liberated and pardon'd.

The Nation being quiet during the Spring, and beginning of the Summer; the Queen having for ſome time been offended, at the great Credit the Earl of *Marr* had with the King, and he having the Prince in keeping, ſhe endeavour'd to have him into her own Cuſtody; and to that end, drew in the Chancellor, and ſeveral others of the Court, to aſſiſt her Deſignes. But the King (who was then at *Falkland)* having Notice of what ſhe intended, came to *Holy-rood-Houſe* to the Queen, and forbiding any of the Council to come near him till call'd, he diſſuaded her from what ſhe had intended; and advis'd her to remove to *Stirling*, promiſing to follow her the next Day. The Queen being gone, the King call'd the Lord Chancellor, and others of the Council who had engag'd with the Queen, and having upbraided them with Ingratitude and Treachery, he went ſtraight after the Queen to *Stirling*, where

The Queen intends to take the Prince from the Earl of *Marr*, into her own Cuſtody.

where he remain'd but few Days; and being ready for his Journey to *Falkland*, he left the following Warrant to the Earl of *Marr*. A. D. 1595.

My Lord of Marr, *Becauſe in the Security of my Son conſiſteth my Safety, I have concredited to you the Charge of his Keeping, upon the Truſt I have of your Honeſty. This I command you out of my own Mouth, being in the Company of thoſe I like; otherwiſe for any Charge that can come from me, you ſhall not deliver him. And, in caſe* GOD *call me at any Time, ſee that, neither for the Queen, nor Eſtates their Pleaſure, you deliver him, till he be* 18 *Years of Age; and then, by his own Command.* Given at *Stirling*, the 24th of *July*, 1595.

As this Warrant did ſhew the King's Diſpleaſure at thoſe who had combin'd with the Queen, it declar'd the Confidence his Majeſty had in the Earl of *Marr*.

Tho' ſeveral of the Noblemen had been equally culpable in the late Offence, yet none of them griev'd ſo much for what they had done, as the Lord Chancellor; who thereafter retir'd to his Country Houſe of *Lawder*, and contracted Sickneſs. And finding himſelf paſt Recovery, he wrote to the King, making a ſolemn Proteſtation of his Fidelity in all his Services; recommending his Lady and Children to his Majeſty's Protection, when he was dead.

The Chancellor retires to his Country Seat, and falls ſick.

The King was very much troubled at the News of the Chancellor's Sickneſs, and with his own Hand wrote the following Letter.

Chancellor, *How ſorry I am for this ill News, be your ſelf my Judge; I could never diſſemble my Affection. I pray* GOD *may ſpare you for my Sake; and beſeech you, with a valiant Heart to reſiſt the Aſſaults of your Sickneſs; hoping that* GOD *will reſerve you to me, as* Hezekiah *was to his People, for the Neceſſity between Prince and Subjects are ſo reciprocal: Nor can any Sickneſs, how heavy ſoever, take away the Life, if* GOD *cut not the Thread thereof. As for your Requeſts, if* GOD *calls you, I need no Remembrance: For ſince I made you a Pattern of my conſtant Favour during my Life (as you your ſelf have oft times ſaid) I am much more bound, of Princely Duty, to make your Wife and Poſterity, that bear your Image, a living Repreſentation of my thankful Memory of you. What I have done for the Duk of* Lennox *and Lord* Huntly, *for their Father's Sake, may give you Aſſurance of the like to yours. This I aſſure you, in caſe of the worſt (which* GOD *forbid). Your Couſin, the Secretary, is mine already, and ſhall not miſs my Kindneſs. If the Diſtance of the Place could permit me, I ſhould deſire to ſee you, and have ſaid this much to you my ſelf.* GOD *ſend you Health, and keep you to me, and to your Native Country.*

JAMES Rex.

The King's Letter to him.

The Chancellor languiſh'd under his Sickneſs near two Months, and died the 3d of *October*. He was accounted a Man of great Judgment, and all other Perfections neceſſary for a Stateſman. He was couragious, and ready to obey his King in any Attempt, however ſo dangerous; nor did he at any time offend, ſo much as in the Plot to take the Prince from the Earl of *Marr*; whereto he was much induc'd, by a private Hatred which had been between them for ſome time before.

The Chancellor's Death and Character

The King hearing of his Death, was much afflicted, and wrote an Elegy, lamenting his own and the Nation's Loſs, by his Death. He was buried with great Solemnity, in *Haddington* Church.

In the Harveſt, there happen'd great Slaughter in ſeveral Parts of the Country; for the *Maxwells* and *Johnſtons* again invaded one another, and in ſeveral Skirmiſhes there were many ſlain on both Sides; but the *Maxwells* were at laſt the greateſt Sufferers. There happen'd likewiſe ſome Diſturbance in the *Highlands* and Iſles, but were ſoon ſuppreſs'd. Yet theſe Troubles, with the Badneſs of the Harveſt, produc'd ſuch great Scarcity of Corn, that that there was almoſt a Famine in ſeveral Parts of the Country.

The *Maxwells* and *Johnſtons* invade one another.

The *Maxwells* are worſted.

A. D. 1595. One *David Forreſter* a Citizen of *Stirling*, being kill'd in his Return from *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Marr*, whoſe Tenant he was, reſented his Death, and the Lords *Livingſton* and *Elphingſton* having protected thoſe who were charged with the Murder; the Earl purſued thoſe Lords, and they betook themſelves to Arms for Defence, but they were interrupted from any Action, by a Proclamation commanding them to ſubmit to the Juſtice of the Law, which, when tried, there appear'd no Proof againſt the Perſons accus'd, who were the Lairds of *Airth* and *Dunipace*.

About the latter End of the Year, the King finding by Sir *Richard Cockburn* of *Clerkington*, his Secretary, who then return'd from *England*, that certain Sums of Money which Queen *Elizaleth* by her Ambaſſadors had often promiſed, were not like to be ſuddenly advanc'd: He therefore reſolv'd to make a narrow Enquiry into the Revenue of his own Kingdom, and to that End conſtituted Eight Perſons to manage his Exchequer. Theſe were *Alexander* Lord *Urquhart*, Preſident of the College of Juſtice, *Walter Commendator* of *Blantyre*, Lord Privy-Seal, Mr. *David Carnegie* of *Colluthie*, Mr. *John Lin ſay* of *Menmuir*, *James Elphingſton* of *Innernaughty*, Mr. *Thomas Hamilton* of *Dummany*, Mr. *John Skeen* Clerk-Regiſter, all Senators of the College of Juſtice, and Mr. *Peter Young* of *Seton*, the King's Almoner.

Commiſſioners of Exchequer appointed, call'd *Octavians* from their Number.

To theſe Eight, or any Five of them, was intruſted the full and free Adminiſtration of the whole Rents and Duties pertaining to the Offices of Comptrollers and Collectors, and with ſuch ample Power that all Perſons formerly concern'd in letting, receiving, and uplifting any Part of the King's Land Rents, Duties, or Cuſtoms, were to be accountable to them as Commiſſioners, having Power to continue or alter any of them at their Pleaſure; as alſo having Power to compone, tranſact, and agree for all Forfeitures, Fines, and other Things falling due to the King, and to put all ſuch to the Horn as they found diſobedient: And likewiſe by their Commiſſion, they were priviledg'd in Council and Parliament, as the chief Officers of the Exchequer had formerly been. And the King did further promiſe, that none more ſhould be joyn'd to their Commiſſion; and in caſe a Place fell void by Death of either of them, none ſhould be admitted but by Advice and Conſent of the remanent Commiſſioners.

Their Power.

A. D. 1596. Theſe Commiſſioners being thus inveſted, they made Oath to do Juſtice to his Majeſty, and his Subjects, in the Execution of their Commiſſion; which Commiſſion being approv'd by the Lords of Council, was publiſh'd at the Market Croſs of *Edinburgh*, the 12th of *February* 1596. This Commiſſion being granted in ſuch ample Form, gave great Offence to many of the Court; and as they at their Admiſſion remov'd ſeveral Officers who were found deficient in the Performance of their Duty, and appointed others to ſucceed them; they were very much hated, and blam'd for too great Severity.

The *Octavians* generally hated.

In *April* there happen'd a Quarrel between the Lord *Scroop*, then Warden of the *Engliſh* Marches, and the Laird of *Buccleugh* Warden of *Clidſdale*; the Conteſt being referr'd to each of their Deputies, was amicably decided, and parted in good Terms: But one *William Armſtrong* giving Provocation to the *Engliſh* Deputy, was taken and carried Priſoner to *Carliſle* Caſtle. The Laird of *Buccleugh* hearing of it, wrote to the *Engliſh* Deputy to ſet him at Liberty; but was anſwer'd, that the Priſoner could not be ſet at Liberty without a Direction from the Queen and Council of *England*. Of this the King being inform'd, wrote to the Queen of *England* to releaſe him; but having no immediate Anſwer, *Buccleugh* reſolv'd to relieve the Priſoner by Force; and having Notice of the Condition of *Carliſle* Caſtle, he prepared ſcailing Ladders with Iron Inſtruments to break through the Wall, or force the Gates, if the Ladders prov'd ſhort. And having rais'd Two Hundred Horſemen, marched in the Night to a Plain near the Caſtle Wall, where he cauſed Eighty of the Company light from their Horſes. Then taking the Ladders and other Inſtruments with them, he himſelf accompanying them to the Foot of the Wall, and ſet the Ladders to it; but they proving ſhort, he order'd

A Quarrel between the Laird of *Buccleugh* and the *Engliſh* Warden.

Armſtrong taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh* Deputy.

order'd the other Inſtruments to break through the Wall, which they accompliſh'd, ſo that ſingle Men could enter; whereupon the reſt of the Company coming to the Wall, a Party of them enter'd the Town, and taking Priſoners ſuch Perſons as they found abroad in the Streets, they went where the Priſoner was kept, and having brought him forth, ſounded a Trumpet. *A. D.* 1596.

Buccleugh ſurpriſes *Carliſle* Caſtle, and carries off *Armſtrong*.

My Lord *Scroop* and his Deputy Mr. *Salkeld*, were both in the ſame Houſe, but before they could make any Interruption, the Priſoner was carried off, and ſeveral Perſons of the Town being taken by that Party, were brought to *Buccleugh*; but he return'd them again to the Town, and diſcharg'd his Men to carry any Spoil, or break open any Houſe, except that where the Priſoner was kept, tho' he might at the ſame Time have made a Prey of all the Goods within the Town and Caſtle, and have taken the Warden captive; yet he behav'd ſo, as to teſtifie that he intended nothing but the Reparation of the King his Maſter, and his own Honour.

The Town allarm'd.

By the Time that *Buccleugh* and his Company were mounted, the Town was allarm'd by ringing of Bells, and the Flag hoiſted on the Caſtle, with ſuch Signals as were uſually given to raiſe the Town and Country about; but before they could get any Number in Readineſs, *Buccleugh* was return'd homewards, and out of their Reach.

But *Buccleugh* returns home ſafe.

Q. *Elizabeth* is offended, and writes to the King.

When Queen *Elizabeth* had Notice of this Affair, ſhe was highly offended, looking upon it as a great Affront to have one of her ſtrongeſt Towns ſurpris'd, and a Priſoner carried away by Force; whereupon ſhe wrote to her Reſident Sir *Robert Bows*, to acquaint the King and Council of *Scotland* of her Diſpleaſure, which he accordingly did; and in a Convention held at *Edinburgh* in *May*, he declar'd, that the Peace could no longer continue between both Kingdoms, unleſs the Laird of *Buccleugh* were deliver'd up to the Queen of *England*, to be puniſh'd at her Pleaſure. But the Laird coming to *Edinburgh*, appear'd before the Convention, and being charg'd by the Preſident, he made Anſwer, *That he went not into* England *with Intention to aſſault any of the Queen's Houſes, or to wrong any of her Subjects; but only to relieve a Subject of* Scotland *unlawfully taken, and more unlawfully detain'd: He being taken in a Day of Truce, when all Aſſurance of Peace had been given; yet he did not Attempt to relieve him, till Redreſs was refus'd; and that he had releas'd him without any Diſturbance or Hoſtility, or the leaſt Wrong to any of the Gariſon. However he was willing, (according to the ancient Treaties between the Realms, when Mutual Injuries were alledg'd) to be tried by ſuch Commiſſioners, as the King and Queen of* England *ſhould appoint, and ſubmit to whatever they decern'd.* The Convention eſteeming this Anſwer reaſonable, did acquaint the Reſident, that the King would ſend Commiſſioners to the Borders, to treat with ſuch as Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould appoint to meet them: But ſhe not ſatisfied with that Anſwer, refus'd to ſend any Commiſſioners; and by the Advice of her Council again renew'd the Complaint, in *July* after, before the Convention, where it was again reſolv'd as before; and the King at the ſame Time proteſted, *That he might more reaſonably deſire the Lord* Scroop *to be deliver'd to him, for the Offence committed by him and his Deputy; it being a greater Crime to take a Priſoner, than to releaſe him when unjuſtly taken: Yet for continuing Peace between the Nations, he would do any Thing according to Equity, and the Laws of Friendſhip.* Mean Time, the *Scots* and *Engliſh* Borders invaded each other with daily Incurſions, nor could they be ſuppreſs'd, till the Laird of *Buccleugh* was confin'd in St. *Andrews*, and then ſent to the Borders; where he was, by *Scots* and *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, tried for the before mentioned Crime, and acquitted.

Buccleugh's Anſwer to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador.

Q. *Elizabeth* renews her Complaint.

The King's Anſwer.

Buccleugh tried and acquitted.

About the ſame Time Troubles being in the Iſles and Highlands, Colonel *Stewart* had a Commiſſion to ſuppreſs them with a Party of a 1000 Men: But upon the News of his being employ'd in that Expedition, all the chief Perſons of thoſe concern'd in the Broil, ſent to the King offering to ſubmit, and appear before his Majeſty when he ſhould appoint. Upon which the Collonel was call'd back, and the King took Surety for their Appearance.

A. D. 1596. The General Aſſembly meeting at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *June*, it was rumour'd over the Kingdom, that the *Spaniards* intended a new Invaſion; whereupon the Miniſters ordain'd a Day of Humiliation, and ſome Days after made a Covenant or Contract to aſſiſt one another in maintaining their Religion; and propos'd, "That all ſuch as had been any ways concern'd with "the baniſh'd Lords, ſhould ſurrender themſelves Priſoners, till they gave "Aſſurance never to hold any Correſpondence with the baniſh'd Lords. "That the Rents and Livings of the Rebels ſhould be uplifted to pay Sol- "diers; and that in every Pariſh, Captains ſhould be appointed to muſter "and train Men in the Uſe of Arms, and Commanders in every Shire to "conveen the Country, in caſe of Danger. Laſtly, That ſuch as had been "Surety for the good Behaviour of the Rebels, ſhould be compell'd to pay "the Sums contain'd in their Bonds." Theſe Articles being preſented to the King, he was very much diſpleas'd with what they propos'd, becauſe he ſtill was for reclaiming the baniſh'd Lords. And having ſent for Mr. *Robert Bruce*, he had a Conference with him about theſe Terms, and gave his Reaſons why he would not deal ſo rigorouſly with the Lords, but expected to bring them to Obedience, by giving Satisfaction to the Church and State, Mr. *Bruce* anſwer'd the King, that his Majeſty's Reaſons were very good, and that he might do well to bring home *Angus* and *Errol*, but that *Huntly* could never be pardon'd. And finding the King ſpeak much in his Behalf, he ſaid, *I ſee Sir, that you are reſolv'd to take* Huntly *into Favour, which if you do, I'll oppoſe you, and you ſhall chuſe whether you will loſe* Huntly *or me, for both of us you cannot keep.* This impudent Reply vex'd the King, ſo that he never ſhew'd the Favour to *Bruce* which he had formerly done.

Proceedings of the General Aſſembly.

Give Offence to the King.

The King's Conference with Mr. *Bruce*.

Mean Time the exile Lords reſolv'd to return, and uſe ſome Means to obtain the King's Pardon, therefore to be the leſs taken Notice of in their Paſſages, they ſeparated, and the Earl of *Errol* traveling through the low Countries, was taken, and deliver'd up to the *Scotiſh* Conſervator, to ſend him to the King; but the Earl made his Eſcape in few Days after, and return'd privately to *Scotland*. The Earl of *Huntly* having been ſome Weeks privately in the *North*, he ſent a Supplication to the King, begging Leave to return to any Part of the Kingdom, where his Majeſty ſhould appoint, and that he would find Security for his peaceable Behaviour. This Supplication the King caus'd to be preſented to the Convention then ſitting at *Falkland*; and giving his own Opinion, which ſhew'd his Deſire to bring home the Lords; the Convention approv'd his Majeſty's Judgment, and reſolv'd to bring them home as the fitteſt Courſe; referring the Conditions to be form'd at the King's Pleaſure. And in another Aſſembly of the Eſtates held at *Dumfermling*, the ſame Concluſion was ratified.

The exile Lords reſolve to return.

The Earl of *Errol* taken in *Flanders*, but makes his Eſcape.

The Queen having been deliver'd of a Daughter at *Holy-rood-houſe*, upon the 19th of *Auguſt*, the laſt of *November* (being St. *Andrew*'s Day) after was appointed for her Baptiſm; and the Day being come, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador repreſenting the Queen of *England*, gave her the Name of *Elizabeth*, by which ſhe was baptiz'd. The King out of Reſpect to the City of *Edinburgh*, call'd the Lord Provoſt and other Magiſtrates, who, with ſeveral Noblemen, were Witneſſes to the Baptiſm, and the Day was kept with Feaſting and Diverſions, at the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*.

The Queen brought to Bed of a Daughter.

She is baptiz'd *Elizabeth*.

About this Time happen'd great Contention between the Aſſembly and Council; for the Miniſters hearing, that the King intended to reſtore the baniſh'd Lords, they enter'd into Concluſions amongſt themſelves, and reſolv'd to oppoſe the Lords Return, by urging the great Danger Religion was in, if they liv'd in the Nation; and with ſuch Induſtry ſpread abroad a Report of a *Spaniſh* Invaſion, that the Country People were ready to give Ear to whatever they ſaid, and riſe in Arms to aſſiſt them in caſe of Danger. With this Aſſurance the Miniſters proceeded to exerciſe their Power over ſuch as they thought proper to inflict Church Cenſure; and having appointed a certain Number of the Brethren, (whom they call'd the Council of the Church) to meet every Day to obſerve what happen'd; they cited *Alexander* Lord *Seaton*,

Great Contention between the Aſſembly and Council.

The Miniſters againſt the Return of the exile Lords.

Seaton, Preſident of the Seſſion, to appear before the Synod of *Lothian*, before which he was accus'd of having correſponded with the Earl of *Huntly*; but nothing appearing to prove the Accuſation, he was acquitted. *A. D.* 1596.

About the ſame Time the Miniſters made great Complaints of ſeveral Grievances, which being excus'd by the King: One Mr. *Blake* in his Sermons at St. *Andrews*, reflected on the King and his Council; and at the ſame Time he call'd Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* an Atheiſt, and a Woman of no Religion. The King being inform'd of theſe his ſeditious Speeches, order'd him to appear before the Council, upon the 10th of *December*. But he being accompanied by Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, came to *Edinburgh*, and enter'd himſelf under the Protection of the Church Council, who ſent Commiſſioners to the King, repreſenting, *That it would be dangerous to queſtion Miniſters for every trifling Information, when the Enemies of Religion were ſpared.* By the Enemies of Religion the King underſtood they meant the baniſh'd Lords, therefore publiſh'd the Conditions upon which he was to admit *Huntly*, which were to give Satisfaction to the Church, or be proſecuted according to Law. But *Blake* thinking he had committed no Crime, except the Offence given the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, with whom he offer'd to uſe ſuch Means as would pacify him: But the King taking Notice of his Preſumption, order'd him to appear before the Juſtice-Court. Whereupon great Debates aroſe, and continu'd for ſeveral Days. The Miniſters pleading their Power to judge and cenſure all Crimes charg'd againſt any of their Brethren; and *that whatever was ſpoken in the Pulpit alledg'd to be treaſonable, could not be judg'd by the King, till the Church firſt took Cognition thereof.* Therefore was order'd to decline any Civil Judicatory, whereof the Miniſters ſent Notice to all Presbyteries of the Nation, deſiring them to approve and declare their Proceedings to their ſeveral Flocks, and to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to maintain the Privileges of the Church. Mean Time the King caus'd iſſue a Proclamation againſt their Proceedings, diſcharging the Miniſters to meet in any Council, Aſſembly, or Commiſſion: Whereupon they ſent ſeveral Meſſages to the King, to delay the Proceedings againſt Mr. *Blake*, but ſtill the King inſiſted on the Proſecution; and being offended at the Preſumption of the Miniſters, he orders their Commiſſioners to leave *Edinburgh*, and *Blake* to appear the laſt of *November*; but that Day being appointed for the Baptiſm of the Princeſs, as before mention'd; his Appearance was excus'd, and another Day given him.

Blake ſpeaks irreverently of the King and Queen of *England* in the Pulpit.

The King orders *Blake* to appear before the Council.

The other Miniſters take his Part.

Mean Time the Miniſters applied to the Commiſſioners of the Exchequer and Treaſury, (who were, in Alluſion to their Number, call'd *Octavians*) and a Reference to them of the Caſe of *Blake*, and the other Privileges they deſired to maintain. But the Preſident anſwer'd the Miniſters in few Words, *That they would not meddle in the Affair, but leave it to the Determination of the King and his Nobles.*

The Miniſters apply to the *Octavians*.

The Day on which *Blake* was cited being come, and Articles of Indictment being exhibited againſt him, according to the firſt Information; but inſtead of ſubmitting to a Trial, he denied the Articles of Indictment, alledging them to be falſe, and again declin'd the Determination of the Court. Yet it being put to a Vote, it was declar'd, that the Crimes which had been prov'd againſt him, were ſeditious and treaſonable; and that the King and Council were competent Judges of all Matters, Civil or Criminal, as well of Miniſters as other Subjects. When the Council were diſſolv'd, the King, who was willing to preſerve Peace, offer'd Terms of Reconciliation to the Miniſters, and to repone *Blake* to his Charge again: But Mr. *Robert Bruce* anſwer'd, *That if the Matter had only concern'd Mr.* Blake, *it might be accepted; but as the Liberty of* CHRIST'S *Kingdom being wounded by his Proclamation, and uſurping ſpiritual Authority, the Matter was of greater Conſequence than* Blake's *Life, and many more; and if thoſe Things were not retracted, they would oppoſe them with their laſt Breaths.* Notwithſtanding of this Preſumption, yet the King ſeem'd ſtill deſirous to come to an amicable Agreement; and propos'd, that if *Blake* would acknowledge his Crimes, and ask Pardon, it

Blake denying the Articles of his Indictment.

But is voted guilty of Sedition.

The King willing to forgive *Blake* upon Terms.

Mr. *Robert Bruce*'s Anſwer.

A. D. 1596. should be granted; but he, by the Advice of the other Miniſters, deny'd being any ways guilty; upon which he was order'd to ſurrender himſelf in ſix Days: But the Miniſters being offended at the Court, they employ'd all their Intereſt to raiſe a Party to eſpouſe their Cauſe; and having, in ſeveral Sermons, reflected on the King and Council, they, at the ſame time, exhorted all the Subjects to meet, and conſult the Safety of the Church, and Miniſters of CHRIST.

The Miniſters make Intereſt to raiſe a Party.

They ſend a Repreſentation to the King

The King's Anſwer.

The Lord *Lindſay*'s Reply.

The Seſſion ſitting at *Edinburgh* at that Time, they ſent a Repreſentation of their Opinion to the King, which was deliver'd to him in the Upper-Houſe. The King declin'd receiving their Petition, and ask'd, *Who they were, that durſt conveen againſt his Proclamation?* Whereupon the Lord *Lindſay*, in a Paſſion, reply'd, *That they durſt do more than that, for they would not endure the Religion to be deſtroy'd.*

An Uproar in the Seſſion-Houſe

By this time great Numbers of People throng'd into the Houſe, and made a Noiſe: Some of them cry'd out, *Bring forth* Haman; and others, *The Sword of the LORD and* Gideon! which made great Confuſion for ſome Time; but being remov'd, the King and Council left the Houſe, and while the Miniſters and Lords were propoſing to preſent Articles to the King, he with the Council, remov'd to *Linlithgow*; and caus'd a Proclamation to be iſſu'd, ſhewing the Cauſe of his ſudden Removal; diſcharging all Tumults and Conventions in *Edinburgh*, and commanding all the Lords to return to their own Houſes.

The King and Council go to *Linlithgow*.

TheMiniſters raiſe Men to maintain their Cauſe.

However, the Miniſters us'd all poſſible Diligence to raiſe Money and Men to maintain their Cauſe; and endeavour'd to bring in the Lord *Hamilton* and Sir *Walter Scott* of *Buckleugh*, to head them. They continu'd to preach Sedition publickly, wherein they exhorted the People to take the King's Power to themſelves: And being ready to raiſe a Party, they wrote a Letter to the Lord *Hamilton*, wherein they ſaid, *That being animated by the Motion of GOD's Spirit, they had taken Arms, with the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Noblemen and Brethren, as were then in* Edinburgh: *But that wanting a Head, had made choice of him; deſiring him to come to* Edinburgh *with all convenient Speed, to teſtify his Affection, and to accept of the Honour which the Church of GOD had offer'd him.* This Letter was ſubſcrib'd by Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Walter Balcanguel*, and ſeveral other Miniſters, and ſent to the Lord *Hamilton*.

They write to the Lord *Hamilton*.

He receiv'd their Meſſage with all Shew of Reſpect, and pretended to make ready for his Journey to *Edinburgh*: But, inſtead of liſtning to their Advice and Invitation, he went ſtraight to *Linlithgow*, and produc'd the Letters to the King; who thereupon ſent Orders to the Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, to apprehend and impriſon all the Miniſters concern'd in that Tumult. But they, having ſome Intelligence of the Lord *Hamilton*'s going to the King, immediately fled from the City to the Borders, and after to *Newcaſtle*.

He communicates the ſame to the King.

Of which the Miniſters having Notice, fly to *Newcaſtle*.

The Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* accus'd of having conniv'd at their Tumults and Eſcape, ſent to excuſe themſelves, and offer'd to ſtand Trial for any Offence given by them. Yet the King was ſo very much diſſatisfy'd at their Behaviour, that he remov'd the Court to *Perth*; and order'd the Courts of Judicatory to remove from the City to *Leith*. And, at the ſame time, that Inſurection was, by the Council, declar'd Treaſon; and all Actors and Partakers in it, Traitors.

The Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* accus'd of Connivance with the rebellious Miniſters.

The Magiſtrates were very much troubled upon Account of the King's Diſpleaſure, and made humble Supplications to recover his Favour: But his Anſwer to them was, *That he would call a Convention, to enquire into the Cauſe of the Inſurrection; and ſhould refer them to the Juſtice of the Law.*

The Convention being aſſembled, the King order'd the Earl of *Marr* to receive the Keys of the City, and to diſarm the Citizens; and that he, with the Lords *Seaton* and *Ochiltree*, ſhould receive him with a ſufficient Guard; which accordingly was dome: And, at his Entry, the Lord Provoſt and Bailies met him at the Tolbooth, and falling on their Knees, declar'd their Readineſs to ſerve and obey his Majeſty, and were willing to purge themſelves

The King returns to *Edinburgh*.

ſelves of the Riot, before his Majeſty and Council. And, for his Majeſty's Satisfaction, they oblig'd themſelves, that for the future, they would never admit of theſe Miniſters denounc'd Rebels, without his Majeſty's Approbation. *A. D.* 1596.

When the Miniſters were baniſh'd, the Queen of *England* wrote a Letter to the King, wherein ſhe adviſ'd him, not to purſue the Miniſters with too great Severity; ſince that by ſuch Means, he would encourage Papiſts to hope that he was an Enemy to the Reform'd Religion. Q. *Elizabeth* writes to the King.

This Letter agreeing with the King's own Inclination, to be favourable to the Miniſters, he call'd a Convention at the Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*; and when they met, the late Tumult was again declar'd Treaſon by the Eſtates; and the Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, with the Bailies, Council and Deacons of Crafts, charg'd to enter Ward in the Town of *Perth*, before the firſt of *February*; and there to remain, 'till they ſhould be acquitted or found guilty of the late Inſurection,

In this Convention, the late mention'd Commiſſioners (call'd *Octavians*) being divided among themſelves, gave up their Commiſſions to the King; pretending they could not attend that Office, unleſs they neglected their Duty in the Council and Seſſion: But the real Cauſe of their Surrender was, the Fear they were in, of being ruin'd by the many Enemies, their Diligence and Credit with the King, had rais'd up againſt them. The *Octavians* give up their Commiſſions.

The King, at firſt, was not willing they ſhould relinquiſh their Commiſſions; for he found by their Managment, that his Revenue had turn'd to better Account, than at any Time before: Yet finding ſo many againſt their being continu'd, he preferr'd Peace among the Court and Council to his own Profit, and freed them of the Charge.

About this time, Capt. *James Stewart* (ſome time Earl of *Arran*) who liv'd privately in the North, with his Siſter the Lady *Salton*; finding that the Office of Chancellor had been vacant after the Death of the Lord *Thirlſtane*, he entertain'd Hopes of obtaining it. Therefore went to *Edinburgh*, and was admitted to the King: But having no immediate Hopes, he purpos'd to viſit his Relations in *Kyle*; to which Place being on his Journey, he was warn'd to beware of *James Dowglaſs* of *Totherald* (Capt. *James* having been blam'd for the Death of *Totherald*'s Uncle) that he had vow'd Revenge, and that he was then near the Road which the Captain was to take. In anſwer to the Advice, the Captain ſaid, That he would not leave his Road for all the Name of *Dowglaſs*; which being told *Totherald* by one of his Spies, he immediately purſu'd the Captain, and overtaking him in a Valley call *Catſlack*, he kill'd him without much Reſiſtance. Capt. *James Stewart* kill'd by *Dowglaſs* of *Totherald*.

It is reported, that when the Captain ſaw *Totherald*, with his Servants, coming up, he ask'd the Name of the Place where they were, and being told, he remember'd a Warning he had to beware of ſuch a Place.

The King finding Church Affairs at a Stand, by the Flight of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, who had been the chief Inſtruments of the late Troubles, was willing to bring the whole Miniſtry into ſuch Order, as might prevent any Conteſts between them and himſelf for the Future; therefore call'd a National Aſſembly, to meet at *Perth*, the laſt Day of *February*. At which Meeting he caus'd 55 Articles, or Propoſals, of a Form of Government, to be obſerv'd by the Miniſters. The Subſtance of theſe Articles was, "That "the Miniſters ſhould not, from their Pulpits, cenſure or aſperſe the King, "Council, or any civil Power; or in their Sermons or Exhortations, utter "any Words to excite their Hearers to Diſobedience to the King, or any "Civil Magiſtrates: And that their Doctrine ſhould be agreeable to the "Texts of Scripture, without any Reflections on Temporal Matters, ex- "cept reproving ſuch Vices as were known and notorious. The King calls an Aſſembly of the Miniſters at *Perth*. Articles of Regulation propos'd by him.

"That there ſhould be certain Regulations in the meeting of Aſſemblies, "Synods, or Presbyteries. That no Aſſembly ſhould meet, without the "King and Council's ſpecial Licence; and they ſhould meet only upon "weighty Matters of Religion: To which Aſſembly, ſhould come Com-

A. D. 1596.

" miſſioners from every particular Synod and Presbytery. That thoſe Com
" miſſioners ſhould be choſen by the ſeveral Seſſions, Presbyteries, and Sy-
" nods of the Nation. That Elders and Deacons, as well as Miniſters, of
" the ſeveral Seſſions, ſhould ſerve as Commiſſioners, and have Votes in the
" Aſſembly. That all Matters brought before the Aſſembly, after being de-
" bated, ſhould be determin'd by a Majority of Voices. That all Crimes,
" liable to Church Cenſure, ſhould be judg'd by them; and when the Offen-
" ders deny'd to appear, to anſwer ſuch Crimes as they ſhould be charg'd
" with: The Miniſters of the ſeveral Synods, Presbyteries and Seſſions, had
" Power to puniſh them according their Crimes, and to paſs Sentence of
" Excommunication: But that the King ſhould always have Power to an-
" nul ſuch Sentences, as he with his Council, might judge unjuſtly pro-
" nounc'd. That all Schiſms and Diviſions in the Church, ſhould be amen-
" ded and compos'd by the King. That no general Faults be proclaim'd
" without the King's Command."

When theſe Propoſitions, or Articles, were firſt mention'd, the Miniſters about *Edinburgh* were ſtrangely perplex'd, and had ſeveral Meetings and Conſultations, about uſing ſome Means to prevent the Proceedings of the Council: But as ſo many of their Brethren were then under the King's Diſpleaſure, they did not offer any Objections publickly againſt what had been reported.

Mean time, the King ſent Sir *Patrick Murray*, of his Bed-chamber, to the Miniſters of the Northern Presbyteries, to ſhew them, " That the Miniſters

The King's Meſſage to the Northern Miniſters.

" of *Edinburgh* having rais'd an open Rebellion, invited the Lord *Hamilton*
" and other Noblemen to join them; and that they were, for the ſame, be-
" come Fugitives, and denounc'd Rebels: Therefore deſir'd they would, by
" a publick Declaration, teſtify their Diſlike of ſuch ſeditious and treaſonable
" Courſes; and that they would ſubſcribe a Bond, acknowledging his Ma-
" jeſty's Royal Power over them, in all Cauſes of Sedition, Treaſon, and
" other civil and criminal Matters. And in all Speeches utter'd in Pulpits,
" or other Places, tending to the ſaid Crimes.

" That they would abſolve the Earl of *Huntly*, upon his giving Satisfaction
" to the Church. That Sir *Patrick Murray* ſhould give them a printed Copy
" of the before-mention'd Articles, and that ſome of the moſt learn'd and
" diſcreet of their Number ſhould be ſent as Commiſſioners, to attend the
" Aſſembly appointed at *Perth*, they being aſſur'd of the King's ſpecial Fa-
" vour in the Meeting; and that he ſhould not bear any Diſlike to them,
" upon Account of the Inſolence of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*."

The Miniſters receiv'd Sir *Patrick Murray* with great Reſpect, and being aſſembl'd, and having receiv'd his Meſſage, they anſwer'd; " That they were

Their Anſwer

" ignorant of what had been done by the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*: That their
" Declaration was, That whoſoever had been the Actors of that Inſurrecti-
" on, deſerv'd to be puniſh'd as Traitors; and if they were Miniſters, to
" be doubly puniſh'd.

" As for ſubſcribing a Bond, they anſwer'd, That the Oaths they had ta-
" ken, when they accepted of the Miniſtry, was ſufficient to acknowledge
" his Majeſty's Authority. As to that part of the propos'd Acknowledg-
" ment, which ſpecify'd Speeches in the Pulpit, it concern'd Application of
" Doctrine; the deciding of which, they referr'd to the approaching Aſ-
" ſembly; which Appointment they promis'd his Majeſty to keep.

" And as for the Earl of *Huntly*, they ſaid, His Repentance would be very
" acceptable, and were willing to have a Conference with him: But that
" they did not find himſelf inclin'd to conform, nor ſolicitous for his Abſo-
" lution.

With this Anſwer Sir *Patrick* return'd to the King, who ſeem'd ſomewhat ſatisfy'd therewith, ſince they had ſubmitted to the Deciſion of the Aſſembly at *Perth*. And upon Account of what they ſaid of the Earl of *Huntly*, the King wrote the following Letter to him.

A. D. 1597.

My LORD,

*I am ſure you may remember, how often I have incur'd Skaith and Hazard for your Cauſe; therefore, to be ſhort, reſolve you either to ſatisfy the Kirk, betwixt and the Day appointed, without any Delay; or if your Conſcience be ſo * kittle, as it cannot permit you; make for another Land betwixt and that Day, where you may freely uſe your Conſcience. Your Wife and Bairns ſhall, in that Caſe, enjoy your Livings: But for your ſelf, look never to be a* Scotſman *again. Deceive not your ſelf, to think that by lingring of Time, your Wife or Allies, ſhall ever get you better Conditions; for think not, that I will ſuffer any profeſſing a contrary Religion to live in this Land. If you obey me in this, you may once again be ſettled in a good Eſtate, and be able to do me Service; which, from my Heart, I could wiſh. The reſt I remit to the Bearer, whoſe Directions you ſhall follow, if you wiſh your own well. Farewel.*

The King's Letter to the Earl of *Huntly*

* Tickliſh.

From Dumfermling,
6 Feb. 1597.

JAMES R.

The Day appointed for the Aſſembly being come, ſeveral Commiſſioners came thither; and being met, the King ſent Sir *John Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*, Sir *John Preſton*, and Mr. *Edward Bruce*, to ask thoſe that were conveen'd, Whether they did account that Meeting a lawful General Aſſembly, having Power ſufficient to treat of, and conclude the Articles that ſhould be propon'd, according to his Majeſty's miſſive Letters, directed to the ſeveral Presbyteries? After long Reaſonings, the Anſwer was made, That they did eſteem the Meeting to be a lawful General Aſſembly, call'd by his Majeſty's Letters. And that they would hear, treat and conclude of ſuch Things, as ſhould be mov'd unto them, according to the Authority of their Commiſſions.

The Aſſembly meets at *Perth*

The King ſends a Meſſage to them.

Their Anſwer

After this Anſwer they preſented 12 Articles, containing the Subſtance of the before-mention'd 55 Articles: Whereupon it was agreed, that ſome Brethren ſhould have ſeperate Conferences, and report their Opinions to the Aſſembly; which accordingly they did the next Day; wherein they made Objections againſt ſuch of the Articles, as ſeem'd to abridge the Privileges aſſumb'd, or tollerated to the Aſſemblies, Synods, or Presbyteries, in Times paſt: And as for thoſe Articles, concerning Matters of State, they deſir'd they might be further explain'd; and only agreed, that no Man ſhould be nam'd in any publick Rebuke, unleſs their Faults were notorious. And, as to abſolving the Peers, they were ready to comply, provided thoſe Lords gave Satisfaction to the Church.

Theſe Anſwers being deliver'd to the King, he was very much offended at the Objections, and deſir'd the Aſſembly to repair to the Place where his Majeſty and Eſtates were conveen'd, for treating upon the aforeſaid Articles. At their coming the King made a Speech, wherein he told them, "That he "had then call'd them together, to ammend ſuch Matters as had occaſion'd "Differences betwixt him and them; and to determine ſuch Points of his "own Authority, and their Privileges, as might prevent any Diſputes in "in Time coming: And that he only requir'd that Superiority, that every "Chriſtian King might juſtly claim over his People: But finding that Preachers took upon them, in the Application of their Doctrine, to meddle "with Matters of State, and uſe ſuch Speeches from their Pulpits, as tended "to ſow Sedition and raiſe Tumults: He could not forbear expreſſing his "juſt Reſentment of ſuch publick Offences, and thought it moſt reaſonable "to preſcribe ſuch Rules, as might keep them within their Limits; which "if they did, he would always protect them to the utmoſt of his Power: "But as for the Civil Government, which belong'd to him and his Council, "he deſir'd they might not meddle with it.

He calls the Aſſembly before the Eſtates.

His Speech to them.

A. D. 1597.

Mr. *Walter Buchanan's* Proteſt.

After this Speech the King required of the Aſſembly to declare before him and the Eſtates, the Reaſons of their Objections againſt the Articles he had propon'd; whereupon Mr. *Thomas Buchannan* did proteſt in the Name of the Aſſembly, *That they were ready to obey his Majeſty, but not to joyn with the Eſtates in one Aſſembly; therefore deſired they might be permitted to return to the Place of their own Aſſembly, to treat Reaſon, and conclude on thoſe Articles, according to the Word of God and good Conſciences.* Which Proteſtation being admitted, they returned, and after long Conſultation, they, in a Manner ſubmitted to moſt of the before mention'd Articles, which gave great Satisfaction to the King; and thereupon gave a Commiſſion to the Miniſters of *Aberdeen*, *Murray*, *Mearns*, and *Angus*, for reconciling and abſolving the excommunicated Lords. Mean Time the Miniſters of the Aſſembly finding the King ſo well pleas'd, made free to intercede for the Miniſters and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, and other Gentlemen, who were charg'd with the late Tumult. His Majeſty anſwer'd, *That he had no Mind to trouble any ſuch as were innocent, the Gentlemen would do well to preſent their Supplications by their Friends*; but for the Miniſters they were eſteem'd moſt guilty, and did not know what Courſe to take with him. However, at the Aſſemblies further Requeſt, he conſented to admit them upon Bail, to undergo a legal Trial. Thus ended the Aſſembly at *Perth*, and the King appointed another Aſſembly to meet at *Dundee* the 10th of *May* following.

The Aſſembly intercede for the baniſh'd Miniſters.

The King's Anſwer.

Upon the 18th Day of *February*, the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* having deputed ſome of their Number, and other Perſons, to appear for them at *Perth*; ſo that when the Liſt of the Perſons was read, and ſeveral of them not appearing, the Magiſtrates and Burgeſſes of *Edinburgh* were declar'd Rebels; but by the earneſt Interceſſion of ſeveral Noblemen they were pardon'd, and the King was pleas'd to receive the Town into Favour. And when the King return'd to *Holy-rood-houſe*, the Lord Provoſt, Bailies, Council, and Deacons of Crafts, came before the King, and falling upon their Knees with Tears in their Eyes, begg'd his Majeſty's Pardon for their Negligence, in not preventing the Tumult rais'd, as they ſaid by a Number of ill diſpos'd People, beſeeching his Majeſty to have Compaſſion on the City, which ſubmitted it ſelf to his Mercy. The King ſharply rebuk'd them, and commanded them to remove till his further Orders. And then calling his Council, and ſent them the following Articles to be ſubſcrib'd by them, 1. That the Place where the Miniſters kept their Conſultations ſhould be deliver'd up to the King. 2. That the Miniſters thereafter ſhould have their Dwellings in their own ſeparate Pariſhes. 3. That the Town ſhould be oblig'd, for the Safety of the Lords of Seſſion, under the Penalty of 40000 Merks. 4. That the lower Council-houſe, wherein the Magiſtrates kept their Meetings, ſhould be appointed for the King's Exchequer; and that for the Offence committed, the Town ſhould be fined in 20000 Merks, to be paid in Four Months. They having accepted of, and ſubſcrib'd theſe Articles, the King did pardon, and receive the Town into Favour. And by Proclamation ordain'd the Seſſion to ſit in *Edinburgh*, as formerly.

The Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* denounc'd Rebels.

They ſue for the King's Favour.

They are reprov'd by the King, and enter into Articles.

Some few Days after the fugitive Miniſters had Leave to return, but were not ſuffered to preach, until the King had placed other Miniſters among them; ſo that ſome of them being remov'd to other Places, the reſt were repon'd.

The fugitive Miniſters permitted to return to *Edinburgh*.

About this Time *John Leſlie* Biſhop of *Roſs*, died at *Bruxels* in *Flanders*, where he had reſided for moſt Part after the Execution of Queen *Mary*, he was a Man of great Learning, and other Endowments; and I find that Archbiſhop *Spotiſwood*, (tho' differing from him in Religion) yet ſays of him, that he was worthy to be remembred for his Fidelity to the Queen his Miſtreſs, and the extraordinary Pains he took to procure her Liberty, travelling with all the neighbouring Princes to interpoſe their Credit with the Queen of *England* for her Relief: Neither was he deficient otherwiſe in miniſtring the beſt Conſolations he could furniſh, for bearing patiently her Croſs; whereof one Treatiſe he afterwards publiſh'd full of Piety and Learning. How heavily

John Leſly Biſhop of *Roſs*, his Death and Character.

heavily he took her Death, it cannot well be expreſt: Yet comforting himſelf in the beſt Way he could, he put off to this Time, and being much weakned by a languiſhing Sickneſs, that held him ſome Months, he ended his Days quietly. The Hiſtory of his own Country, from the Beginning of the Nation to theſe laſt Times, written by him in the *Latin* Tongue, doth witneſs his Learning and Judgment. It being juſt to give every Man (albeit an Enemy) his due Commendation. *A. D.* 1597.

The Time of the Aſſembly at *Dundee* being come, the Miniſters met, and the firſt Thing they enter'd upon was the Atteſtation of the Satisfaction given by the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, and *Errol*, which was ſubſcrib'd by ſeveral Miniſters, who were employ'd in that Matter; whereupon Orders were given to meet at a certain Time, and pronounce their Abſolution. The Proceedings of the Aſſembly at *Dundee*.

The other Proceedings of this Aſſembly were concerning the former Propoſitions, with reſpect to the King's Royal Authority over Aſſemblies, Synods, *&c.* And finding the King ſo much inclin'd to a good Agreement with them, they determin'd that his Authority ſhould be admitted in all Acts of Importance, made by the Church; and that all Aſſemblies ſhould be call'd by his Majeſty's ſpecial Orders and Permiſſion.

The Aſſembly being diſſolv'd, the King ſent Sir *Patrick Murray* to the North, to ſee the Conditions propos'd to the three Earls duly perform'd, and to aſſiſt the Commiſſioners appointed for their Abſolution; and to cauſe them ſubſcribe Bonds for the Peace and Safety of the Country, and find Surety for the Penalty of 20000 Merks: And had particular Orders for the Earl of *Huntly* to follow the Counſel of the Lairds of *Finlater*, *Innes*, *Philorth*, the Tutor of *Cromarty*, the Lairds of *Pitlurg* and *Cluny*, and to proceed by their Advice in all Matters that concern'd his Majeſty's Service. Sir *Patrick Murray*'s Meſſage to the North.

About this Time a Rumour was ſpread of an Invaſion from *Spain*; and it is reported that one *Barclay* of *Ladyland*, (who being Priſoner in *Glaſgow*, having made his Eſcape the Year before, and fled to *Spain*) had return'd with ſome others in his Company, and fortified the Iſle of *Iſlay*; and that being ſurpris'd by one *Knox*, he ran into the Sea and drown'd himſelf. Whatever Truth there might been in this Report, it ſerv'd to cauſe the excommunicated Earls haſten their Submiſſion, which they did immediately to prevent any further Trouble; and upon the 26th of *June* they were abſolv'd, and receiv'd into Favour. Mean Time the King by Sir *Patrick Murray*, order'd them to find Surety, to make up all Quarrels with their Neighbours betwixt and *April* the next Year; eſpecially the Feuds between the Earl of *Huntly* and the Lord *Forbes*, and between the Earl of *Errol* and the Lairds of *Ludwhairn*, *Drum*, *Young*, and *Frendraught*; but the moſt dangerous Feud between the Earls of *Huntly* and *Murray*, the King determin'd to make up by Marriage. *Barclay* of *Ladyland*'s Attempt. The excommunicated Lords abſolv'd, and taken into Favour.

In *June* the King call'd an Aſſembly of the Miniſters at *Falkland*, where Mr. *John Lindſay* of *Ballcarras* Secretary, enter'd a Complaint againſt Mr. *Robert Wallace*, Miniſter of St. *Andrew*'s, before the Presbytery, for ſcurrilous and ſcandalous Speeches made by him from the Pulpit; but the Presbytery refuſing to admit his Accuſation, unleſs immediately atteſted by Two Witneſſes; wherefore he repreſented the ſame to the King and Council, and produc'd the Witneſſes the Presbytery had refus'd. The Offender being call'd before the Council, he deny'd, but others of that Presbytery appear'd, and enter'd a Proteſt, inſiſting upon ſome Privileges of the Aſſembly, which had been abrogated by the late Agreement: But the Council finding the Proteſtation, and Denial of Juſtice upon the Secretary's Complaint, they intended to uſe ſome further Means to make the Miniſters ſenſible of the King and Council's Authority, which, when the Miniſters were appriſed of, they appointed a ſelect Number of the Brethren to viſit and enquire into the Proceedings of the Church, and in Conſideration of the Offences given lately by *Blake*, and now by *Wallace*, they were both convicted and depos'd, and remov'd from the Miniſtry. An Aſſembly at *Falkland*. *Ballcarras* complains of Mr. *Wallace*. *Blake* and *Wallace* depos'd and remov'd.

A. D. 1597. About the ſame Time it was repreſented to the King and Council, that in the Univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s, the Miniſters had order'd, inſtead of the Divinity Lectures formerly read there, that they ſhould practiſe political Queſtions, ſuch as, *Whether the Election or Succeſſion of Kings were the better Form of Government, or how far the Royal Power extended; and if King's might be cenſur'd for abuſing the ſame, and depos'd by the Eſtates of the Kingdom.* Upon this Information the King viſited the Univerſity, and appointed Profeſſors of the Sciences, inſtead of thoſe who had committed the Abuſes complain'd of; and likewiſe appointed a Council to examine the Privileges and Proceedings of the Univerſity, from Time to Time, and to uplift and apply the Rents to the proper Uſes.

The evil Practices of the Univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s complain'd of.

The King viſits the Univerſity.

A Parliament call'd at *Edinburgh*.

In the Month of *December*, a Parliament was call'd at *Edinburgh*, wherein the forfeited Lords were reſtor'd to their former Honours, Dignity, and Eſtates; and in the ſame Parliament, the Miniſters preſented a Memorial, wherein they requeſted, that the Miniſters repreſenting the Church, ſhould have Leave to vote in Parliament. The King being very earneſt to grant the Requeſt, after a long Debate it was agreed and enacted, *That ſuch of the Miniſters as his Majeſty had or ſhould be pleas'd to provide to the Places of Biſhops or Abbots, ſhould have the ſame Freedom in Parliament as thoſe Biſhops or Abbots formerly had; and that to ſuch Sees as were then unprovided of Biſhops, Miniſters ſhould be appointed by the King.* And that the Nomination of thoſe Miniſters, with the Privileges allow'd them, ſhould be referred to his Majeſty's Conſideration at the Meeting of the next Aſſembly.

The Lords reſtor'd to their Dignities and Honour.

Miniſters allow'd Voices in Parliament.

A. D. 1598. An Aſſembly being call'd at *Dundee* in *March* 1598, wherein the King was preſent, it was propos'd to the Miniſters, to conſider of the Form and Manner, and Number of Perſons to be appointed to have Voice in Parliament, according to the late Acts. After long Conſultation it was agreed, that the Number ſhould be Fifty one; and as to the electing of thoſe Perſons, it was referr'd between the King and the Church, to conſider on the Rents and the Tenor of their Offices, whether for Life or not. Theſe Conſiderations being recommended to the ſeveral Presbyteries and Synods, who were order'd to meet, and ſend Three of their Brethren to attend the King upon the firſt of *June* following, to conclude that Affair; but in caſe any Diſpute remain'd, to refer the ſame to the Meeting of the next Aſſembly.

An Aſſembly at *Dundee*.

The Proceedings of the Aſſembly.

Mean Time a Petition was preſented to the King, for the ſilenc'd Preachers of *Edinburgh*, that they might have Leave to preach again; and after their giving Security, that nothing offenſive to the King, Council, or other Noblemen, ſhould be expreſs'd by them in Pulpits, or publick Converſation. The King freely remitted their paſt Offences, upon the Conditions of the before mention'd Articles.

The ſilenc'd Miniſters allow'd to preach again.

In this Aſſembly it was repreſented, that Mr. *Robert Bruce*, who had been Ten Years a Preacher, had not been legally admitted to the Miniſtry, and that he had not receiv'd his Office by the Ceremony of Impoſition of Hands, but only preach'd by a Licence, and was therefore required to undergo the Ceremony, which he denied with ſuch Obſtinacy, that they threatned to deprive him, and the King commanded to proſecute him for his Contempt: Which Threatning, with the Conſideration of a Claim for a Nomination to a Biſhoprick. Then prevail'd with Mr. *Robert* to ſubmit, and Mr. *David Lindſay* and Mr. *Alexander Douglas* perform'd the Ceremony, which prevented new Broils that were like to ariſe; for one Mr. *John Davidſon* having proteſted in Mr. *Bruce*'s Behalf, endeavour'd to renew ſuch Contention as had formerly happen'd between the King and Aſſembly; but thoſe who had ſuffer'd in the Troubles, made up the Matter at that Time.

Information againſt Mr. *Bruce*.

He denies the Impoſition of Hands.

July the 29th, the Commiſſioners from the Synods came to *Falkland*, where, in a Meeting it was determin'd, that the Church for every Dioceſe ſhould nominate Six of the Miniſters, and one of them to be choſen by the King, to ſit and vote in Parliament; that the Nomination of them ſhould be by the General Aſſembly, and their Rents provided out of the Biſhoprick to which they were preferr'd; and certain Rules preſcrib'd to them, which they

they would not tranſgreſs under Pain of Deprivation. That their Titles ſhould be Commiſſioners for ſuch Places, or what other Denomination ſhould be more agreeable to the King and Aſſembly. *A. D.* 1598.

About this Time, the King hearing that Quren *Elizabeth* was grown infirm, and that ſeveral malicious Libels has been diſpers'd in *England*, wherein his Title to the Crown was diſputed, his Majeſty thought proper to ſend the Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, and Mr. *Peter Young* his Almoner, Ambaſſadors to the Court of *Denmark*, to procure from the King his Brother in Law, Letters of Recommendation to the Dukes of *Mecklinburg*, *Saxony*, *Brunſwick*, and *Sleſwick*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, entreating their Friendſhip, *to perſwade Queen* Elizabeth *to declare his Right to prevent the Plots of her and his Enemies; and alſo, that in caſe ſhe died ſuddenly, to give their Aſſiſtance in caſe any ſhould appear to oppoſe his Succeſſion.* The Ambaſſador, after long Stay return'd with his Anſwer from the *German* Princes, *That tho' they knew his undoubted Right, yet did not think proper to deſire Queen* Elizabeth *to make any Declaration thereof. However aſſured his Majeſty of their Aſſiſtance, in caſe of any Oppoſition.*

The King ſends Ambaſſadors to *Denmark* and *Germany*.

The Subſtance of the Embaſſy.

Upon the 24th Day of *December*, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Daughter, who was baptized in the Chapel of *Holy-rood-houſe*, by Mr. *David Lindſay*, and called *Margaret*. And the Earls of *Huntly*, *Montroſe*, (who had been in *January* before made Lord Chancellor) and Lord *John Hamilton* aſſiſted as Witneſs; and at the ſame Time the Lord *John*, (who was declar'd Succeſſor to his Father, by reaſon of his elder Brother's Incapacity) with the Earl of *Huntly*, were created Marquiſſes of *Hamilton* and *Huntly*.

The Queen deliver'd of a Daughter, who is baptized *Margaret*.

Lord *John Hamilton* and Earl *Huntly* created Marquiſſes.

In the Beginning of the next Year, Mr. *Lindſay* of *Ballcarras* the Secretary, died, and was ſucceeded by Sir *James Elphingſton*, Brother to the Lord *Elphingſton*, which Sir *James* became a great Favourite with the King; and as the Office of Treaſurer had been reſigned by the Earl of *Caſſils*, he obtain'd the Place for his Brother the Lord *Elphingſton*. *A. D.* 1599.

Lord *Elphingſton* made Treaſurer.

About this Time came Sir *William Bowes* Ambaſſador from *England*, with a Meſſage from Queen *Elizabeth* to the King, telling him, that ſhe had Reports of his offering Obedience to the Pope, in Matters of Religion; and that a Letter had been handed about, which ſome pretended had been ſent by him to the Pope. Altho' ſhe believ'd the Letter to be forg'd, yet adviſ'd him to conſider how his Intereſt ſtood at that Time, if he inclin'd to change his Religion. The King took this Advice kind, and gave Aſſurance to the Ambaſſador, that thoſe Reports were the Contrivances of his Enemies, to breed Diviſions between him and his People. As for the Letter mention'd, it is what will be hereafter mention'd in the Secretary's Trial, under the Title of Lord *Balmerinoch*.

Queen *Elizabeth*'s Meſſage to the King.

His Anſwer.

Whilſt the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador remain'd at *Edinburgh*, one *Aſhfield* an *Engliſh* Man, who had brought hunting Horſes to the King, having affronted the Warden of *Berwick*, the Ambaſſador caus'd Two of his Servants keep Company with him, and having made him drunk one Day at *Leith*, they put him into a Coach, and inſtead of carrying him to Court, they ſent him ſtreight to *Berwick*, where he's put in Priſon. The King having Notice of it, was very much offended, and ſent to *Berwick* to bring him back, but the Governor refuſed, alledging he could not releaſe him without the Queen's Knowledge and Order.

Aſhfield who brought Horſes to the King, is ſent Priſoner to *Berwick*.

This Anſwer being brought to the King, he challeng'd the Ambaſſador for his undutiful Behaviour in that Affair; but he denied the Fact, ſaying, that it was the Contrivance of his Servants, without his Direction or Knowledge; yet the contrary was known, for which the King denied to ſee him any more, ſo he departed in great Diſcontent.

The King being offended, diſmiſſes the Ambaſſador.

After the Return of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, ſeveral Libels were diſpers'd againſt and for the King's Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*; and at the ſame Time the King publiſh'd his *Baſilicon Doron*, directed to Prince *Henry*. The Cauſe of its being publiſh'd was, Sir *John Semple* one of his Majeſty's Secretary's, who was truſted to tranſcribe that Treatiſe, being

The King publiſhes his *Baſilicon Doron*.

A. D. 1599. ing familiar with one Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, a Miniſter, gave him the Copy to read. *Melvil* being offended at ſome Paſſages of it, which reflected much on the Behaviour of the Presbyterian Miniſters, he took a Copy of it, and having tranſcrib'd ſeveral more, diſpers'd them among the Brethren: Whereupon they wrote a Libel, and brought it before the Synod of St. *Andrew's*, wherein the Paſſages they were offended at, were ſet down, with the *Query*, *What Puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the Perſon that had given ſuch Inſtructions to the Prince? Or, if he could be thought well affected to Religion, that deliver'd theſe Precepts of Government.*

The Miniſters Reflections on it.

Sir *Patrick Murray* and Mr. *James Nicholſon* being in the Synod as Commiſſioners for the King, and finding the Libel to concern his Majeſty, they made diligent Enquiry to find the Author, and Preſenter of it to the Synod. All the Miniſters pretending Ignorance, the King's Commiſſioners order'd the Doors to be made faſt, and call'd over the Roll of Miniſters Names, one by one, then made them purge themſelves by Oath, which they did; but the next Day, Mr. *John Dikes*, Miniſter of *Anſtruther*, being ſuſpected, was cited to compear before the Council; but he denying, was denounc'd Rebel.

Upon this Occaſion the King publiſh'd his Treatiſe, which was generally well eſteem'd among the moderate People of *Scotland*; and, in *England*, was taken great Notice of, as it ſeem'd to be written for the ſupporting of Epiſcopacy, and reflected on the Violence of the Presbyterian Government. Nor was the Treatiſe of leſs Service to the King, in contradicting ſeveral Aſperſions of his Education and Capacity, contain'd in Pamphlets, publiſh'd by his Enemies of that Nation.

In the latter end of this Year, the King having licens'd a Company of *Engliſh* Comedians, to act in *Edinburgh*; the Miniſters were ſo much offended at their Freedom, and the publiſhing of the before-mention'd Treatiſe, that they again renew'd their Exclamations in their Sermons, againſt the King; and in their Seſſion made an Act, *prohibiting People to reſort unto the Plays, under the Pain of Church Cenſure.* Which Act ſo offended the King, that he call'd the Seſſion before the Council, and commanded them to annul the Act; and that all People ſhould have free Leave to ſee the Plays at their Leaſure: To which they comply'd, tho' with great Diſſatisfaction of Mind.

The Miniſters offended at the *Engliſh* Comedians.

A. D. 1600. The next Year the King and Council ordain'd, that the Year ſhould begin the firſt Day of *January*, which formerly was reckon'd from the 25th of *March*; by which Ordinance the Beginning of the Year is ſtill reckon'd in *Scotland.* And according to this new Reckoning, I have, throughout this Work, begun the Year; as may be obſerv'd by the placing the Year on the Margin.

An Act, ordaining the new Year to begin on the firſt of *January.*

Upon the 28th of *March*, a General Aſſembly was call'd a *Montroſs*, wherein the King was preſent, and caus'd ratify the Articles of the Aſſembly of *Falkland*, in *July*, 1598. And enacted, that thoſe who had Voices in Parliament, ſhould not ſit in the General Aſſembly, without being elected by the Presbyteries and Seſſions, to which they belong'd. Thoſe Perſons appointed to ſit in Parliament, to repreſent the Biſhops, were ſuch of the Miniſters, as were choſen and nominated Titulars to thoſe Dioceſſes; and, as moſt of the Sees were ſupplied with Biſhops or Titulars, they chuſe Mr. *David Lindſay* for *Roſs*, and Mr. *George Gladſtanes* for *Caithneſs*. But they both continu'd to preach in their Churches as formerly.

An Aſſembly at *Montroſe.*

In *Auguſt*, this Year, a Conſpiracy was ploted by *John* Earl of *Gowry*, in the following manner.

The Earl of *Gowrey's* Conſpiracy.

William Ruthven, Earl of *Gowry*, having been found guilty of Treaſon, and executed, in the Year 1584. and his Eſtate forfeited to the Crown: But when the King was of Age, he reſtor'd his eldeſt Son, *James Ruthven*, to his Father's Titles and Eſtate; and he dying young, was ſucceeded by his next Brother *John.* The King had ſuch Reſpect for that Family, that he made his ſecond Brother *Alexander* one of the Bed-chamber; and the Daugh-

ters

ters were all honourably married, especially the 3d, nam'd *Sophia*, who was one of the Queen's Ladies of Honour, and afterwards married to *Lodwick* Duke of *Lennox*. Yet all the Favours conferr'd by the King, could not refrain the unhappy Earl from entertaining a secret Desire of Revenging his Father's Death upon the King, tho' his Majesty was, at that Time but a Minor; and, by conferring so many Favours on his Posterity, shew'd his Dislike of the Action. When this Earl travell'd abroad, by the King's Leave, he is said to have consulted Diabolical Means to know his Fate; and that he had a Response or Prophesy, fortelling, That he should be in great Power, and Rule, and die by the Sword: Which Response the Earl of *Argyle* told the King, he had seen in a House in *Orleance*, in *France*, where the Earl of *Gowry* had lodg'd some time before. Likewise it is said, that whilst he was at *Padua*, performing his Exercises, he had caus'd draw in the Fencing-School, for his Device, a Hand and Sword aiming at a Crown. And coming home to *Scotland*, he retir'd from the Court to his House at *Perth*, where he studied to make himself populous among the Town and Country-People thereabout; and having resolv'd upon his wicked Designs, he form'd a Project of enforcing a Belief, That Queen *Margaret*, Mother to King *James* V. who was, after King *James* IV. her first Husband's Death, married to the Earl of *Angus*; and being divorced from him, married *Henry Stewart*, Lord *Methven*, by whom, he would endeavour to prove, that he got *Dorothea Stewart*, his own Mother; tho' 'twas known, that this *Dorothea* was the Daughter of the Lord *Methven*, by *Jean*, Daughter to *Patrick* Lord *Ruthven*, his Great-Grandfather; and that his Father and Mother were first and second Cousins. Yet the Earl had such Confidence in the Success of his Plot, that when he could destroy the King, he would have a Party ready to take the Crown of *Scotland* by Force, and declare himself next Heir to the Crown of *England*. In which ambitious Hopes he flatter'd himself, and finding *Robert Logan* of *Rastlerige* disaffected to the Government, he communicated his Designs to him; wherein he engag'd himself, with all Assurance of his Assistance and Secresy, in hopes to obtain the Lordship of *Dirlton*, and the highest Preferment, when the Earl came to be King. Yet when the Earl had contriv'd his Plot, he was resolv'd to execute it himself; and it is said, that he had written to *Rastelrige* to come to him the next Day after he intended to accomplish his Designs; by which Means he was not discover'd to have any Confederacy in the Conspiracy, till it was found out, as shall be seen hereafter.

A. D. 1600.

Gowry's Hopes of obtaining the Crown of *Scotland* and *England*.

So the Earl having resolv'd upon the King's Death, he, on the fifth of *August*, by Day-light, sent his Brother, Mr. *Alexander Ruthven* (who was of the King's Bed-Chamber) from *Perth* to *Falkland*, where he met the King by seven in the Morning, ready to take Horse to hunt a Buck in the Park; and going to his Majesty, he told him, that the Earl his Brother had intercepted a Man (whom he suppos'd to be a Jesuite) with a great Quantity of Gold: And that he was then confin'd to a close Chamber in his Brother's House at *Perth*, where he hop'd his Majesty would come, with all possible Speed and Privacy, and doubted not but his Majesty would find Things worthy his Travel. The King put several Questions to Mr. *Alexander*, to which he gave no direct Answers, but told, that his Brother would satisfy his Majesty in all Things he requir'd; but still press'd him to make haste. The King told him he would hunt a little, and after go to dine with his Brother. So after a short Chace, a Buck being kill'd, the King call'd the Duke of *Lennox* and Earl of *Marr*, who were in Company, and told them, that he was going to *Perth* to get a * Pose, and to dine with the Earl of *Gowry*, desiring them to go along with him. Whereupon the Earl of *Marr* sent for another Horse, and the Duke of *Lennox* for a Sword (for he had none about him that Day at the Chace). So the King, with the Duke, and other Servants and Attendants, went on, and were follow'd, and overtaken in a little Way, by the Earl of *Marr* and his Servants. When they came near *Perth*,

He sends his Brother *Alexander* to decoy the King to *Perth*.

* A Purse, or Hoard of Gold.

A. D. 1600. Mr. *Alexander Ruthven* went away before, to tell his Brother of the King's being near; and, as the King had obſerv'd him in ſome Confuſion that Day, he ask'd the Duke of *Lennox* (who was married to *Gowrey*'s Siſter) if he had, at any time, obſerv'd *Alexander* troubl'd in his Mind; but the Duke denying that ever he had, the King enquir'd no further; and being join'd by the Earl of *Marr*, they came to the South Inch, where the Earl of *Gowry* with ſeveral Friends and Servants, met his Majeſty, and welcom'd him to his Houſe. The King's Dinner being immediately ſerv'd up, he was conducted to the Dining-Room; the Earl ſtaying with the Duke and Earl of *Marr*, and others, carried them to another Room to Dinner; and when the King had almoſt din'd, *Alexander* whiſper'd his Majeſty, that it would be a proper Time to ſee the Man whilſt the reſt were at Dinner, and that he would conduct his Majeſty to the Chamber where he was cloſe kept. Sir *Thomas Erskine* offer'd to follow the King, but Mr. *Alexander* whiſper'd to him, that the King deſir'd to be alone; ſo the King and Mr. *Alexander* went up alone, and Mr. *Alexander* ſhut the Door after him, and told the King that the Man was in a Chamber off the End of the Gallery, where entering, the King ſeeing a Man ſtand alone, ask'd, Is that he? Nay (ſaid *Alexander*) there is another Affair in Hand; and putting on his Hat, ſaid to the King, *You remember how you us'd my Father, and now you muſt anſwer for it.* The King reply'd, *What! your Father! I was not the Cauſe of his Death; I was but a Minor, and what was done was by the Council. Why, Man, was this your Deſign to bereave me of my Life? Did you learn this Leſſon from Mr.* Robert Rollock, *your Maſter? And albeit ye murder me, do ye think to be King of* Scotland, *ſeeing I have both Son and Daughters; or do you think that ye can eſcape being puniſh'd.* At this *Alexander* ſtood amaz'd (and ſeeing that, the Man who was by fell a trembling) he ſaid to the King, *Stay ſtill, and make no Noiſe, and I will go ſpeak to my Brother, and ſtrive to pacify him*; ſo he went down the back Stairs, but return'd inſtantly, with a looſe Girdle or Garter in his Hand, and going to the King, ſaid, *By GOD! there is no Remedy, you muſt die.* And taking the King by the Hands, offer'd to hold him; whereupon the King wreſtl'd, and pulling him towards a Window, which was open to the Court, and ſeeing the Earl of *Marr*, he cry'd out aloud, *Help! MARR, MARR! Treaſon, Treaſon!*

The King comes to *Perth* and is met by *Gowry*.

Alexander carries the King to a private Chamber.

He tells the King his Purpoſe.

The King's Anſwer.

The King cries out, and is heard by the Noblemen

Several of the Lords, and others who were in the Court, hearing the King's Voice, and knew it, they run up the Stairs towards that Chamber; but found the Door ſhut: Sir *Thomas Erskine*, hearing the King cry out Treaſon, did ſeize *Gowry*; and ſaid, *Thou art the Traitor*; but the Earl's Servants ſoon parted them: Mean time, one of the King's Pages, nam'd *Ramſay*, finding the back Paſſage that led into the Gallery, went up, and getting into the Room where the King was, found his Majeſty ſtrugling with *Alexander Ruthven*. The King ſeeing *Ramſay*, call'd to him, *Fy ſtrike the Traitor, ſtrike him low, Man.* Whereupon *Ramſay* ſtruck him thrice with his Whinger or Dagger. Immediately *Alexander* (ſeeing the Man who ſtood in the Room ſtole away) ruſh'd out at the Door, and was met in the back Stairs by Sir *Thomas Erskine*, who ask'd him, How the King was? He giving no direct Anſwer, but ſaid, *He took GOD to Witneſs, he was not in the Fault*; Sir *Thomas* run him through the Body, ſo that he fell down dead.

Ramſay ſtabs *Alexander*.

Hugh Herries, a Phyſician, and one *Wilſon*, followed Sir *Thomas* up the back Stairs; and finding the King ſafe, they ſtood to defend the Door, while the Duke of *Lennox*, Earl of *Marr*, and others, were forcing open the fore, or great Door, which was ſtrongly faſten'd; and the Earl of *Gowry* coming up the back Stairs, accompany'd with 3 or 4 Servants, ruſh'd upon them, with two drawn Swords in his Hands; whereupon they cry'd out, *Traitor, you have kill'd the King our Maſter, and wilt thou alſo take our Lives.* Upon which the Earl ſtood aſtoniſh'd, and putting the Points of his Swords to the Ground, *Ramſay* run him through the Body with his Small-Sword, ſo that he fell down dead. The Earls Servants fought, and wounded

Alſo *Ramſay* kills the Earl of *Gowry*.

wounded Sir *Thomas Erskine* and Doctor *Herries*, and escap'd all, except one *Thomas Cranston*, who was wounded so, that he could not get off. *A. D.* 1600.

By this Time the great Door was broken open by the Lords, who were all overjoy'd to see the King alive; and they all, with his Majesty, kneel'd down, to thank GOD for the Deliverance. But immediately they found some further Danger; for upon the Reports of *Gowry*'s Servants, the Town of *Perth* was allarm'd, that the Earl was like to be murder'd by the King's Company: Whereupon the Town's-People took Arms, and as the Earl was their Provost, and well belov'd by the Town, they surrounded the House, calling out aloud for their Provost to be deliver'd safe, or they would revenge his Cause; but the Lords having brought one of the Bailies, with some Citizens to the King, and hearing the Truth of the Matter, they soon pacify'd the People, and sent them home to their Houses. And the King, with his Company, immediately took Horse, and return'd to *Falkland*.

The Mob rais'd in *Perth*

They are soon pacify'd, and sent home.

Of the Earl's Servants, *Cranston* being wounded, was taken in the Gallery, and upon Search, another call'd *Henry Young*, was found dead in a Corn Field, where hiding himself, probably, died of his Wounds receiv'd in the Gallery; and a third of them, nam'd *Cragengilt*, was taken two Days after and impriſon'd. But none could discover who the Man was, that stood arm'd in the Room, when the King enter'd; he having stolen away, when *Ramsay* came to his Majesty's Assistance, and conceal'd himself: But a great Reward and Promise of Pardon to any who would discover him, being proclaim'd, *Andrew Henderson*, Chamberlain to the Earl of *Gowry*, discover'd himself to the Comptroller, and upon Promise of Life, offer'd to discover all that he knew of that Conspiracy; which the King, by the Advice of the Council, granted him. And being call'd before the Council at *Falkland*, on the 20th of *August*, he made the following Deposition, in Presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Advocate, Comptroller, Sir *George Hume*, and Sir *James Melvil*, *viz.* That the Earl of *Gowry*, at St. *Johnston*, appointed this Deponent *(Henderson)* over Night, to ride with his Brothers, *Alexander* and *Andrew Ruthven* to *Falkland* the next Morning; who came all together thither, at seven of the Clock: *Alexander* presently spake with the King in private, as he got on Horseback, and instantly commanded this Deponent to ride with all possible Speed to the Earl, whom he found at St. *Johnston*, in his Chamber about ten of the Clock; and told him, that the King would be there by Noon. The Earl presently withdrawing into his Closet, demanded, *How his Majesty took with his Brother?* This Deponent said, *Very well, for the King clapt him about the Shoulder.* The Earl ask'd, *If there were many with the King, and what special Persons?* He answer'd, *The usual Number, and the Duke of* Lennox. And that, within an Hour after, the Earl commanded this Deponent, to put on his secret Plate-sleeves, saying, *He had an Highlandman to take in the* Shoe-gate.

Andrew Henderson discovers himself to be the Man who stood in the Chamber when the King enter'd with *Alexander*.

His Deposition before the Council.

That about one a-Clock, the Earl being at Dinner, *Andrew Ruthven* came from *Alexander*, and whisper'd in his Ear, and presently after came *Alexander* and *William Blair*, and took the Earl from his Dinner, and sent for his Gantlet and Steel-Bonnet, and soon after the King came in.

Then *Alexander* bids the Deponent fetch the Keys of the Chambers from *William Reynd*, and so both went up the Stairs; but afterwards *Thomas Cranston* requir'd this Deponent to come to the Earl, who commanded him to go up to *Alexander*, and immediately the Earl follow'd, bidding this Deponent do whatever *Alexander* bad him, who forthwith lock'd him within the Round in the Chamber, telling him, *he must stay there till he return'd*; who shortly after came with the King, and opening the Door, both of them enter'd, *and instantly* Alexander *clapping on his Hat, pull'd out this Deponent's Dagger, and held it to the King's Breast*, saying, *Remember ye of my Father's Murder; You shall now pay for it.* And minting to his Highness Heart with the Dagger, this Deponent snatch'd the same out of his Hand, and believes, *that if* Alexander *had retain'd the Dagger, so long as one might go six Steps, he had kill'd the King therewith.* But wanting the Dagger, *the King*

A. D. 1600. *gave him gentle Language, excuſing himſelf of* Gowry's *Death.* *Alexander* ſays, *Well, if you keep quiet, nothing ſhall ail you, if you will do as my Brother will have you.* The King ask'd, *What would you have?* He anſwer'd, *I will bring my Brother.* And having taken Oath of the King not to cry out, nor open the Window till his Return, he lockt them both together.

The King ask'd the Deponent, *what he was?* who anſwer'd, *A Servant of my Lords.* The King ſaid, *Will your Lord kill me?* The Deponent ſaid. (with an Oath) *He ſhall Die firſt.*

Alexander enters, and ſays, *Sir, there is no Remedy, by God you muſt die.* And having a looſe Garter, ſtrove to bind the King's Hands, who ſaid, *Nay, ſhall you not, I'll Die a free Man.* And this Deponent pulled the Garter from him. Then *Alexander* clapt his Hand upon the King's Mouth, to ſtop his crying, and held his Head under his Arm. But this Deponent pulled his Hand from the King's Mouth, and open'd the Window, and the King cried out thereat. Whereupon the King's Servant came running in at the Gate, and the Deponent ran and open'd the *Turn-pike* Head, whereat *John Ramſay* enter'd; and this Deponent ſaw him give *Alexander* the Blow, and then this Deponent got away.

It is reported, that when the Earl of *Gowry* was kill'd, no Blood came from his Wounds, but that when his Clothes were taken off, the Blood ran abundantly from all the Wounds; this is ſaid to be the Effects of ſeveral magical Spels, which he wore in a Girdle which then was on him; which Spels or Characters are mention'd by the Earl of *Cromarty*, in his Account of this Conſpiracy, and by his Lordſhip ſaid to conſiſt of Two Sheets of Paper, ſtitched together in a little Book near Five Inches long, and Three broad, but whatever was contain'd in them was altogether unintelligible.

A Magical Girdle mention'd by the Earl of *Cromarty.*

Upon the Information of *Andrew Henderſon* and other Witneſſes, *Cranſton* and *Cragengilt* were impannell'd before the Juſticiary at *Perth*, and by clear Teſtimonies, and their own Confeſſions at the Bar, they were both condemned. At the Bar and Scaffold they acknowledg'd the Circumſtances of the Accuſation, but denied having any Knowledge of *Gowry*'s Deſigns to murder the King, otherwiſe would have oppos'd him; yet the Jury found them guilty, and they ſuffer'd the Law.

Gowry's Servants executed.

The next Day the King ſent Notice to his Council at *Edinburgh*, of what had happen'd, and the Council immediately order'd the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* to conveen the People, and give Thanks to GOD for the King's ſafe Deliverance.

The Council ordain a Thankſgiving.

But moſt of the Miniſters at that Time being of that Set, who approv'd of, and aſſiſted the former Attempts of *Gowry*'s Father, and others, to confine the King; they oppos'd the Order of the Council, gave for their Reaſons, that nothing ought to be declar'd in Pulpits, which was not of Faith, nor well affirmed. Thoſe that made theſe Objections, were Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Durie*, Mr. *Melvil.* And upon their Diſobedience, the Council went to the Croſs of *Edinburgh*, and read a Narration of the Conſpiracy, with an Account of the King's Deliverance, for which they commanded a publick Thankſgiving.

The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* diſobey their Orders.

In three Days after the King came to *Edinburgh*, accompanied by ſeveral Noblemen, and others; and calling a Council, he made ſeveral Mortifications in Remembrance of his Deliverance; his Majeſty likewiſe rewarded the Gentlemen who were the Inſtruments of his Safety, and caus'd proclaim a publick Thankſgiving, to be obſerv'd in all the Churches of the Kingdom. By this Time, ſome of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* repented, that they had diſobeyed the Order of the Council, and came before the King and Council to ask Pardon for the Fault; but Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and ſome others of the moſt violent among them, inſtead of acknowledging the Fault, continued to deny the Conſpiracy, and alledg'd, that it was a Contrivance to murder the Earl and his Brother; for which Speeches they being ſummon'd to appear before the Council, and denying, were denounc'd Rebels, Mr. *Bruce* fled to *France*.

Some of them repent and comply.

A

A Parliament was call'd at *Edinburgh* the firſt of *November* after, wherein the Sentence of Forfeiture was pronounc'd againſt *Gowry*, and Mr. *Alexander* his Brother, their Poſterity diſinherited; and upon Account of the Conſpiracy, the whole Sirname of *Ruthven* were aboliſh'd: But afterwards the King was pleas'd to allow all ſuch of the Name as were not known to be concern'd in the Plot, to enjoy their Names and Titles as formerly. The Bodies of the two Brothers being brought to the Parliament Houſe, were (after Sentence given) hang'd on Gibbets in the publick Street, diſmember'd, and their Heads affixed upon the Tolbooth. And at the ſame Time the Eſtates paſt an Act, ordaining the 5th of *Auguſt* to be kept in all Time coming with Prayers, Preaching and Thankſgiving, for the King's Deliverance from the great Danger.

A. D. 1600.

Gowry's Eſtate forfeited, &c.

The Bodies of *Gowry* and his Brother hang'd at *Edinburgh*.

This Conſpiracy was variouſly reported for a long Time, and as the violent Party, who approv'd of the former Attempt at *Ruthven*, had labour'd to make People believe, that it was a Contrivance of the King, or at leaſt ſome of his Court, to cut off *Gowry* and his Brother; they uſed great Induſtry to perſuade People to a general Belief of their Reports: Altho' all the Circumſtances of the Plot, as above mention'd, were atteſted by the Depoſitions of the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earl of *Marr*, *Andrew Henderſon*, whoſe Depoſition I inſeretd, as he was the Perſon who was in the Chamber, and employ'd to aſſiſt their Plot, and was Ear and Eye Witneſs to what paſſed between Mr. *Alexander Ruthven* and the King, and ſtay'd in the Room till *John Ramſay* came in, and ran at Mr. *Alexander Ruthven*, at which Time he paſs'd down the Back-Stairs, and went to his own Houſe. What the Three above mention'd ſwore to, was confirm'd by the Depoſitions of the Abbots of *Incheffry* and *Lindors*, Sir *Thomas Erskine*, Sir *John Ramſay*, *John Graham* of *Urquhill*, *John Graham* of *Balgowan*, Mr. *John Moncrief*, *Andrew Roy* Bailie of *Perth*, *Robert Chriſtie* Porter to the late Earl of *Gowry*, *Andrew Blair* of *Balthaick*, *George Hay* Prior of the Charter Houſe, Mr. *Peter Hay*, *Robert Graham* of *Thornick*, *Oliver Young* Bailie of *Perth*, *James Drummond* of *Pitcairn*, *William Rynd*, *George Wilſon*, *David Rynd*, *Gilbert Hutchiſon*, *John Murray* of *Arkeny*, *Thomas Burrel*, *Alexander Forreſt*, all Burgeſſes of *Perth*; and *William Robertſon*, *Robert Galbraith*, *Robert Brown*, *James Bog*, *John Bog*, *Alexander Peebles*, Servants to the King, all which Depoſitions were recorded, and may be ſeen at Length in the Earl of *Cromarty*'s Account of this Conſpiracy. The chief Perſons who aſſiſted the Earl and his Brother in the Conſpiracy, were *Henry* and *Alexander*, Sons to *Alexander Ruthven* of *Freeland*, *Hugh Moncrieff*, Brother to the Laird of *Moncrieff*; *Patrick Eviot*, Brother to *Colin Eviot* of *Balhouſie*, who were convicted, forfeited and outlaw'd. Beſides thoſe, *Robert Logan* of *Reſtalrig*, was a Secret Abettor, as will be ſeen in the Hiſtorical Account of the Year 1608.

The Perſons who made Oath of the Circumſtances of the Conſpiracy.

In this Parliament the Sentences were confirm'd, and paſt into an Act; as alſo, *That the 5th of* Auguſt *ſhould in all Times coming, be kept as a Day of ſolemn Thankſgiving, for the Delivery.* Another Act was paſs'd, conferring Honours and Rewards to Sir *Thomas Erskine* and Sir *John Ramſay*, who had preſerv'd the King's Life; another Act annexing the Eſtates of *Gowry*, and other forfeited Perſons to the Crown: And laſtly, an Act was paſs'd ordaining, *That all Marriages contracted between Perſons divorced for Adultery, ſhould be null, and of no Effect; and that the Children begotten between them, ſhould be incapable of ſucceeding to their Parents Inheritance.*

This Parliament being diſſolv'd, the King went to *Dumfermling* to viſit the Queen, who was brought to Bed of a Son the 29th Day of *November*, and the Child being very weak the Baptiſm was haſtned. He was baptiz'd *Charles*, and his Life was then diſpair'd of; yet he ſurviv'd his elder Brother Prince *Henry*, and ſucceeded his Father in the Throne.

Prince *Charles* born 29th *November*.

In the Beginning of the next Year 1601, the King had Notice of the Diſturbance of the Court of *England*, by the Earl of *Eſſex*, who having been a very great Favourite with Queen *Elizabeth* for ſome Time, and ſhe having conferr'd great Honour and Preferments on him, he was envy'd and hated by

A. D. 1601.

A. D. 1601. several other Noblemen of the Court, especially the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, who plotted and accomplish'd the Earl's Destruction. He having been employed in the greatest Offices, was suddenly depriv'd of all Employments, and even debarr'd the Court, which enrag'd his great Spirit, so that he determin'd to have made his Way to the Queen by Force, as *it* was alledg'd, to have her remov'd from those he judg'd to be his Enemies; but his imprudent Designs being soon discover'd, he fortify'd his House, and resolv'd to make a speedy Attempt; but being deserted by all those he depended on, except the Earl of *Southampton*, and a few more private Persons, his House was surrounded, so that he surrender'd himself Prisoner, and was carried to the Tower; and being tried and found guilty, he was beheaded on the Inner *Tower Hill*; but the Earl of *Southampton* was repriv'd, and afterwards pardon'd.

The Earl of *Essex* a great Favourite of Queen *Elizabeth*'s.

He is envy'd and ruin'd by the Lord *Burleigh*.

He is beheaded on *Tower Hill*.

It is alledg'd, that he wrote Letters to *Scotland* to the King, importuning him to prevail with the Queen, to declare his Right of Succession; because that the Persons who had the chief Management of the Court, were inclin'd to favour the Infanta of *Spain*; but that the King did not think proper, to mention that Matter to Queen *Elizabeth* at that Time.

Mean Time upon the Earl's being taken and executed, the King sent the Earl of *Marr* Ambassador to the Court of *England*, to congratulate Queen *Elizabeth* upon her discovering and punishing the treasonable Practices of *Essex*, and his Accomplices. Which Embassy gave great Satisfaction to Queen *Elizabeth*, as the King made a solemn Declaration of his Abhorrence of such treasonable Attempts.

The Earl of *Marr* sent Ambassador to *England*.

Whatever Satisfaction the Earl of *Essex*'s Death was to some Courtiers, yet the Queen lamented his Death in private, and conceiv'd such Grief, that she never appear'd cheerful from that Time, till the Day of her Death.

In *Scotland* there arose new Broils between the King and General Assembly of the Kirk, but at last they came to an Agreement. In the Borders, War broke out between the Lord *Maxwell* and Laird of *Johnston*; and the Lord *Maxwell* having gone into *Annandale*, resolv'd upon *Johnston*'s Death, but was disappointed; whereupon he made Incursions in *Johnston*'s Lands in *Annandale*, committing great Cruelty, till towards the latter End of the Year, the King went in Person to *Dumfries*, and caused the Lord *Maxwell* to leave that Part of the Country, and confine himself to the Shire of *Clidsdale*.

New Broils between the *Maxwells* and *Johnstons*.

In *July* this Year, the Duke of *Lennox* was sent Ambassador to *France*, being accompanied by Sir *Thomas Erskine*, and Sir *William Livingston* of *Kilsyth*, and Mr. *John Spotswood* as his Chaplain. 'Tis said that his chief Business was to renew the ancient Amity between both Kingdoms; that in case the King should find any Opposition in his Right of Succession to the Crown, he might have Assistance from *France* to suppress his Enemies. The Duke was courteously receiv'd by the King and Court of *France*; but as there went a current Report of Queen *Elizabeth*'s being sick, it is said, that the *French* King had some secret Designs to set up a Successor, if she had died without any Declaration. The Duke having stay'd at *Paris* till the last of *October*, he had Leave to return by the King's Orders: And came to the Court of *England* about the first of *November*. The Parliament being then sitting at *Westminster*, (which was the last Parliament that Queen *Elizabeth* held) many of the Members of both Houses imagin'd, that the Duke's coming was to urge the Declaration of the King's Right of Succession, and many offer'd their Service and Assistance in that Case: But the Duke freely told them, that he had no Commission to that Purpose, nor would the King ever propose any Thing that should be unacceptable to Queen *Elizabeth*; that his coming to *England* was only to salute the Queen, and shew the King's Respect to the Nation, by offering his Assistance to suppress the *Irish* Rebels, who at that Time had made an Insurrection in that Nation.

The Duke of *Lennox* sent Ambassador to *France*.

He returns by way of *England*.

The Duke's Behaviour at the Court of *England*.

Queen *Elizabeth* receiv'd the Duke with all Respect, and return'd her Thanks to the King for his kind Offers; and said, that if the *Irish* were not speedily suppress'd, she would accept of his Help, by sending some of the *High-*

Highlanders againſt them: But ſhe had ſudden News, that the Lord *Mounjoy*, Deputy of *Ireland*, had ſuppreſs'd the *Iriſh*. A. D. 1602.

He ſtay'd at the Court of *England* till the laſt of *December*, and when he arriv'd in *Scotland*, the King call'd a Council, where the Duke gave a full Account of the Proceedings of his Embaſſy, which was approv'd by the King and all the Council.

His Embaſſy is approv'd by the King and Council.

In the Duke's Abſence the Lord *Elphingſton* had reſign'd the Office of Treaſurer, or, as ſome ſay, was remov'd for ſome Offence; which Office was given to Sir *George Hume*, which great Office he manag'd by his Deputy Sir *John Arnot*, to the King and Council's great Satisfaction.

Sir *George Hume* made Treaſurer.

In the Beginning of the next Year, there happen'd ſeveral Buſtles among the Inhabitants of the Iſles, wherefore the King reſolv'd to ſend ſome of the Inhabitants of the Lowlands to live among them, and to that End appointed *Patrick Abbot* of *Lindors*, Collonel *William Stewart*, Captain *William Murray*, Mr. *James Lermount* of *Balcomy*, Mr. *James Spence* of *Hermingſton*, Sir *James Anſtruther* of That Ilk, and *John Forret* of *Fingask*, to furniſh themſelves with Ships and Arms, to ſee thoſe Lowlanders poſſeſs'd of certain Parts of the Iſles and Highlands. They having got Ships ſet to Sea, and arriv'd in the Iſle of *Lewis*, at the Port of *Starnway*. Here *Murdoch Macleod*, the Baſtard Son of the Laird of *Macleod*, ruled the whole Iſle, and made ſome Reſiſtance: But after a ſharp Conflict, he found that the People ſhew'd no Reſpect to him, wherefore he fled out of the Iſle, and the Inhabitants ſubmitted to the King's Commands. The Laird of *Balcomy* being ſent by the reſt to carry the News of their Succeſs to the Court, having ſail'd ſome little Way from the Iſle, was becalm'd; whereupon *Murdoch Macleod* came up to his Ship, with a Number of * Berlins; and having kill'd moſt of the Mariners, took *Balcomy* Priſoner. He offer'd a Ranſom ſome Days after, which being paid by his Friends, he was releas'd, and carried to the Iſles of *Orkney*, where he contracted Sickneſs, and died ſoon after. *Murdoch* was ſoon after taken by his Brother *Neill Macleod*, and executed at St. *Andrew*'s.

A. D. 1602. An Inſurrection in the Iſles.

* Small Ships for carrying Proviſions among the Iſles.

Mr. *Robert Bruce*, who had liv'd in *France* after his Baniſhment, upon Account of *Gowry*'s Conſpiracy, obtain'd Leave to return to *Scotland*, and was admitted to kiſs the King's Hand, and profeſs'd great Sorrow for his former Offences. The King freely pardon'd him, upon Condition that he would live obedient and peaceable, which he ſolemnly promis'd to do; and that if his Majeſty would admit him to his Place in *Edinburgh*, he offer'd to make a publick Confeſſion of his Crimes, which he caus'd to be ſet down in Writing, and ſubſcrib'd it before a Eleven Witneſſes, who atteſted his Submiſſion and Recantation: Yet when he was repon'd to his former Living, he delay'd the Performance of his Promiſe, for which the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* call'd him to Account; and he denying to give Satisfaction, was diſcharg'd from Preaching. The King laying his Complaint before the General Aſſembly, which then ſat at *Edinburgh*, they approv'd of what the Magiſtrates had done againſt Mr. *Bruce*. In this Aſſembly they agreed to the Act of Parliament, ordaining the 5th of *Auguſt* to be obſerv'd as a Thankſgiving Day, (in all Times to come) for the King's Deliverance; and as it was upon a *Tueſday*, they ordain'd Sermons to be in all the Burghs every *Tueſday*.

Mr. *Robert Bruce* returns to *Scotland*, Is pardoned, and repon'd to his Living.

The 5th of *Auguſt* ordain'd to be kept in Memory of *Gowry*'s Conſpiracy.

About this Time the King had Notice, that one *Francis Mowbray*, Son to the Laird of *Barnbugle*, (who had liv'd ſometime in *Flanders*) had enter'd into a Plot with an *Italian* Fencing Maſter, to kill his Majeſty: Whereupon he wrote to Queen *Elizabeth* of what he had Notice, and ſhe order'd Secretary *Cicil* to apprehend them, which accordingly he did; and having brought them before the Council, *Mowbray* challeng'd the *Italian* to a Combat, for his having ſaid ſomething that made *Mowbray* to be ſuſpected: But they were both ſent to *Scotland*, and being tried before the Council, were committed to the Caſtle, where *Mowbray* intended to make his Eſcape; and having tied the Sheets and other Things to the Windows, he got down by the Window: But the Sheets proving ſhort, he fell upon the Rocks, and was cruſh'd to Death, where

The Story of *Francis Mowbray*.

A. D. 1602. where he was found the next Day dead on the Rock. His Body was brought before the Judges the laſt Day of *January*, and after the Sentence of Forfeiture was pronounc'd, it was hang'd upon a Gibbet ſome Hours, and his Head was cut off, and affix'd on the Tolbooth. His Friends, upon the Accident of his Death, rais'd a Report, that he had been ſtrangl'd and thrown out at the Window, but that Story obtain'd little Credit.

1603. In the beginning of the Year 1603. Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* was perceiv'd to be very melancholly, and by Degrees became very weak, which occaſion'd ſeveral Reports that ſhe was dead. Whereupon ſeveral Letters were directed from Perſons of Note at the Court of *England*, adviſing the King to make ſure of his Right, by taking Poſſeſſion of the Crown while the Queen was yet alive. But the King would not liſten to any thing that he thought could be offenſive to Queen *Elizabeth*; and return'd Anſwers, *That he would not offer any Violence, where he expected peaceable Poſſeſſion in due Time.* And as the Earl of *Northumberland* had preſs'd his Majeſty more than any other, he wrote to him particularly, to forbear writing any thing more to that Purpoſe, and to beware of any thing that might offend the Queen his Miſtreſs.

The Queen of *England* contracts Sickneſs.

The Nobility wait upon the Queen to know her Succeſſor.

Mean time, Queen *Elizabeth* being at *Richmond*, her Sickneſs ſtill encreas'd, and when ſhe was extremely weak, the Lord Keeper, Secretary, and ſeveral other Noblemen went to viſit her; and finding by the Phyſicians that ſhe could not live long, they deſir'd to know her Pleaſure concerning her Succeſſor. She readily anſwer'd, *None but my Couſin, the King of* Scotland. After ſhe had made that Declaration, and had ſome private Conference with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſhe departed this Life, on *Thurſday* the 24th of *March*, in the Morning, being then in the 70th Year of her Age, and 44th of her Reign.

She declares King *James* her lawful Succeſſor.

Her Death.

The ſame Day, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with ſuch other Members of Parliament and Privy Council, who were then in or about *London*, aſſembl'd, and having call'd the Lord Mayor and Magiſtrates of the City; the ſame Forenoon they proclaim'd King *James* VI. of *Scotland*, King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*; as being lineally deſcended from King *Henry* VII. of *England*, whoſe Daughter, *Margaret*, was married to King *James* IV. by whom he begat King *James* V. Father of Queen *Mary*, Moher to this King.

King *James* proclaim'd King of *England*.

The End of the SIXTH *Book.*

BOOK VII.

Containing the Hiſtorical Tranſactions of Scotland *and* England *(call'd* Great Britain*) from the Acceſſion of King* JAMES VI. *to the Crown of* England, *continu'd to the Revolution.* A. D. 1689.

A. D. 1603.

JAMES VI. King of *Scotland*, was proclaim'd King of *England* upon the 24th Day of *March*, 1603. being then in the 37th Year of his Age. Immediately after the Solemnity of the Proclamation, the Council of *England* met; and having notice that Sir *Robert Carry*, Son to the Lord *Hunſdon*, had taken poſt, to carry the News of the Queen's Death to *Scotland*, they directed Sir *Charles Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Thomas Somerſet*, Brother to the Earl of *Worceſter*, to the King with the following Letter.

King *James* proclaim'd King of *England*.

A Letter from the Council and Nobility of *England*, to the King.

"RIGHT High, Right Excellent and Mighty Prince, "and our Dread Sovereign Lord; As we cannot but confeſs unto your "Majeſty, that the Grief we have conceiv'd by the Loſs of our late Sove- "reign Lady, whoſe Soul, in Your Palace of *Richmond*, paſs'd from her "earthly Body to the Joys of Heaven, betwixt two and three a-Clock this "Morning, was nothing leſs than our Loyalty and Love to her whilſt ſhe "liv'd; being a Princeſs adorn'd with Virtues meet for Government, proſ- "perous in the Succeſs of her Affairs, and under whoſe Obedience we have "liv'd in greater Tranquility theſe many Years, than commonly happeneth "to a Princeſs: So we muſt acknowledge, that our Sorrow is extinguiſh'd, "by the Impreſſion we have of theſe Heroical Virtues of Wiſdom, Piety "and Magnanimity, which we know to be in your Majeſty's Perſon; to "whoſe Right, the Lineal and Lawful Succeſſion of all our late Sovereign's "Dominions doth Juſtly and Only Appertain: Wherein we preſume to pro- "feſs this much, as well for the Honour which will thereby remain to our "Poſterity, as for your Majeſty's Security of a peaceable Poſſeſſion of your "Kingdoms, that we have never found, either of thoſe of the Nobility, "or of any other of the Eſtates of the Realm, any divided Humour about "the receiving and acknowledging Your Majeſty to be the only Head that "muſt give Life to the preſent maim'd Body of this Kindom; which is ſo "happy, as with an univerſal Conſent to have receiv'd one ſole, uniform "and conſtant Impreſſion of bright Blood, as next of Kin to our Sovereign "deceas'd; and conſequently, by the Laws of this Realm, true, and next "Heir to her Kingdoms and Dominions; whereof we have made outward "Demonſtration, by publick Proclamation, this very Day Aforenoon; firſt "in the City of *Weſtminſter*, at your Majeſty's Palace-gate at *White-hall*, "and next at the Croſs of *Cheapſide*, within your Majeſty's City of *London*, "with an infinite Applauſe of your People, and with ſuch Solemnity, as the "Shortneſs of Time would permit. Of all which, we have thought it "our Duty, immediately to advertiſe your Majeſty, by theſe two Gentle-

A. D. 1603. " men, Sir *Charles Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and " *Thomas Somerset*, Esq; Brother to the Earl of *Worcester*, of whom we have " made Choice to be the Bearers of our Letters; humbly beseeching your " Highness, to accept the same, as the First-fruits and Offering of our tender " and loyal Affections towards You, our Gracious Sovereign; and to rest " assur'd, that the same shall be ever hereafter seconded with all Faith, Obe- " dience and humble Service, which shall be in our Power to perform, for " maintaining that which we have begun, with the Sacrifice of our Lives, " Lands and Goods, Which we, with all our other Means, do here humbly " present at your Majesty's Feet: Craving of your Highness, that seeing " hereby you may perceive in what Estate we remain, as Body without a " Head, or rather without that Spirit here amongst us, which, from the " Head, might give Vigor to every Member, to exercise the Duty to it be- " longing, thereby to keep the whole Body from Confusion, You will be " pleas'd to enter into Consideration, how soon, and in what Manner, it " shall seem best to Your Majesty's Excellent Wisdom, to inspire a new Life " into this languishing Body; the Circumstances whereof are wholly to be " left to Your Majesty, holding it enough for us, humbly to acknowledge " our selves Your true Subjects, ready to obey all Your Commandments; " assuring you withal, that as we have hereby, as many of us as have un- " derwritten this Letter, declar'd our Recognition and humble Submission " to Your Majesty's Sovereign Power and Right, so we do know, by all " good Proofs, that the Minds of the rest of the Nobility, and all others, " who are absent, in their several Qualities, Places and Charges, whom the " Time permitted not, without the Prejudice of Your Affairs, to assemble " so soon as we were desirous this should be perform'd, are wholly and abso- " lutely with us, in all Zeal and Duty, for all Things that shall be impos'd " upon them by Royal Will and Pleasure.

" Farther, we have thought meet and necessary to advertise Your Highness, " that Sir *Robert Carry* this Morning departed from hence, towards Your " Majesty, not only without the Consent of any of us who were present " at *Richmond*, at the Time of our late Sovereign's Decease, but also contrary " to such Commandments as we had Power to lay upon him, and to all De- " cency, good Manners and Respect, which he ow'd to so many Persons of " our Degree; whereby, it may be, that Your Majesty hearing, by a bare " Report, only of the Death of the late Queen, and not of our Care and " Diligence in the Establishment of Your Majesty's Right here, in such " Manner as is above specify'd, may conceive Doubts of other Nature than " (GOD be thank'd) there is Cause You should; which we would have " clearly prevented, if he had born so much Respect to us, as to have stay'd " for a common Relation of our Proceedings, and not thought it better " to anticipate the same: For we would have been loth that any Person of " Quality should have gone from hence, who should not, with the Report " of her Death, have been able to declare the first Effects of our assur'd " Loyalties.

" And Lastly, it may please Your Majesty, to receive this Advertisement, " That of late there was made ready, by the Commandment of the Queen " our Mistress, a good Fleet of eight or ten of her Ships, well man'd and " furnish'd, under the Charge of Sir *Richard Lawson*, Knight, to have been " employ'd upon the Coast of *Spain*; which Employment, by her Decease, " is ceas'd, for want of Commission to exercise the same, and now is kept " together in the narrow Seas, to prevent any sudden Attempt against the " Low-Countries; and that now, there is nothing either of Land or Sea, " that is not Yours, it may please Your Majesty to signify Your Pleasure " cerning that Fleet; and whether You will have it, or any Part thereof, " resort to Your Coast of *Scotland*, where it may serve You, either for the " safe Convoy of your Person to this Realm, if there shall be cause to use it " in this Manner, or to transport any of Yours, whilst You come by Land, " or any other Service; in which Point, we humbly beseech you to make

" known,

" known, under whoſe Charge it ſhall be Your Pleaſure the whole Fleet, or " any Part thereof, ſhall come unto you. A. D. 1603.

" And this being all, that for the preſent doth occur to be advertis'd to " Your Majeſty by us, whoſe Minds are occupy'd about the Conſervation " of this Your Realm in Peace, as far forth as, by any Power Your Ma- " jeſty's Service only aſſum'd, the Interruption thereof may be prevented, " ſaving that we have ſent a Copy of the Proclamation made here, to Your " Majeſty's Deputy of *Ireland*, to be publiſh'd in that Kingdom. We will, " and with our humble Prayers to Almighty GOD, that we may be ſo " happy, as ſpeedily to enjoy the comfortable Preſence of Your Highneſs's " Royal Perſon amongſt us, the only Object of that Glory, and theſe Feli- " cities which, in the Earth, we have proponed to our ſelves.

Written in Your Majeſty's City of London, *the 24th of* March, 1603. *at ten Hours of the Clock at Night.*

Robert Leigh, Mayor.
John Canterbury.
Thomas Egerton.
Thomas Buckhurſt.
Nottingham.
Northumberland.
Gilbert Shrewsbury.
William Darby.
Edward Worceſter.
Geo. Cumberland.
R. Suſſex.
Henry Lincoln.
Pembroke.
Clanrickard.
G. Hunſdon.
Tho. Howard.
Richard London.
Robert Hartford.
John Norwich.
Morley.
Henry Cobham.
Thomas Laware.
Gray.
Edward Cromwell.
R. Riche.
Lumley.
Chandois.
Wm. Compton.
Wm. Knolles.
John Stanhope.
Edward Wootton.
Raleigh.
John Forteſcue and *John Popham.*

The Names of thoſe that ſubſcrib'd the Letter.

The third Day after the Queen's Death, Sir *Robert Carry* arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, with the News; and the ſecond Day after, the two Gentlemen directed from the Council, arriv'd with the above Letter, which the King immediately imparted to his Council; who agreed with the King to have the ſame publiſh'd, ſhewing, " That the Queen of *England* having, at her Death, " declar'd his Majeſty her only true Heir and Succeſſor in the Crowns of " *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*; and that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal " aſſiſted by the Lord Mayor of *London*, and other Perſons of the beſt Qua- " lity, had, upon the 24th of *March* laſt, proclaim'd him their only Liege, " Lord, and undoubted Sovereign; which was an evident Proof of their " entire Affection and future Obedience, and ſhould induce all his Majeſty's " good Subjects to eſteem them as Brethren and Friends, and to forget all " paſt Quarrels and Hatred. And therefore, that none might pretend Ig- " norance, nor behave themſelves unkindly to the People of *England*; his " Majeſty, with Advice of his Council, had ordain'd Proclamation to be " made of the Premiſes; promiſing his continu'd Favour to all ſuch, as " ſhould obſerve his Commands, in ſhewing Reſpect and Good-will to their " fellow Subjects of *England*: And that all ſuch as did any Thing to the con- " trary, ſhould incur his higheſt Diſpleaſure.

The King communicates the Letter to his Council.

Mean time the King gave Orders for his Journey, and appointed the Queen's Equipage and Attendance to be in readineſs to accompany her Majeſty on her Journey, in twenty Days after. The Prince he ordain'd to remain at *Stirling*, with the Earl of *Marr* and *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, to be kept with the Lord *Ivie*; and the Princeſs, *Elizabeth*, to abide with the Earl of *Linlithgow*.

The King gives Orders for his Journey to *England*.

To the Lords of the Council the King gave an ample Commiſſion, for the Adminiſtration of all Affairs of State in his Abſence; that they ſhould receive all Reſignations, and examine the Accounts of the Exchequer, to grant Licenſes for departing forth of the Realm, to any of the Subjects who deſir'd

A. D. 1603. the ſame about lawful Occaſions: And that they ſhould ſuppreſs all Tumults, and appoint Lieutenants, as Need requir'd at any Time. The Perſons that the King appointed to attend him in his Journey to *England*, were the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earls of *Marr*, *Murray*, and *Argyle*, the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume* Treaſurer, Mr. *James Elphingſton* Secretary, Mr. *David Murray* Comptroller, Sir *Robert Ker* of *Ceſsford*, with the ordinary Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber; and of the Miniſters *David Lindſay*, Titular Biſhop of *Roſs*, *Peter* Biſhop of *Dunkell*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Mr. *Andrew Lamb*, Mr. *John Spotſwood*, Mr. *Gavin Hamilton*, and Mr. *Alexander Forbes*.

The Perſons appointed to attend him in his Journey.

And being ready for his Journey, he went to St. *Giles*'s Church to hear a Sermon, wherein Mr. *John Hall* took Occaſion to exhort his Majeſty to be thankful to GOD for his peaceable Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*; and to remember the Regard he ought to have to Religion, and ſupport it to the utmoſt of his Power.

He goes to St. *Giles*'s Church to hear a Sermon.

His Promiſe to the People.

The King took the Exhortation in good Part; and ſo ſoon as it was ended, he made a Speech to the People, promiſing to have all poſſible Care of them and their Welfare, and gave them a moſt loving and kind Farewell: But the People who were very numerous upon that Occaſion, expreſs'd great Sorrow for the Loſs of his Majeſty's Preſence; and cry'd in moſt bitter Lamentations, that they ſhould never again have a King to reſide among them, as they had in Times paſt. Whereupon the King intreated them not to be grieved at his going to *England*, for that he would take Care to ſhew his Care for them at a Diſtance as well as when near them; and that as his Power was then increas'd, they ſhould find that his Love ſhould not be diminiſh'd towards them.

The People expreſs great Sorrow for the Loſs of the King's Preſence.

The King begins his Journey *April* 4th.

Upon *Wedneſday* the 4th of *April*, the King began his Journey, and the next Day came to *Berwick*, where he was met by Lord *Thomas* and *Henry Howard*, Brother and Son to the late Duke of *Northfolk*, the Lord *Cobham*, and ſeveral Peſons of Quality. At *York* his Majeſty was met by the Counſellors, and travell'd by eaſy Journies towards *London*; and coming to *Godmancheſter* in *Northampton* Shire, he was preſented with Seventy Teem of Horſes, in neat new Fracings and Plows, in Honour of Tillage. It being an ancient Cuſtom in that Place, when the Sovereign paſſed through that Town, they being the King's Tenants, holding their Lands by that Tenor. The King was extremely pleas'd with their Appearance, and took their Gift very kindly, promiſing to viſit them at other Times, for the Obligation of the Gift was only for the firſt Time of coming there.

He is met at *York* by the Counſellors.

A Preſent made the King by his free Tenants of *Godmancheſter*.

The King reſts 4 Days at *Burleigh* Houſe, and enters *London*.

At *Theobalds*, the Seat of *Robert Cicil* Lord *Burleigh*, Secretary of State, the King ſtay'd Four Days, and the Fifth Day enter'd *London*, where he was receiv'd with loud Acclamations of Joy.

The Queen falls ſick at *Stirling*.

The Queen being at *Holy-rood-houſe*, went to *Stirling* and demanded the Prince *Henry* to be given to her, to be brought with her to *England*; but being denied by the Earl of *Marr*'s Friends, (he himſelf being then with the King) ſhe was incenſed at the Affront, that ſhe fell into a violent Fever, which occaſion'd a dangerous Abortion.

The Prince deliver'd to the Queen.

The King having Notice thereof, he ſent home the Earl of *Marr*, and ſent the Duke of *Lennox* after him, with a Warrant to receive the Prince, and deliver him to the Queen. But the Queen ſtill ſeem'd to bear a Grudge to the Earl, which, when the King underſtood, he wrote to the Queen commending the Earl of *Marr*'s good Service in many Things, eſpecially in his laſt Embaſſy to the Court of *England*; yet ſhe would not be reconcil'd to him for ſome Time after.

The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* dies at *Paris*, and is ſucceeded by Mr. *John Spotſwood*.

About this Time died at *Paris James Beaton*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and was ſucceeded by Mr. *John Spotiſwood*, who was at the ſame Time appointed Almoner to the Queen, and was ſent from *London* to attend her Majeſty in her Journey to *England*; and having receiv'd the Lady *Elizabeth* from the keeping of the Earl of *Linlithgow*, (whoſe good Service in her Education was approv'd by an Act of Council) ſhe ſet out for *England*, and came to the King at *Windſor* about the laſt of *June*; and upon the 27th Day of *July*, the

the King and Queen were crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, with the utmoſt Solemnity; the Ceremony being perform'd by Doctor *John Whitegift*, Archbiſhop of *Canterburry*. *A. D.* 1603.

The King and Queen crown'd at *Weſtminſter*.

In the Month of *November* a Plot was diſcover'd, wherein the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffin Markham*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, *William Watſon*, *William Gray*, and *Henry Brook* Eſq; were the chief Perſons. They all examin'd in *December*, were brought to their Trial at *Weſtminſter*, and being found guilty, were ſentenc'd to die; but all were repriv'd or pardon'd, (after being brought to the Place of Execution) except *Watſon*, *Grey*, and *Brook*, the Two former being reported to be Prieſts, therefore made Examples to deter others from ſuch Practices.

A Conſpiracy againſt the King diſcover'd.

The Noblemen repriv'd and pardon'd.

In the Beginning of the next Year, the King aſſembled ſeveral Biſhops and Clergy at *Hampton* Court, with whom he had a Conference about Complaints, that were daily made of great Abuſes in Religion; and having made a Speech to that Effect, his Judgment was mightily applauded, by all the *Engliſh* who were preſent at the Conference. The Clergy having deliver'd a Petition by one Doctor *Reynolds*, explaining the Liturgy, and ſeveral Points of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; the King was well ſatisfied therewith, and exhorted the Biſhops and Deans to uſe their inferior Clergy with Lenity, and to uſe gentle Means to reclaim ſuch as were found guilty of Faults. *A. D.* 1604.

A Conference between the King and Clergy at *Hampton* Court.

In *March* a Parliament was call'd, and met at *Weſtminſter*; and upon the Firſt Day of their Meeting, the King, after giving Thanks to the State for their cheerful and ready Acknowledgment and Approbation of his Succeſſion, according to his Right to the Crown; he earneſtly intreated them to endeavour to unite both Nations, that as they were made one in the ſame Head, they might be among themſelves inſeparably joyn'd, and all Memory of paſt Diviſions extinguiſh'd.

A Parliament held at *Weſtminſter*.

The King deſires to have *Scotland* and *England* united.

This Motion took well at firſt, and was generally approv'd by both Nations; and the Parliament of *England*, to ſhew their ready Obedience to the King's Deſire, nominated as Commiſſioners to treat of the Union the following Perſons, *Thomas Edgerton* Lord Chancellor of *England*, *Thomas* Earl of *Dorſet* Treaſurer, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral, *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, *Richard* Lord Biſhop of *London*, *Toby* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Anthony* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, *Robert* Lord *Cecill*, Principal Secretary to his Majeſty, *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*, *William* Lord *Mounteagle*, *Ralph* Lord *Eure*, *Edmund* Lord *Sheffield*, Lord Preſident of the Council of the North, Lords of the higher Houſe; and *Thomas* Lord *Clinton*, *Robert* Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Francis Haſtings* Knight, Sir *John Stanhope* Knight, Vice Chamberlain to the King's Majeſty, Sir *George Carew* Knight, Vice Chamberlain to the Queen's Majeſty, Sir *John Herbert* Knight, Second Secretary to his Majeſty, Sir *Thomas Strickland* Knight, Sir *Edward Stafford* Knight, Sir *Henry Nevill* of *Barkſhire* Knight, Sir *Richard Buckley* Knight, Sir *Henry Billingſly* Knight, Sir *Daniel Dunne* Knight, Dean of the Arches, Sir *Edward Hobly* Knight, Sir *John Savile* Knight, Sir *Robert Worth* Knight, Sir *Thomas Challoner* Knight, Sir *Robert Manſel* Knight, Sir *Thomas Ridgway* Knight, Sir *Thomas Holcroft* Knight, Sir *Thomas Hasketh* Knight, his Majeſty's Attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries, Sir *Francis Bacon* Knight, Sir *Lawrence Carefield* Knight, Serjeant at Law, Sir *Henry Hobart* Knight, Serjeant at Law, Sir *John Bennet* Knight, Doctor of the Laws, Sir *Henry Witherington*, Sir *Ralph Gray*, and Sir *Thomas Lake* Knights, *Robert Aſhworth*, *Thomas*, *James* and *Henry Chapman* Merchants, Knights, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons; ſo that they, or any Eight or more of the ſaid Lords of the higher Houſe, and Twenty of the ſaid Knights and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, ſhould have ſtill Power, Liberty, and Commiſſion, to aſſemble and meet at any Time or Times before the next Seſſion of Parliament, for treating and conſulting with certain ſelected Commiſſioners, to be nominated and authoriſed by Authority of the Parliament of the Realm of *Scotland*, of and concerning ſuch an Union of the ſaid Realms of *England* and *Scotland*,

Engliſh Commiſſioners appointed to treat of the Union.

The Power given them by the Parliament.

A. D. 1604. and of and concerning ſuch other Matters and Cauſes whatſoever, as upon mature Deliberation and Conſideration, the greateſt Part of the ſaid Lords, Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, being aſſembled with the Commiſſioners to be nominated by the Parliament of *Scotland*, ſhould in their Wiſdom think and deem convenient and neceſſary to the Honour of his Majeſty, and the Well and common Good of both theſe Realms, during his Majeſty's Life, and under all his Progeny and Royal Poſterity for ever; which Commiſſioners of both the ſaid Realms, ſhall, according to the Tenor of their ſaid Commiſſions, reduce their Proceedings into Writings, or Inſtruments tripartite, every Part to be ſubſcrib'd and ſeal'd by them; to the End that one Part thereof may in all Humility be preſented to his moſt excellent Majeſty, the Second Part to be offer'd to the Conſideration of the next Seſſion of Parliament, for the Realm of *England*; and the Third to be offer'd to the Conſideration of the next Parliament, for the Realm of *Scotland*; that thereupon ſuch further Proceedings may be had, as by both the ſaid Parliaments may be thought fit and neceſſary for the Well and common Good of both theſe Realms.

A Parliament call'd in *Scotland* to that Purpoſe.

A Parliament in *Scotland*, for the ſame Purpoſe, was call'd the Tenth of *April*, and thereafter prorogated to the Eleventh of *July*; at which Time the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled by virtue of his Majeſty's Commiſſion, did ordain the Perſons following; they are to ſay, *John* Earl of *Mountroſe*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, *Francis* Earl of *Errol*, High Conſtable of *Scotland*, *James* Earl of *Glencairn*, *Alexander* Earl of *Linlithgow*, *John* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, *David* Biſhop of *Roſs*, *George* Biſhop of *Caithneſs*, *Walter* Prior of *Blantyre*, *Patrick* Lord *Glammis*, *Alexander* Lord *Elphingſton*, *Alexander* Lord *Fyvie*, Preſident of the Seſſion of *Scotland*, *Robert* Lord *Roxburgh*, *James* Lord *Abercorn*, *James* Lord *Balmerinoch*, Principal Secretary of *Scotland*, *David* Lord *Scoon*, Sir *James Scrimzeor* of *Dudop* Knight, Sir *John Cockburn* of *Ormiſton* Knight, Sir *John Hume* of *Coldingknows* Knight, Sir *David Carnegie* of *Kinnaird* Knight, Sir *Robert Melvil* elder of *Murdocairn* Knight, Sir *Thomas Hamilton* of *Binnie* Knight, Sir *John Lermouth* of *Balcomie* Knight, Sir *Alexander Straiton* of *Lawriſton* Knight, Sir *John Skeen* of *Curryhill* Knight, Mr. *John Sharp* of *Howſton* Lawyer, Mr. *Thomas Craig* Lawyer, *Henry Nisbet*, *George Bruce*, *Alexander Rutherford*, and Mr. *Alexander Wedderburn*, Merchants, or any Twelve of them, to aſſemble and conveen themſelves after the ending of the preſent Seſſion of Parliament, and before the next Seſſion thereof, at which Time, and in ſuch Place as it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty to appoint, with certain ſelected Commiſſioners, nominated and authoriz'd by the Parliament of *England*, according to the Tenor of their Commiſſions in that Behalf, to confer, treat, and conſult upon a perfect Union of the Realms of *Scotland* and *England*, and concerning ſuch other Matters and Cauſes whatſoever, tending to his Majeſty's Honour and Contentment, and to the Well and Tranquillity of both the Kingdoms, during his Majeſty's Life, and his Royal Poſterity for ever; as upon mature Deliberation, the greater Part of the ſaid Commiſſioners aſſembled, as aforeſaid, with the Commiſſioners authoriz'd by the Parliament of *England*, ſhall in their Wiſdom think moſt expedient and neceſſary, not derogating from any fundamental Laws, ancient Privileges and Rights, Offices, Dignities, and Liberties of the Kingdom. This laſt Clauſe was added, becauſe of the Narrative of the *Engliſh* Act, wherein it was ſaid, *That it was not his Majeſty's Mind to alter or innovate the fundamental Laws, Privileges and good Cuſtoms of the Kingdom of* England. By the aboliſhing or Alteration whereof, it was impoſſible but that a preſent Confuſion ſhould fall upon the whole State and Frame of that Kingdom. In all other Things the Statute in Subſtance was the ſame with the *Engliſh*.

The Commiſſioners nominated by the Parliament of *Scotland*.

The Power given them.

Weſtminſter appointed the Place of their Meeting.

Soon after this, the King reſolving to have *Weſtminſter* at *London* the Place of their Meeting; Letters were directed to the Noblemen, and others nominated for *Scotland*, willing then to prepare themſelves for the Journey, and to be ready to meet with the other Commiſſioners the 20th of *October*; and left

leſt any Diſorder ſhould fall out in the Abſence of the Chancellor, and other of the Council, the Lord *Newbottle* was appointed to attend and reſide in Council till their Return. *A. D.* 1604.

The Day and Place was preciſely obſerv'd by the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, who, after many Days Conferences agreed upon certain Articles to be preſented to his Majeſty, and to the Courts of Parliament of both Kingdoms, there to receive ſuch Strength and Approbation as in their Wiſdoms ſhould ſeem expedient. The Articles were, as followeth.

The Articles of the Union.

It is agreed by the Commiſſioners of *England* and *Scotland*, to be mutually propon'd to the Parliament of both Realms at the next Seſſions, that all hoſtile Laws made and conceiv'd expreſly, either by *England* againſt *Scotland*, or *Scotland* againſt *England*, ſhall in the next Seſſions be abrogated, and utterly extinguiſh'd.

Hoſtile Laws extinguiſh'd.

It is alſo agreed, that all Laws, Cuſtoms, and Treaties of the Borders, betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, ſhall be declared by a general Act to be abrogated and aboliſhed; and that the Subjects on either Part ſhall be govern'd by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdoms where they dwell, and the Name of the Borders extinguiſh'd.

Name of the Borders aboliſh'd.

And becauſe, by the aboliſhing of the Border Laws and Cuſtoms, it may be doubted that the Executions ſhall ceaſe upon thoſe Sentences, that have heretofore been given by the oppoſite Officers of thoſe Borders, upon Wrongs committed before the Death of the late Queen of happy Memory; it is thought fit in caſe the Commiſſioners or Officers to be appointed by his Majeſty, before the Time of the next Seſſions of Parliament, ſhall not procure ſufficient Redreſs of ſuch filed Bills and Sentences; that then the ſaid Parliament may be moved to take ſuch Orders as to their Wiſdoms ſhall ſeem convenient, for Satisfaction of that which hath been decerned by ſome Officers; as alſo how Diſorders and Inſolencies may be hereafter repreſſed, and the Country which was lately of the Borders kept in Peace and Quietneſs in Time to come: As likewiſe to preſcribe ſome Order, how the Purſuits of former Wrongs, preceeding the Death of the late Queen; and ſince the laſt Treatiſe of the Borders in the Year 1596 and 1597, which has never as yet been moved, may be continued and proſecuted to a definitive Sentence.

Orders for Sentences not ſatisfied.

And for as much as the next Degree of the Abolition of all Memory of Hoſtilities, is the Participation of mutual Commodities and Commerce; it is agreed, *Firſt*, concerning Importation of Merchandize into either Realm from foreign Parts, that whereas certain Commodities are wholly prohibited by the ſeveral Laws of both Realms to be brought in to either of them by the Natives themſelves, or by any other, the ſaid Prohibitions ſhall now be made mutual to both; and neither an *Engliſh* Man bring in to *Scotland*, or a *Scots* Man into *England*, any of theſe prohibited Wares and Commodities; nevertheleſs if the ſaid Commodities be made in *Scotland*, it ſhall be lawful to bring them out of *Scotland* to *England*; and ſo reciprocally of the Commodities made in *England* and carried to *Scotland*.

Articles concerning Trade and Commerce.

Whereas a Doubt hath been conceiv'd againſt the equal Communication of Trade, betwixt *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Subjects in Matter of Importation, grounded upon ſome Inequality of Privileges, which the *Scots* are reported to have in Foreign Parts, and namely in *France*, above the *Engliſh*, whereby the *Engliſh* might be prejudg'd; and that after a very deliberate Conſideration had of the ſaid ſuppos'd Inequalities, both private and publick Examination of divers Merchants of either Side, touching all Liberties, Immunities, Privileges, Impoſts and Payments on the Part of the *Engliſh*, and on the Part of the *Scotiſh*, either at *Bourdeaux* for their Trade of Wines, or in *Normandy*, or any other Part of *France* for other Commodities, it appear'd, that in the Trade of *Burdeaux*, there was and is ſo little Difference, in any Advantage of Privileges, or Immunities, or in the Impoſts and Payments, all being reckoned and well weighed on either Side, as it could not juſtly hinder the Communication of Trade; in the Trade of *Normandy* likewiſe, or any other Parts of *France*, the Advantage that the *Scotiſh* Subjects by their Privileges is ac-

An Equality of Privileges to be tried.

A. D. 1604. knowledg'd to have, is ſuch, as without much Difficulty may be reconcil'd and reduc'd to an equallity with the *Engliſh*, by ſuch Means as is hereafter declar'd; it is agreed, That the *Scotiſhmen* ſhall be free for the tranſporting of Wine from *Burdeaux* into *England*, paying the ſame Cuſtoms and Duties that *Engliſhmen* do pay; and the *Engliſhmen* ſhall be likewiſe free for tranſporting Wine and other Commodities from *Burdeaux* into *Scotland*, paying the ſame Cuſtoms and Duties that the *Scotiſhmen* do pay there.

Importation free to both Nations.

And likewiſe for clearing and reſolving the Doubts, leveling the Advantage, that the *Scots* are ſuppos'd to have above the *Engliſh*, in buying and tranſporting the Commodities of *Normandy*, and other Parts of the Kingdom of *France*, (excepting the buying the Wine in *Burdeaux*, which is already determin'd) It is agreed, that there ſhall be ſent ſome meet and diſcreet Perſons into *France*, two for either Side, to take perfect Notice of any ſuch Advantages, as either the *Engliſh* have above the *Scots*, or the *Scots* above the *Engliſh*, in the buying or tranſporting of any Commodities of *Normandy*, or any Part of *France*, excepting the Wine of *Burdeaux*.) And, as the ſaid Perſons ſhall find the Advantage to be, ſo, for making Trade equal, the Cuſtom ſhall be advanc'd to the King in *England* and *Scotland*. And, for the Part of thoſe that have the Advantage, and according to the Proportion of the ſaid Advantage, the Advancement of the Cuſtom to continue no longer than the Privilege having ſuch Advantage ſhall continue: And that generally for all other Trade, from any Parts, the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Subjects, each in others Country, ſhall have Liberty of Importation, as freely as any of the native Subjects themſelves, having ſpecial Privilege.

Exportation of prohibited Goodsforbidded.

Next concerning Exportation, it is agreed, That all ſuch Goods as are prohibited and forbidden to *Engliſhmen* themſelves, to be tranſported out of *England*, to any foreign Part, the ſame ſhall be unlawful for any *Scotſmen*, or any other, to tranſport to any foreign Nation beyond Sea, under the ſame Penalties and Forfeitures that the *Engliſh* are ſubject unto; and reciprocally, that forth of *Scotland*, No *Engliſhman* ſhall tranſport to any foreign Part, the Goods or Commodities that are prohibited in *Scotland*, to *Scotſmen* themſelves: Nevertheleſs ſuch Goods and Commodities, and Merchandiſes, as are licens'd to *Engliſhmen* to tranſport out of *England* to any foreign Part, the ſame may be alſo tranſported by *Scotſmen* thither, they certifying their going into foreign Parts, and taking a Cocquet accordingly, and paying the ordinary Cuſtom that *Engliſhmen* do pay themſelves, at the Exportation of ſuch Wares: The like Liberty for *Engliſhmen* in *Scotland*.

Orders for the Commodities of *Scotland* and *England*.

As for the native Commodities, which either of the Countries do yield, and may ſerve for the Uſe and Benefit of the other, it is agreed, That mutually there may be tranſported forth of *England* to *Scotland*, and forth of *Scotland* to *England*, all ſuch Wares, as are either of the Growth or Handywork of either of the ſaid Realms, without Payment of any Impoſt, Cuſtom or Exaction; and as freely in all Reſpects, as any Wares may be tranſported either in *England* from Part to Part, or in *Scotland* from Parr to Part; excepting ſuch particular Sorts of Goods and Merchandiſes, as are hereafter mention'd, being reſtrain'd for the proper and inward Uſe of each Country. And for that Purpoſe it is declar'd, That both in this Communication of Benefit, and Participation of the native Commodities of the one Country with the other, there ſhall be ſpecially reſerv'd and excepted, the Sorts hereafter ſpecify'd; That is to ſay, Wool, Sheep, Sheep-fell, Cattle, Leather, Hides, and Linnen Yarn, which are ſpecially reſtrain'd within each Country, not to be tranſported from the one to the other; excepting alſo, and reſerving to the *Scotſmen*, their Trade of Fiſhing within their Lochs, Forths, and Bays, within Land, and in the Seas, within fourteen Miles of the Coaſts of the Realm of *Scotland*, where neither *Engliſhmen*, nor any Stranger have us'd to fiſh; and ſo reciprocally in the Points of Fiſhing on the Behalf of *England*. All which Exceptions and Reſtrictions are not to be underſtood or mention'd in any Sort for a Mark or Note of Seperation or Diſunion, but only as Matters of Policy and Conveniency for the ſeveral Eſtate of each Country.

Further-

A. D. 1604.

Furthermore, it is agreed, that all foreign Wares to be tranſported forth of *Scotland* to *England*, or out of *England* to *Scotland*, by any of the King's Subjects of either Kingdoms, having at their firſt Entry once paid Cuſtom in either of the Kingdoms, ſhall not pay outward Cuſtom therein afterwards, ſave only inward Cuſtom, at that Part where they ſhall be tranſported: But the Owner of the Goods, or the Factor or Maſter of the Ships, ſhall give Bond, not to tranſport the ſame into any foreign Part.

Orders for Cuſtoms.

It is alſo agreed, That *Scotſmen* ſhall not be debar'd from being Aſſociates unto any *Engliſh* Company of Merchants or Merchant-Venturers, or others, upon ſuch Condition as an *Engliſhman* may be admitted; and ſo reciprocally, for any *Engliſhman* in *Scotland*.

Privilege for Aſſociation of the *Scots* with the *Engliſh*.

It is nevertheleſs agreed by mutual Conſent, and ſo to be underſtood, that the mutual Liberty aforeſaid, of Exportation and Trade in each Part, from the one to the other, ſhall ſerve for the inward Uſe only of either Realm; and Order taken for reſtraining and prohibing the Tranſportation of the ſaid Commodities into foreign Parts, and for due Puniſhment of thoſe that ſhall tranſgreſs in that Behalf.

For Tranſportation of Merchandize.

And for the better Aſſurance, and Caution herein, it is agreed, That every Merchant ſo offending, ſhall forfeit his Goods, the Ships wherein the ſaid Goods ſhall be tranſported, confiſcated; the Cuſtomers, Searchers, and other Officers of the Cuſtom whatſoever, in caſe of Conſent or Knowledge on their Part, to loſe their Offices and Goods, and their Bodies to be impriſon'd at his Majeſty's Pleaſure. Of which Eſcheats and Forfeitures, two Parts ſhall appertain to his Majeſty, if the Cuſtoms be unfarm'd, and the third to the Informer: And if the Cuſtoms be farm'd, on third of the Forfeiture ſhall belong to his Majeſty, a Third to the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, and the other Third to the Informer. The Trial of the Offence to be ſummar in either Country, in the Exchequer-Chamber by Writ, ſufficient Witneſſes, or Oath of Party, or before the Juſtice by Jury or Aſſize; and his Majeſty's Officers in either Country, to conveen with the Complainers that intereſt in the Purſuit.

The Puniſhment to be inflicted on Traſgreſſors.

As alſo, for the more Surety that there ſhall be no Tranſportation, of ſuch Goods, it is agreed, that at the ſhipping of all ſuch native Commodities, there be taken, by the Cuſtomer of the Port, where the Goods or Wares are embark'd, a Bond or Obligation, ſubſcrib'd by the Owner of the ſaid Goods, and Maſter of the Ship; by the Owner, if he be preſent, and in caſe of his Abſence, by the Maſter of the Ship or Factor, or Party that ladeth the ſame: Which Bond ſhall contain a Sum of Money anſwerable to the Value of the Goods, with Condition of relieving the Party oblig'd, and diſcharging him of the ſaid Bond, in caſe a due return be made of the ſaid Certificate to the Cuſtom-Houſe, where the Goods were laden, from any Part within *England* or *Scotland*: The Certificate to be ſubſcrib'd and ſeal'd by the Officers of the Cuſtoms of the Port where the ſaid Goods ſhall arrive, and be unladen: Or, if there be no ſuch Officers there, by the chief Magiſtrate and Town Clerk of that Harbour or Town, under their Hand and Seal.

Surety to be given by the Owners and Maſters of the Ships.

It is further agreed, touching the indifferent freighting of Commodities, either in *Engliſh* or *Scotiſh* Bottoms, That *Engliſhmen* and *Scotiſhmen* freight and laden their Goods, each in others Ships and Bottoms indifferently, paying only *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Cuſtom, notwithſtanding any contrary Laws or Prohibitions. And that a Propoſition be made to the Parliament of *England*, for eſtabliſhing ſome good Orders for upholding and maintaining the great Fiſhing of *England*; as likewiſe, that a Propoſition be made to the Parliament of *Scotland*, for making their Shipping more proportionable in Burthen to the Shipping of *England*, the better to ſerve for Equality of Trade, and a common Defence of the whole Iſle.

Concerning the fraughting of Ships in both Nations

And becauſe it is requiſite, that the mutual Communication aforeſaid, be not only extended to Matter of Commerce, but to all other Benefits and Privileges of natural born Subjects; it is agreed, That an Act be proponed to be made in Manner following. That all the Subjects of both Realms, born ſince

Concerning the Subjects of both Nations, born after the King's Acceſſion to Crown of *England*.

A. D. 1604. since the Deceaſe of the late Queen, and that ſhall be born hereafter under the Obedience of his Majeſty and his Royal Progeny, are, by the common Laws of both Realms, and ſhall be, for ever enabled to obtain, ſucceed, inherit and poſſeſs all Goods, Lands and Chattles, Honours, Dignities, Offices, Liberties, Privileges and Benefices, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in Parliament, and all other Places of the Kingdoms, and every one of the ſame, in all Reſpects and without any Exception whatſoever, as fully and amply as the Subjects of either Realm reſpectively, might have done, or may do, in any Sort, within the Kingdom where they are born.

Concerning Offices of the Crown.

Farther, whereas his Majeſty, out of his great Judgment and Providence, hath not only profeſs'd in publick and private Speech to the Nobility and Council of both, but hath alſo vouchſaf'd to be contented, that for a more full Satisfaction and Comfort of all his loving Subjects, it may be compris'd in the ſaid Act, that his Majeſty meaneth not to confer any Office of the Crown, any Office of Judicature, Place, Voice, or Office in Parliament of either Kingdom, upon the Subjects of the other, born before the Deceaſe of the late Queen, until Time and Converſation have increas'd and accompliſh'd an Union of the ſaid Kingdoms, as well in the Hearts of all the People, and in the Conformity of the Laws and Policies in theſe Kingdoms, as in the Knowledge and Sufficiency of particular Men, who being untimely employ'd in ſuch Authorities, could no way be able, much leſs acceptable, to diſcharge ſuch Duties belonging to them: It is therefore reſolv'd by us, the Commiſſioners aforeſaid, not only in regard of our Deſires and Endeavours to further the ſpeedy Concluſion of this happy Work intended, but alſo as a Teſtimony of our Love and Thankfulneſs of his gracious Promiſe, on whoſe Sincerity and Benignity we build our full Aſſurance, even according to the inward Senſe and Feeling of our own loyal and hearty Affections, to obey and pleaſe him in all Things, worthy the Subjects of ſo worthy a Sovereign, that it ſhall be deſir'd of both Parliaments, to be enacted by their Authority, that all the Subjects of both Realms, born before the Deceaſe of the late Queen, may be enabl'd, and capable to acquire, purchaſe and inherit, ſucceed, uſe and diſpoſe of all Lands, Goods, Inheritances, Offices, Honours, Dignities, Liberties, Privileges, immunities, Benefices and Preferments whatſoever, each Subject in either Kingdom, with the ſame Freedom, and as lawfully and peaceably, as the very natural born Subjects of either Realm, where the ſaid Rights, Eſtates or Profits are eſtabliſh'd, notwithſtanding whatſoever Law, Statute, or former Conſtitutions heretofore in Force, to the contrary; other than to acquire, poſſeſs, ſucceed, or inherit any Office of the Crown, Office of Judicatory, or any Voice, Place or Office in Parliament. All which ſhall remain free from being claim'd, held or enjoy'd, by the Subjects of the one Kingdom within the other, born before the Deceaſe of the late Queen, notwithſtanding any Words, Senſe or Interpretation of the Act, or any Circumſtances thereupon depending, until there be ſuch a perfect and full Accompliſhment of the Union as is deſir'd mutually by both the Realms. In all which Points of Reſervation, either in recital of the Words of his Majeſty's ſacred Promiſe, or in any Clauſe or Sentence before ſpecify'd, from enabling them to any of the aforeſaid Places or Dignities, it hath been, and ever ſhall be ſo far from the Thoughts of any of us, to preſume to alter or impare his Majeſty's Prerogative Royal (who contrariwiſe, do all, with Comfort and Confidence, depend herein upon the gracious Aſſurance which his Majeſty is pleas'd to give, in the Declaration of his ſo Juſt and Princely Care, and Favour to all his People) as for a farther laying open of our clear and dutiful Intentions towards his Majeſty, in this and all things elſe, which may concern his Prerogative, we do alſo herein profeſs and declare, that we think it fit there be inſerted in the Act to be propon'd and paſs'd in expreſs Terms, a ſufficient Reſervation of his Majeſty's Prerogative Royal, to * denizate, enable and prefer to ſuch Offices, Honours, Dignities and Benefices whatſoever in both the ſaid Kingdoms, and either of them, as are heretofore excepted in the preceeding Reſervation of all *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Subjects

Reſervation of the King's Prerogative Royal.

* Naturalize.

Subjects, born before the Deceaſe of the late Queen, as freely, ſovereignly, and abſolutly, as any of his Majeſty's moſt noble Progenitors or Predeceſſors, Kings of *England* or *Scotland*, might have done at any Time heretofore, and to all other Intents and Purpoſes, in as ample Manner, as if no ſuch Act had ever been thought of or mention'd. *A. D.* 1604.

Concerning Malefactors and Offenders

And, foraſmuch as the ſeveral Juriſdictions and Adminiſtrations of either Realm, may be abus'd by Malefactors, by their own Impunity, if they ſhall commit any Offence in the one Realm, and afterwards remove their Perſons and Abode unto the other, it is agreed, That there may be ſome fit Courſe advis'd of, by the Wiſdom of the Parliaments, for Trial and Proceeding againſt the Perſons of Offenders, remaining in the one Realm, for and concerning the Crimes and Faults committed in the other Realm: And yet, nevertheleſs, that it may be lawful for the Juſtice of the Realm, where the Fact is committed, to remand the Offender remaining in the other Realm, to be anſwerable unto Juſtice in the ſame Realm where the Fact was committed; and that upon ſuch Remand made, the Offender ſhall be accordingly deliver'd; and all further Proceeding, if any be, in the other Realm, ſhall ceaſe; ſo as it may be done without Prejudice to his Majeſty or other Lords, in their Eſcheats and Forfeitures: With Proviſion, nevertheleſs, that this be not thought neceſſary to be made for all criminal Offences, but in ſpecial Caſes only; as namely, in Caſes of wilful Murder, falſifying of Money, and forging of Deeds, Inſtruments, and Writings, and ſuch other like Caſes, as upon farther Advice in the ſaid Parliaments may be thought fit to be added.

A Copy of the above Articles preſented to the King, by the Earl of *Saliſbury*.

Theſe were the Articles agreed upon, which were written in their ſeveral Scrols of Parchment, ſubſcrib'd and ſeal'd at *Weſtminſter*, the 6th Day of *December*, by the Commiſſioners of both Parliaments; and one thereof preſented the ſame Evening to his Majeſty, by the Earl of *Salisbury*; who, in Name of the whole Number there preſent, having ſhew'd what Pains they had taken in that Buſineſs; and how, after many Conferences, they were come to the Reſolutions contain'd in that Scroll, beſeeching his Majeſty to accept graciouſly that which was done; and made Offer of their beſt Services, in perfecting that Work, as they ſhould be employ'd.

The King's Speech to the Commiſſioners.

The King profeſſing great Contentment, did thank them, eſpecially for reſerving his *Prerogative in the Preferment of Men to Offices and Honour in either Kingdom*; *For Inequality* (ſaid he) *of Liberties and Privileges, is not the Way to effect the Union I deſire: Capacity of Offices ought to be equal to both People*; *but the Moderation of that Equality muſt be left to me*; *neither would I have you to ſuſpect, that I will offer any manner of Grievance to either of the Countries*; *or do any thing that may kindle Emulation among them, conſidering the Deſign I have to ſee you united in a faſt and undiſſolvable Amity.* This ſaid, he recommended the Proſecution of that Buſineſs in the ſeveral Parliaments, to their Fidelity and Truſt; wiſhing them to lay aſide all Jealouſies, needleſs Fears, and other worſe Paſſions, in a Matter that ſo nearly concern'd the Good and Benefit of both Kingdoms.

The Lord *Fyvie* made Chancellor.

During this Treaty in *Scotland*, the Lord *Fyvie*, Preſident of the Seſſion, was made Chancellor in place of the Earl of *Mountroſe*, who was appointed the King's Commiſſioner and Deputy of *Scotland*, during his Life; and Secretary *Elphingſton* was choſen Preſident of the Seſſion.

King *James* takes the Title of King of *Great Britain*.

About this Time, the King by virtue of his Prerogative, aſſum'd the Title of THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, and commanded that from thenceforth that Title ſhould be uſed in all Proclamations, Miſſives, and Treaties; and that the Titles of *Scotland*, *England*, ſhould be laid aſide, except in Inſtruments of private Parties, and where Legality of Proceſs would not admit the Alteration.

This new Title was at firſt offenſive to many of both Kingdoms, but the King thought that the Name of *Britain* was more adapted to the Conjunction and Union of both Nations, than that of *Scotland* and *England*: He alſo prohibited the Name of Borderers to be uſed for the future, and order'd all Pla-

A. D. 1604. ces of Strength, (the Houſes of Noblemen and Barons excepted) to be demoliſh'd, their Iron Gates to be turn'd to Plow-Irons, and the Inhabitants to betake themſelves to Labour, and the Exerciſe of Peace, alſo caus'd break down the Gariſons of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*. And in Memory of the Union ſo begun, the King caus'd ſeveral Pieces of Gold and Silver to be coin'd, with theſe Inſcriptions, *Quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo ſeparet*, and *Tueatur unita Deus*. On others, *Faciam eos in gentem unam* ; and *Henricus roſas Regna* Jacobus.

The Gariſons of of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* demoliſh'd.

Gold and Silver Pieces coin'd.

A. D. 1605. At this Time in *Scotland* the Miniſters had great Conſultation, and intended to call in queſtion all Concluſions taken in former Aſſemblies, concerning Epiſcopal Government ; and as an Aſſembly, which had been before appointed at *Aberdeen*, in *July* the preceeding Year had been prorogu'd upon Account of the Union, and appointed to meet in the ſame Month this Year, the Miniſters after Conſultation gave Orders to the Commiſſioners from the ſeveral Synods and Presbyteries, to deſert the Diet ; and made Intimation to the ſeveral Presbyteries, that the King and his Council intended to call together a Number of Biſhops, and diſaffected Miniſters to Court ; for preventing of which, they appointed a Meeting among themſelves, inſtead of the Aſſembly ; which Meeting was diſcharg'd by the Commiſſioners for the King ; yet nevertheleſs a certain Number of the Miniſters conveen'd, for which Diſobedience ſeveral of them were impriſon'd : Whereupon the Ring-leaders of that Faction, inſinuated to their ſeveral Congregations, that the King intended to aboliſh their Doctrine and Diſcipline, and to introduce the Rites of the Church of *England*.

The Proceedings of the Miniſters about the Aſſembly at *Aberdeen*.

The King having Notice of this Report, he caus'd forthwith to be publiſh'd a Declaration, wherein he ſolemnly deny'd any Intention to make any ſudden Alteration in the Church ; and to ſtop the Mouths of thoſe factious Preachers, he appointed a General Aſſembly to meet at *Dundee*, the laſt *Tueſday* of *July*, to examine all Diſorders liable to their Cenſure, to prevent all future Miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the Miniſters ; and Copies of this Declaration being ſent to thoſe Miniſters who were in Priſon, in order to make them acknowledge their former Offences ; but they ſtill perſiſted in their Obſtinacy, and inſiſted on the Legality of their Meeting, and gave in a Memorial to the Council juſtifying their Proceedings ; which Memorial or Declaration was ſign'd by Fourteen of their Number : But the Council rejected their Memorial, and declar'd, that as their Meeting was unlawful, being contrary to the King's Command, they were liable to the Puniſhment of the Law, as in Caſes of Treaſon, whereof the Council acquainted the King, deſiring to know his Pleaſure in that Matter.

The King having Information of their Proceedings, gave Direction to the Council to proſecute them according to Law ; and ſometime after they were brought to *Linlithgow*, before the Juſtice Court, and indicted upon the Statute of Parliament made in *May* 1584, concerning his Majeſty's Royal Power over all Eſtates ; yet they imploy'd Advocates to make Exceptions againſt the Indictment, and juſtified their own Proceedings ; but the King's Advocate repell'd their Exceptions, and prov'd, that their Crimes made them liable to the Puniſhment of Treaſon, of which they were found guilty by an Aſſize, and return'd to their ſeveral Priſons, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure ſhould be made known. Mean Time a Proclamation was publiſh'd, diſcharging all Subjects of whatever Rank and Condition, either in publick or private, to queſtion the Kings Royal Authority, or the Legality of the Proceedings againſt the Miniſters ; with Certification, that all Offenders in that Caſe ſhould be ſeverly puniſh'd, as Perſons ſeditious and diſobedient to his Majeſty's lawful Government.

The King's Letter to the Convention of Eſtates at *Edinburgh*.

A Convention of Eſtates being call'd at *Edinburgh*, a Letter from the King was preſented, wherein his Majeſty gave them Aſſurances, that by his Abſence his Love and Regard to his ancient and native Kingdom, was nothing diminiſh'd, that nothing could give him more Content, than that they ſhould live in all Peace, Tranquillity, Virtue ; and recommending to them to improve their Trade, eſpecially in Fiſhing and working of Cloth, according

to

to the Example of their Neighbours, aſſuring them, that by behaving themſelves with Love and Affection to one another, and to their neighbouring Subjects, their Liberty ſhould be as dear to him as either his Life or Eſtate. A. D. 1605.

This Letter being read by the Lord Chancellor, who added his good Advice to proſecute thoſe Meaſures propos'd by the King; the Eſtates did expreſs great Forwardneſs to uſe ſuch Means as might promote and improve the Trade of the Nation. Mean Time ſeveral good Acts were made for the Preſervation of Peace and Reconciliation of all Parties, between whom there had been former Feuds; and to make a Beginning, the Lord *Maxwell* and Laird of *Johnſton* were perſuaded to take one another by the Hand before the Council, and make Proteſtations to forget all paſt Quarrels, and to live in Peace and Friendſhip in all Times coming.

The Gun-powder Treaſon.

Towards the latter End of this Year, a Conſpiracy againſt the King and Parliament of *England* was diſcover'd, which is ſaid to have been plotted by *Robert Catsly*, *Thomas Piercy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, and *Guido Faux*, all *Engliſh* Roman Catholiks; and that they having conſulted by what Means they could reſtore the Church of *Rome*, they propoſed to blow up the King and the Houſes of Parliament by Gun-powder; and it is ſaid, that having found a Cellar under the Parliament Houſe to be lett, they hired it, and conveyed into it 36 Barrels of Powder, a prodigious Number of Billets, Faggots, and a great Quantity of Coals, wherewith they cover'd the Barrels of Powder. All Things, as they judg'd, being made ſure, a Letter came directed to the Lord *Mounteagle*, at his Lodgings, which was deliver'd to him by one of his Footmen, who ſaid he had receiv'd it from a Perſon unknown to him in the Street, about Seven a Clock at Night, with ſtrict Charge to give it into his Lord's own Hand. The Letter was written in the following Words.

My Lord,

A Letter ſent to the Lord *Mounteagle*.

Out of the Love I bear to ſome of your Friends, I have a Care of your Preſervation; therefore ſhould adviſe you, as you tender your Life to deviſe ſome Excuſe to ſhift your Attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man hath concurred to puniſh the Wickedneſs of theſe Times. Think not ſlightly of this Advertiſement, but retire your ſelf into your Country, where you may expect the Event in Safety: Altho' there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet I ſay they ſhall receive a terrible Blow in this Parliament, and ſhall not ſee who hurteth them. This Council is not to be contemn'd, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the Danger is paſt as ſoon as you burn this Letter: And I hope GOD will give you the Grace to make good Uſe of it, unto whoſe holy Protection I commit you.

He carries it to the Secretary.

This Letter came to the Lord *Mounteagle*, who went the ſame Night to *Whitehall*, and communicated it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, the King's principal Secretary; who acquainted the Lord Chamberlain, Admiral, and others of the Council therewith; who having examin'd it, reſolv'd to ſhow it to the King at his return to *London*, (for he was then hunting at *Royſtoun*) and not to mention any Thing of the Matter till they heard his Judgment. His Majeſty having read the Letter Twice or Thrice over, ſeem'd to take much Notice of it; but the Secretary told him, that the Letter ſeem'd to be written by a Fool or mad Man; and pointing at that Sentence, *The Danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter*. Said, that the Warning was to little Purpoſe, if the burning of the Letter could avert the Danger. But the King ſaid, there was ſomething in it, eſpecially in that, wherein is ſaid, *They ſhall receive a terrible Blow in this Parliament, and not ſee who did hurt them*. Which being joyin'd with the other preceeding Sentences, made it appear, that the ſudden Danger ſeem'd to be by the blowing up of Powder.

The King interprets the Letter.

A. D. 1605.

der. Therefore desir'd immediately to search all the Rooms in the Parliament House, both above and below, to prevent the Danger, if there was any.

Whereupon the Lord Chamberlain taking with him the Lord *Mounteagle*, and several others, went and view'd all the Rooms, and finding in the Vault under the Upper-House, great Store of Faggots, Billets, and Coals, he ask'd the Keeper, (whose Name was *Whinyard*) to what Use he had put those low Cellars. He answer'd, that *Thomas Piercy* had hired the House and Cellar, and the Billets and the Coals were the Gentleman's Provision for Winter. The Chamberlain casting his Eye aside, and seeing a Fellow in the Corner of the Vault, asked who he was. It was answer'd, that it was *Piercy*'s Servant, who kept the House for his Master; so having lookt upon all Things carelesly,he return'd,and made a Report of what he had seen to the King; whereupon Sir *Thomas Knevet*, a Justice of Peace within *Westminster*, was sent with a Party to make a more narrow Search, and coming there in the Night, it is said, that they found a Man in riding Dress, and caused him to be apprehended; this was *Guido Faux*, who declar'd himself to be *Piercy*'s Servant, and (as it is said) was to have fired the Train. When they enter'd into the Cellar, and turn'd up the Billets and Coals, they found 36 Barrels of Powder, whereupon they examin'd *Faux* concerning the Powder; whereupon he confess'd the whole Plot, swearing, *That if he had been within the House when they took him, he should have blown them up with the House, and all in it.* Sir *Thomas Knevet* overjoy'd at the Success, went immediately to the Chamberlain and Secretary, giving Account of what he had done; whereupon they went with him to the King's Bed Chamber, where, so soon as they had enter'd, they cry'd aloud, the Treason was discover'd, and the Traitor in Custody; so immediately Orders was given to the Council to examine him: But denying to make any Discovery of his Accomplices, he was carried to the Tower, and the Rack presented, which so terrified him, that he confess'd all that he knew, or what might most probably preserve him from the Torment. The other Persons mention'd with *Catsby* and *Piercy*, being in and about the City, had Account of what was reported, and fled to the Country, where they were search'd for and pursu'd.

Guido Faux taken.

And *Catisby*, *Piercy*, and *Winter*, being attack'd by a Party in *Warwick* Shire, they stood to their Defence, nor would they yield till *Catsby* and *Piercy* were both slain, and *Winter* taken Prisoner. The rest of them having lurk'd about the Town, to watch an Opportunity to escape by Sea, were apprehended and committed to the Tower of *London*; besides them were apprehended others, such as *Rockwood*, *Grant*, *Digby*, *Bates*, *Tresham*, and *Garnet*, the last Two were alledg'd to be Jesuites, and charg'd with being privy to the Conspiracy; but stifly deny'd it, declaring they had not seen some of the before mention'd Conspirators for several Years; yet some Time after they were put to the Trial of a Jury, and condemned; so *Digby*, *Grant*, *Robert Winter* and *Thomas Bates* were executed at the Western Gate of St. *Paul*'s, and *Thomas Winter*, *Ambrose Rockwood*, *Robert Hays*, and *Guido Faux*, were hang'd in the Court near the Parliament House; thus ended that Conspiracy, called *the Gun-Powder Treason.* Which at that Time, and afterwards, was variously reported, according to the Humour and Inclinations of Persons and Parties; for as the King and Council having made it appear to have been a Contrivance of the Papists, to destroy the King and Parliament, whereby they might have restor'd their Religion. On the other Hand, the Papists and their Friends gave it out, or at least affirm'd it, where they could have the Freedom to speak their Minds, that the Plot was contriv'd by the Secretary, and other Ministers of State, to destroy the Papists, or to render them odious to the King, and all his Protestant Subjects.

Persons executed at *Westminster* for the Conspiracy.

And even the very Day that the Discovery was made when the Parliament met,and the King made a Speech exclaiming against the Papists for their bloody Designs; one of the Privy Council was observ'd to have said, that the Conspiracy proceeded from other Reasons, rather than any Design of the Papists. Others alledg'd, that the Plot was only against the King's own Life, and con-

contriv'd by ſuch as were offended at his Government; which Reports coming to the King's Knowledge, he was highly offended, and remov'd the Privy Counſellor from his Service. The Diſcovery of this Plot being on the 5th of *November*, that Day by Act of Parliament, was ordain'd to be appointed to be kept a holy Day continually thereafter. *A. D.* 1605.

In the Beginning of the Year 1606, the impriſon'd Miniſters made great Complaints againſt the Chancellor, blaming him for their Meeting at *Aberdeen*, alledging, *That they had a Warrant from him to meet, and his Promiſe that they ſhould incur no Danger.* The King being inform'd thereof, ſent to the impriſon'd Miniſters, to have certain Information how far the Chancellor was concern'd with them in that Affair; and they anſwer'd, that at that Time fearing the Re-eſtabliſhment of Biſhops, they had uſed all Means to withſtand them; and that he had promis'd all the Aſſiſtance he could give that Way, which they took to be an Allowance of their Meeting. Hereupon a Letter was directed to the Council, to call the Miniſters before them, and if they ſtood to what they had ſaid, to hear what the Chancellor could anſwer for himſelf; but when the Miniſters were examin'd, they fell into ſharp Diſputes: Nor could any of them ſeem to maintain what they had ſaid; this Report being made to the King, he ſaid that the Miniſters were not to be credited, for they would make any Excuſe rather than to ſubmit to the Government. *A. D.* 1606. The Miniſters complain of the Chancellor. But cannot give a Cauſe.

At that Time the Parliament had been appointed to meet at *Edinburgh* in *June*, and the Earl of *Dunbar* employ'd to ſee all Matters carried therein to the King's Satisfaction; the Chancellor (whether to ſhew his Power in the City, or that he fear'd being affronted by the Earl of *Dunbar*) he went through the Streets of *Edinburgh*, attended by Numbers of the Burgeſſes, who, contrary to their uſual Way wore Swords. This Behaviour of the Chancellor and Citizens of *Edinburgh*, offended the Earl of *Dunbar*, that he procur'd the King's Warrant to prorogue the Parliament to the Firſt of *July*, and to remove the Meeting thereof from *Edinburgh* to *Perth*, which made the Burgeſſes repent their Appearance with the Chancellor in ſo publick a Manner. The Parliament remov'd from *Edinburgh* to *Perth*.

The firſt Day of the Parliament's meeting at *Perth*, a Quarrel happen'd between the Lord *Seaton* and the Earl of *Glencairn*; ſo the Lord *Seaton* was cited before the Council for diſturbing the Parliament, but he leaving the Town went home; and for not appearing was denounc'd Rebel; this happening on the firſt Day of their Meeting, was look'd upon as a bad Omen; but by the Earl of *Dunbar*'s Prudence and Conduct, all further Trouble was prevented, and Matters carried on from that Time in a peaceable Manner, tho' ſeveral Miniſters who then was in Town, endeavour'd all they could to breed Diſturbance; which being known to the Earl, he ſent for them to his Lodgings, and rebuk'd them ſharply, adviſing them to ſtudy ſuch Means as might procure the King's Favour to their Brethren in Trouble, rather than to give further Offence. A Quarrel between the Earl of *Glencairn* and Lord *Seaton*. The Lord *Seaton* denounc'd Rebel.

In this Parliament ſeveral good Acts were made, eſpecially the Act Intituled, *The Reſtitution of the Eſtate of Biſhops*; which Title led many into the Miſtake, that for ſome Time paſt the Eſtates of Biſhops were overthrown, which was never intended; only by this Act the Temporalities of Biſhopricks, (which by the Act of Annexation were made to belong to the Crown) were reſtor'd, in Conſideration that the Biſhops were diſabled to attend their Service in the Church and State, for want of their Benefices. Temporalities of Biſhopricks reſtor'd.

After the Parliament was diſolv'd, the King ordain'd the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Orkney*, *Galloway*, and the nominated Biſhop of *Dunkell*, with ſeven of the Presbyterian Miniſters, to come forthwith to attend him at Court, in order to have a Conference with them, concerning the late Diſturbance upon Account of the Meeting at *Aberdeen*; and accordingly they ſet out on their Journey, and arriv'd at *London* about the beginning of *September*, and were order'd to attend his Majeſty at *Hampton*-Court, the 20th of that Month. The Archbiſhops and others call'd to *London*.

A. D. 1606. The first Audience was on the 22d of *September* at *Hampton*, where, besides the Bishops and Ministers from *Scotland*, were present, the Earls of *Dunbar*, *Argyle*, *Glencairn*, Sir *Thomas Hamilton* Advocate, and Sir *Alexander Straiton*. Of the *English*, Doctor *Montague*, Dean of the Chapel, was only admitted to stay. And the King having declar'd the Reason of his calling them up, was to know the Cause of the great Disturbance occasion'd by them in *Scotland*, since his coming to *England*; and to have their Advice how these Offences might be remov'd.

The Cause of their being call'd up.

Mr. *James Melvil* first answer'd, *That they having Warrant to conveen, from the Word of GOD and his Majesty's Laws; that such as came there, by the Direction of their Presbyteries, he could not, in his Conscience, condemn.*

Mr. *James Melvil*'s Answer to the King and Council.

In Answer to what he said, the King put the Questions to them, *If it was lawful for them to pray publickly for Persons convicted by the lawful Judge, as Persons being in Distress and afflicted.*

Questions put to the Ministers by the King.

Or, Whether he, as a King, by his Royal Authority, could convocate and prorogue, and desert for just Causes, any Assemblies or Meetings within his Dominions.

Or, Whether he could call and conveen before his Council, any Person Civil or Ecclesiastical, for Offences committed in any Part of his Dominions; and try their Crimes, and give Sentence according to Law. And, Whether or not any Subject, being summon'd before his Majesty and Council, were oblig'd to appear and acknowledge them for Judges of those Offences?

Mr. *James Melvil* reply'd, That these Questions were weighty, and requir'd great Deliberation; wherefore they entreated his Majesty to grant them Time to confer and advise together, that they might give one direct Answer. Their Desire was granted, and were order'd to be ready to answer the next Day. And at their meeting there being present the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Northampton*, , with several *English* Clergy, the Ministers desir'd the Earl of *Dunbar* to move to the King, That none but *Scotsmen* might be present, fearing (as they said) that some unseemly Words might escape them. But the King deny'd their Request, and commanded them to speak as became Subjects. Whereupon the King put the Question to them seperately, to declare their Minds concerning the Assembly at *Aberdeen*.

The Bishops being first ask'd, did all condemn the Meeting, as turbulent and factious; but Mr. *Andrew Melvil* being enquir'd, made Answer, That he could not condemn the Assembly, being a private Man; that he came to *England* by his Majesty's Letter, without any Commission from the Church of *Scotland*, nor hearing what they had to say for themselves, he could not give his Judgment. Sentence, he said, was given against the Ministers in a Justice Court, how justly, he referr'd to the Great JUDGE: But for himself, he would say as our SAVIOUR did in another Case, *Quis me constituit Judicem.*

The Bishops condemn the Meeting at *Aberdeen*.

The Ministers Answer concerning the Meeting.

The rest of the Ministers being ask'd, did pray his Majesty not to press them to any Answer, and said, That Mr. *Andrew Melvil* had answer'd sufficiently their Mind. Mean time, Mr. *James Melvil* told the King, That he had a Petition, which was to have been presented to the late Parliament, in Behalf of the imprison'd Ministers, which he desir'd to offer unto his Majesty, saying, That that Petition would make their Minds known concerning the Assembly.

The King took the Petition and read it, but found it so offensive, that he return'd it; saying, *I see you are all set for maintaining that base Conventicle at* Aberdeen: But what Answers have you to give to the Questions I mov'd. They answer'd, that as it concern'd the whole Body of the Church, they could not, by their particular Voices, prejudge the same: But if his Majesty would be pleas'd to set down in Writing what he requir'd, they would labour to give him Satisfaction.

Thus they were dismiss'd for that Time, and upon the 20th of *October* they were again brought before the *Scots* Council, and the Questions deliver'd them

them in Writing, which they were commanded to anſwer ſeperately. Mean time the Miniſters were diſcharg'd to return to *Scotland* without his Majeſty's Licenſe; and prohibited from coming to the Queen and Prince's Court; but the Biſhops and others were permitted to ſee both, and return at their Pleaſure. *A. D.* 1606.

This Conference ending, the King declar'd his Pleaſure in a Letter to his Council at *Edinburgh*, concerning the Miniſters in Priſon, wherein he ordain'd a Juſtice Court to be call'd at *Linlithgow*, or any other Place where the Council ſhould think proper, upon the 23d of *November*; and there to cauſe the Sentence to be pronounc'd, *That theſe Miniſters ſhould be baniſh'd the Kingdom, as Traitors, during their natural Lives; and that they ſhould be return'd to their Priſons for the Space of one Month, to make Preparations to depart, which if they did not (Wind and Weather ſerving) by the time limited; or, being departed, did return to any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions, they ſhould be puniſh'd with Death, as Traitors: Which Sentence was order'd to be recorded and proclaim'd at the Market Croſs of* Edinburgh, *and all neceſſary Places.* And accordingly the Court met at *Linlithgow*, and pronounc'd the Sentence in Manner preſcrib'd. The King's Order to the Council concerning the impriſon'd Miniſters.

Mean time Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, who was then at *London*, having diſperſt ſome Libels and Verſes, reflecting on the King and Church of *England*, was committed to the Tower, where he remain'd three Years, and being afterwards baniſh'd, he died in Exile.

The King being deſirous to have the Church regulated, he ſent down the Earl of *Dunbar*, with a Commiſſion to call an Aſſembly at *Linlithgow* the 10th of *Decemb.* where, on the Day appointed, there met 136 Miniſters, 33 Noblemen and Barons; before whom the Earl read the King's Letter, and afterwards propos'd ſeveral Articles for the Regulation of Aſſemblies; which Articles, as they only concern'd the choiſing of Moderators, they were generally allow'd, and when put to a Vote, were approv'd by a Majority; ſo that the Buſineſs of that Aſſembly was ended: But ſome of thoſe that were againſt the Articles, gave in a Complaint againſt the Papiſts of the Northern Parts, alledging they had committed great Inſolence; yet could not make any particular Charge, except that, they ſaid, the Lord *Ogilvie* and Laird of *Gight* had us'd popiſh Superſtitions at the Burials of their Fathers, ſome time before that; and that the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, after his coming from Court, had given out, that he had the King's Warrant to ſtop all Eccleſiaſtical Proceeding againſt himſelf; which Complaint the Earl promis'd to repreſent to his Majeſty; but they thought fit to ſend a Petition therewith to Court; and the King return'd for Anſwer, That the Marquiſs of *Huntly* had obtain'd no Warrant to ſtop Church Diſcipline, but that he had enjoin'd the Presbyteries of the North, to lay aſide the Excommunication againſt him, for a certain Space, till he had declar'd his Reſolution. But as for the Lord *Ogilvie*, and Laird of *Gight*'s ſuperſtitious burying of their deceas'd Fathers, he would recommend it to his Council to examine and try. An Aſſembly call'd at *Linlithgow*.

In the beginning of the next Year, new Diſputes happen'd in the Synods of *Perth* and *Dyſert*, concerning the Articles of Regulation; which being reported to the Council, ſuch means were us'd, as oblig'd them to ſubmit to the Deciſion of the late Aſſembly; and in *July* thereafter, the Miniſters remaining at *London*, were permitted to return home, upon their Promiſe to live obedient and peaceable; only Mr. *James Melvil* was confin'd at *Newcaſtle*, from whence he had Leave to come to *Berwick*, where he died ſoon after. 1607.

About this time *David Lindſay*, younger, of *Edzel*, ſeeking to revenge the Death of his Uncle, Mr. *Walter Lindſay*, whom *David*, Maſter of *Crawford*, had kill'd, as he lay in wait of the ſaid Maſter, who, by the Death of his Father, was then Earl of *Crawford*; and in a Miſtake, did kill the Lord *Alexander Lindſay*, Lord *Spynzie*. This Nobleman's Death was very much regrated, as being a Perſon of great Parts and generous Spirit. And, about the ſame time, there happen'd a Quarrel between the Earl of *Morton* and

A. D. 1607. Lord *Maxwell*, about ſome Privileges diſputed between them, in holding Courts in *Eskdale* ; and each of them having rais'd Forces, were commanded by the Council to diſcharge them, and not to come near one another's Bounds ; which the Earl of *Morton* obey'd, but the Lord *Maxwell* contemn'd, and challeng'd the Earl to a Combat ; whereupon he was committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, but made his Eſcape two Months after. Soon after his Eſcape, he appointed a meeting with the Laird of *Johnſton*, at a little Hill, call'd *Achmanhill*, where each of them met, with one Servant only, and after ſaluting one another courteouſly, they confer'd for ſome Space ; but their Servants, the one call'd *Charles Maxwell*, Brother to *Kirkhouſe*, the other, *William Johnſton* of *Locherby*, happening to Quarrel, the former ſhot a Piſtol at the other, which when the Laird of *Johnſton* perceiv'd, he made up to part them ; whereupon the Lord *Maxwell* ſhot him through the Body with two Bullets, ſo that he fell down, and expir'd immediately.

The Lord *Maxwell* kills the Laird of *Johnſton*.

The Lord *Maxwell*, who was very much cenſur'd for the Baſneſs of this Action, immediately fled the Kingdom and had his Eſtate forfeited, but ſome Time after returning to the Shire of *Caithneſs*, he was apprehended, and beheaded at *Edinburgh*.

For which he was afterward beheaded at *Edinburgh*.

In a Parliament of *England*, held in *November*, the Matter of the Union was very much diſputed, and moſt of the Articles agreed upon by the Commiſſioners, call'd in Queſtion ; except thoſe concerning the aboliſhing of Hoſtil Laws.

The King was very much griev'd, to ſee that what he deſir'd and labour'd for, ſhould be render'd ineffectual ; he therefore ſent down *Lodwick*, Duke of *Lennox*, as his commiſſioner, to call a Parliament at *Edinburgh* : And, the Parliament meeting in the Month of *Auguſt*, the Eſtates did allow all the Articles concluded in the former Treaty, provided the ſame ſhould be ratify'd in the Parliament of *England* ; but declar'd, that if the Union ſhould take Effect, *Scotland* ſhould remain an abſolute and free Monarchy, nor ſhould the fundamental Laws be any ways alter'd.

Lodwick Duke of *Lennox*, Commiſſioner to the Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

But the Parliament of *England* afterwards, for their own Reaſons, did not meddle any more with the Union, ſo That great Work was quite laid aſide.

An Aſſembly being conveen'd at *Linlithgow* in *July* this Year, where the Earls of *Dunbar*; *Winton*, and *Lothian* ſat Commiſſioners for the King. There was a Complaint enter'd againſt the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, who being cited before the Aſſembly, and denying to appear, Sentence of Excommunication was pronounc'd againſt him, before the Aſſembly. Complaints were alſo enter'd againſt the Earls of *Angus*, *Errol*, and Lord *Semple*, and ſeveral others, for Adherence to Popery : And, at the ſame time, the Members of the Aſſembly drew a Petition to the King ; wherein they deſir'd the Laws to be put in Execution againſt all Papiſts, or any profeſſing or maintaining the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* ; which Petition was inclos'd in a Letter, ſubſcrib'd by the Earls of *Crawford*, *Glencairn*, and *Kinghorn*, the Lords *Lindſay*, *Buccleugh*, *Salton*, *Lowdon*, *Terphichen*, *Blantire*, *Scoon*, *Holy-rood-Houſe*, and a great Number of Barons and Clergy.

An Aſſebmly at *Linlithgow*.

The Marquiſs of *Huntly* excommunicated.

The Chancellor hearing of the Proceedings of the Aſſembly, he ſent the Lord *Balmerinoch* the Secretary, to *London*, to know how far the Aſſembly had taken Notice of him, or any of his Relations ; but when the Secretary came to Court, he found an Affair which more nearly concern'd himſelf ; for the King had then diſcover'd, that the Secretary had made uſe of his Name and Seal in a Letter to Pope *Clement* VIII. which Letter, the King imagin'd, the Secretary had made him ſign with other Letters, ſent to the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Florence*.

The Lord *Balmerinoch*, Secretary, goes to *London*

A Letter found written by him in the King's Name, to the Pope.

When the Secretary came to *London*, the King was then at *Royſton*, where he went to attend his Majeſty, who politically drew the Confeſſion of that Letter from the Secretary ; who, upon his Knees, entreated Mercy, declaring, that what he had done was intended to do his Majeſty good Service.

The

The King told him, that his Fault was greater than he apprehended, and could not be eaſily paſt by, therefore deſir'd him to go to *London*, and keep his Lodgings till he came thither. Some few Days after the King came to *Whitehall*, where the Secretary was brought before the Council, and charg'd with the Letter, which the Lords did aggravate in ſuch a manner, that they made the ſame to appear the Ground of all the Conſpiracies, plotted againſt the King, ſince his coming to *England*. Which when the Secretary heard, he kneel'd down before the King and Council, and made an ample Confeſſion, expreſſing great Grief, for having offended the King and his Subjects, and ſubmitted himſelf to his Majeſty's Pleaſure, offering to lay down his Life, rather than any Reproach for his Offences ſhould be brought on the King. *A. D.* 1608.

The Secretary depriv'd of all his Offices.

Sir *Thomas Egerton*, the Chancellor, declard, That it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure to remit the Trial of his Offence to the Judges in *Scotland*; and, in the mean time, did pronounce him depriv'd of all Places, Honours and Dignities, that he poſſeſs'd in *England*.

A Diſcovery made to the Earl of *Dunbar* of *Robert Logan*'s Confederacy with *Gowry*, in the late Conſpiracy.

In *Auguſt* this Year, the Earl of *Dunbar* being at his own Houſe, in Company with a Country Gentleman of his Neighbourhood, they fell accidentally in Diſcourſe of the Matter of *Gowry*'s Conſpiracy and Forfeiture. And the Gentleman told the Earl, that he being lately in Company with one *Sprott*, a Notary, who liv'd in *Eymouth*, and had been ordinarily employ'd in the Laird of *Reſtalrig*'s Service, as a Notary and Truſtee, that this *Sprott* had told him Things concerning that Treaſon, which he had never heard before; and that *Sprott* had never reveal'd it, while the Perſons concern'd were alive. This Information made the Earl deſirous to know what the Gentleman had heard; which he told him in ſhort, That * umquhile *Robert Logan* of *Reſtalrig*, was a Co-partner in that Conſpiracy with the Earl of *Gowry* and his Brother *Alexander*, and that *Sprott* had ſeveral Letters then by him, which he had found among *Reſtalrig*'s Papers, and other Papers belonging to one call'd Laird *Bour*, the greateſt Confident of any Man that *Reſtalrig* had, and who was intimate with *Sprott* the Notary.

* deceas'd

Sprott, the Notary ſeiz'd

His Confeſſion before the Council

Upon this Information the Earl of *Dunbar* acquainted the King's Advocate, whereupon *Sprott* was ſeiz'd, and carry'd to *Edinburgh*, where, before ſeveral of the Lords of the Council, he did acknowledge, that he knew perfectly, that *Reſtalrig* was privy to *Gowry*'s treaſonable Conſpiracy; and declar'd, that he knew that ſeveral Letters paſs'd between them in the Month of *July*, 1600. which Letters *James Bour*, call'd Laird *Bour*, had in keeping, and ſhew'd the ſame to him in the Place of *Faſtcaſtle*. And *Sprott* depon'd, That being employ'd by *James Bour* to look over his Papers, he had found the principal Letter, written by *Reſtalrig* to the Earl of *Gowry*, which *Bour* had brought back from the Earl (as was the Cuſtom among them at that Time) and that he did keep the ſame Letter, which was in his Cloſet among his Writings: Whereupon Sir *William Hart*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *Scotland*, ſent and ſeiz'd the ſaid Cheſt; which being ſearch'd, that Letter, with ſeveral others, were found, and deliver'd to Sir *Thomas Hamilton* of *Binnie*, the King's Advocate, who produc'd the Summons of Treaſon rais'd againſt all the Defenders and others, concern'd in the Conſpiracy.

Theſe Letters were examin'd, and found to contain ſeveral Advices, given by *Reſtalrig* to the Earl of *Gowry*, with repeated Proteſtations of his Aſſiſtance and Secreſy in that Deſign; and ſeveral Perſons being preſent who had Acquaintance and Correſpondence with *Reſtalrig*, they did declare them to be his Hand-writing; which Aſſertion was confirm'd by the Depoſitions of Mr. *Alexander Watſon*, Mr. *Alexander Smith*, Miniſters, Sir *John Arnot*, Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, *Alexander Cook*, Sheriff-Clerk of *Berwick*, *William Hume* of *Aiton-mill*, *John Horn*, Notary in *Eymouth*, and *William Hog*, Miniſter at *Aiton*.

Upon the 10th Day of *Auguſt*, *George Sprott* was brought before the Council, where he was examin'd, and by his own Confeſſion found guilty, and ſentenc'd to be hang'd; which Sentence was accordingly executed on the 2d Day after.

A. D. 1608. In *September* the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, with ſeveral others from *Scotland*, attended the King at *Hampton* Court, with the Petition from the Aſſembly; as alſo the Letter to the King, which he having read, approv'd of their Proceedings, and told them, that he would order a Convention to meet and ratify the Concluſions of the Aſſembly: Mean Time the Council at *Edinburgh* joyn'd to commit the Marquis of *Huntly* to the Caſtle of *Stirling*, the Earl of *Angus* to *Edinburgh* Caſtle, and the Earl of *Errol* at *Dumbarton*; at the ſame Time a Convention was appointed to meet at *Edinburgh* the 6th of *December*, which was prorogu'd to the 27th *January* 1609.

The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* attends the King with the Petition of the General Aſſembly.

A. D. 1699. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* being ſent home to inform the Council concerning the Secretary, the Lord Chancellor ſuſpected, that their next Aſſault ſhould be made upon himſelf; but the King knowing his Diſpoſition, he ſent down the Earl of *Dunbar* with a Warrant to receive him as a Counſellor of *England*, and therein appointed him conjunct Commiſſioner with the Earl in the Convention of Eſtates; which Commiſſion diſpell'd his Fear of having loſt the King's Favour.

The Chancellor ſuſpects the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*'s Deſigns.

The Chancellor made Privy Counſellor of *England*.

In this Convention ſeveral Acts were made in Favour of the Church; alſo an Act for the Puniſhment of Rapes, that if any Widow, Wife, or Maid, ſhould be forced and abuſed againſt her Will, the Crime ſhould be capital, and not remitted by the ſubſequent Conſent of the Woman; in like Manner if any Woman ſhould be taken away by Force, albeit no further Injury ſhould be done to her, and ſhe relieved either by her Friends or Magiſtrates, the Violence intended ſhould be puniſhable by Death.

An Act againſt the Raviſhments of Women.

The Lord *Balmerinoch* brought to his Trial before the Lords of Juſticiary.

In *February* the Lord *Balmerinoch* was brought to *Edinburgh*, and from that ſent guarded to *Falkland*, where he remain'd till the Tenth of *March*, and was then brought to St. *Andrew*'s, to be tried before the Lords of Juſticiary, with whom ſat the Earls of *Dunbar*, *Montroſe* and *Lothian*, the Lord Privy Seal and Clerk Regiſter. He confeſſed the Indictment before the Jury, who were the Perſons following, *David* Earl of *Crawford*, *George* Earl of *Marſhal*, *John* Earl of *Wigton*, *Patrick* Earl of *Kinghorn*, *John* Earl of *Tullibardin*, *Allan* Lord *Cathcart*, *John* Lord *Salton*, *David* Lord *Scoon*, *Alexander* Lord *Garlies*, *William* Maſter of *Tullibardin*, Sir *James Douglas* of *Drumlanrig*, Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Lochinvar*, Sir *William Livingſton* of *Killſyth*, Sir *John Houſton* of That-Ilk, and Sir *Patrick Hume* of *Polwart*, theſe going a Part, return'd after a ſhort Space into the Court, and by the Mouth of the Earl *Marſhall* pronounc'd *James* Lord *Balmerinoch* guilty of high Treaſon.

The Names of his Jury.

He is found guilty.

The King being advertis'd of his Conviction, directed a Warrant to the Lords of Juſticiary, to bring him before them at *Edinburgh*, and ſentence him to be beheaded on the firſt of *April*; but at the Queen's Entreaty his Life was ſpared, and return'd to his Priſon in *Falkland*, where he continu'd ſome Months; but being afterwards permitted to return to his Houſe of *Balmerinoch*, he died ſoon after, as it was ſaid, of Grief and Sorrow, and was ſucceeded in his Office by Sir *Alexander Hay*.

He is ſentenc'd to be beheaded.

But at the Queen's Requeſt ſpared.

His Death.

Upon the 24th of *June* a Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, wherein the Earl of *Marſhall* was Commiſſioner for the King. In this Parliament the Acts concluded in the preceeding Convention were ratify'd, the Juriſdiction of Commiſſaries reſtored to the Church, and Juſtices of Peace appointed to be ſettled in every Shire. As alſo a Statute was made for the Apparel of Judges, Magiſtrates, and Churchmen; and the King accordingly ſent Patterns for the Apparel of the Lords of Seſſion and Juſticiary, and other inferior Judges, for Advocates, Lawyers, Commiſſaries, and all that lived by Practice of Law; and that they ſhould provide themſelves of the Habits preſcrib'd in a certain Space, under the Pain of Rebellion.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*, the Earl *Marſhall* Commiſſioner.

A Statute for the Apparel of Judges and Lawyers.

A. D. 1610. In 1610 the King wrote Letters to the Biſhops, deſiring they might take upon them the Adminiſtration of all Church Affairs; but they were unwilling to make any Change in the Diſcipline, without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Miniſters; ſo an Aſſembly was call'd at *Glaſgow*, wherein the Earl of *Dunbar*, Sir *John Preſton* Preſident of the Court of Seſſion, and Sir *Alex-*

Alexander Hay Secretary, were appointed Commiſſioners for the King, and the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was appointed Preſident or Moderator. *A. D.* 1610.

In this Aſſembly Nine Articles were propos'd for the better Regulation of Church Affairs, wherein it was propos'd, that the Miniſters of the ſeveral Dioceſes ſhould be obedient to the Biſhops themſelves or their Deputies.

Articles propos'd to the Aſſembly.

At the ſame Time a Supplication was preſented in the Names of the Marquis of *Huntly*, and the Earls of *Angus* and *Errol*, wherein they deſired to be abſolved from the Excommunication; offering to give Satisfaction by ſubſcribing the Confeſſion of Faith, and promiſing to continue in the Profeſſion of Religion then eſtabliſh'd. The Marquis having profeſſed himſelf reſolute in all Points, he was releas'd from his Confinement in *Stirling*, and had Liberty to go to his Houſe at *Strathbogie*, the Earl of *Errol* having profeſſed his Conformity, was ſo much troubled in Mind, that he had near kill'd himſelf; he ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, to whom he declared his great Grief for what he had done; however he was more indulged by the Government than any profeſſing his Religion.

The Marquis of *Huntly*, and Earls of *Angus* and *Errol* petitions for Abſolution.

The Earl of *Angus* at laſt obtain'd his Majeſty's Leave to go to *France*, where he might enjoy the Exerciſe of his Religion with Liberty, but he died at *Paris* ſoon after.

The Earl of *Angus* dies at *Paris*.

Soon after the Aſſembly was diſſolv'd, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, with ſome other Biſhops, were called to Court; and at the firſt Audience the King told them, that he had with great Expence recover'd the Biſhopricks from thoſe who had poſſeſs'd them, and had beſtow'd them upon ſuch as he hop'd would prove worthy of their Places; but ſince he could not make them Biſhops, nor could they aſſume that Honour themſelves; and that in *Scotland* there was not a ſufficient Number to enter Charge by Conſecration, he had called them to *England*, that being conſecrated themſelves they might at their Return ordain thoſe at home, and his Adverſaries Mouths might be ſtop'd, who had ſaid, that he did take upon him to create Biſhops, and beſtow ſpiritual Offices, which he never did, nor would preſume to do; acknowleding that Authority to belong to CHRIST alone, and thoſe that had Authority from his Doctrine.

The King's Speech to Dr. *Spotſwood*, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* about Conſecration.

The Archbiſhop anſwer'd in Name of the reſt, that they were willing to obey his Majeſty in all Things, but were apprehenſive, that the Church of *Scotland* might take this as a Sort of Subjection to the Church of *England*. Whereupon the King ſaid, that he had ſufficiently provided againſt that Objection; for neither ſhould the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* nor *York*, have any Hand in Conſecration, but the ſame ſhould be perform'd by the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Bath*.

The Archbiſhop's Anſwer.

The *Scots* Biſhops return'd Thanks to the King, and declar'd their Willingneſs to obey what he would command, ſo the 21ſt of *October* was appointed to be the Time, and the King's Chapel the Place of Conſecration.

Mean Time a Queſtion was mov'd by the Biſhop of *Ely*, touching the Conſecration of the *Scots* Biſhops, who, as he ſaid, muſt firſt be ordain'd Presbyters: But that Objection was anſwer'd, that being Biſhops included inferior Orders; ſo the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, with the Biſhop of *Brechin* and *Galloway*, were conſecrated Biſhops.

Objections againſt the Conſecration of *Scots* Biſhops anſwer'd.

In the Beginning of the next Year, the Earl of *Orkney* was committed Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, upon Information of great Oppreſſion and Tyranny he had exerciſed over the Subjects of the Iſles, mean Time the Biſhop of that Dioceſe was order'd by the Council to examine the particular Complaints made againſt the Earl. *A. D.* 1611.

The Earl of *Orkney* committed to *Edinburgh* Caſtle.

About the ſame Time the Earl of *Argyle* had a Commiſſion to ſuppreſs and extirpate the *Clan Gregory*, upon Account of ſeveral Robberies, and barbarous Actions committed againſt their Neighbours; the Earl executed his Commiſſion in ſome Reſpect, but many of the Relations and Poſterity, became more troubleſome to the Country than before.

A Commiſſion given to the Earl of *Argyle* to ſuppreſs and extirpate the *Clangregory*.

In *December* this Year, *George Hume* Earl of *Dunbar*, departed this Life, his

The Earl of *Dunbar*'s Death.

A. D. 1611. his Death was very much lamented, being a Nobleman of great Integrity, Conduct and Resolution in all his Actions.

After his Death, Sir *Robert Ker*, a Son of *Fernihersts*, (who had serv'd the King several Years in the Quality of a Page) was then so much in Favour, that he obtain'd the Treasurer's Office some Time after the Decease of the Earl of *Dunbar*; the Office being intrusted to Commissioners, but soon after it was bestow'd upon Sir *Robert*, who was at the same Time created Earl of *Somerset*: Also the Guard that Sir *William Cranston* commanded in the Borders, was given to Sir *Robert Ker* of *Ancrum*, Cousin to the new created Earl of *Somerset*, Sir *Gideon Murray* his Uncle by the Mother Side, was made Deputy in the Office of Treasury, and Sir *Thomas Hamilton* his Majesty's Advocate, who had married the Earl's Sister, first had the Office of Register, and afterwards made Secretary. All which Preferments were obtain'd by *Somerset*'s Interest with the King.

Sir *Robert Ker* made Treasurer, created Earl of *Somerset*.

His Relations preferr'd to Offices.

A. D. 1612. In the Beginning of the next Year, there happen'd several unhappy Quarrels between *Scots* and *Englishmen* at Court, and the Lord *Sanquhar* having hired one *Carlyle* to kill an *English* Fencer. The Murder was committed so near the Court, that the King and many of the Nobles were highly offended, but *Sanquhar* being arrested, tried, and convicted, he was publickly hang'd at *Westminster* Palace Gate; which Execution, as it deterr'd others from committing Insolence and Injuries, it gave such Satisfaction to the *English*, that they forbore any further Desires of Revenge.

An *English* Fencing Master kill'd by the Lord *Sanquhar*'s Orders.

For which he was executed.

This unhappy Man's Death was little taken Notice of by his Friends; for he had lived for some Time past very profusely, and having had a Son by a *Courtizan*, he had kept several Years at *Paris*, he had entail'd his Estate on him to defraud the lawful Heir. But the King taking the Matter into his Consideration, adjudg'd the Succession to the legittimate Heir, appointing a proper Subsistence for the Bastard Son, which he, in a short Time spent very extravagantly.

The Earl of *Eglington* at his Death leaves his Estate and Titles to Sir *Alexander Seaton*.

This Year the Earl of *Eglington* departed this Life, and having no Issue nor Heir-male to succeed him, he made a Disposition of his Lands and Honours to Sir *Alexander Seaton* his Cousin-german, upon Condition that he and his Children should take the Name, and use the Arms of *Montgomery*.

The King at first was offended at the Conveyance of the Honours, he being the Fountain of all Honour within his Kingdom, did inhibit Sir *Alexander* to use the Title of Lord or Earl, notwithstanding of the Disposition made to him. But Two Years after his Majesty was pleas'd to bestow the Honour upon him, so he succeeded to the Houour and Dignity formerly belonging to the Earls of *Eglington*.

Queen *Mary*'s Corps removed to *Westminster* Abbey.

In *September* this Year, the King out of Regard to the Memory of his Mother Queen *Mary*, remov'd her Corps from the Cathedral Church of *Peterborrow*, to *Henry* VII's. Chapel in *Westminster* Abbey, where he caus'd erect a most magnificent Monument, which, by far exceeds any other Monument in or about the Abbey; yea, even that of Queen *Elizabeth*, by whose Power and Policy she lost her Life.

The Elector Palatine arrives in *England*.

In the Month of *October*, *Frederick* Elector Palatine of the *Rhyne*, arriv'd at *London* to contract the Marriage, which had been before treated with the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's eldest Daughter. At which Time the Lord Chancellor receiv'd the King's Commission to call the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, upon the 23d Day of *October*; which accordingly met, and having passed several Acts in Favours of the Church, it was propos'd to grant a larger Subsidy than had been formerly granted to the King, upon Account of the propos'd Marriage; which accordingly was granted, tho' great Opposition was made, lest the same should be made a Precedent upon any other Occasion.

The Lord Chancellor Commissionor to the Parliament in *Scotland*.

A large Subsidy granted to the King, upon Account of the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*.

In the beginning of *November*, while the Court was in great Mirth about the intended Match, his Royal Highness, Prince *Henry*, who was then in the 19th Year of his Age, contracted Sickness; the first Symptom whereof appear'd in a Heaviness in his Forehead, of which he complain'd; for it seems in the Summer before, having learn'd to swim on the River at his

his Palace of *Richmond*, one Night after having eat a plentiful Supper, he went into the River, by which he got Cold, ſo that he afterwards complain'd of a Pain in his Head; for it is ſaid, that as he had accuſtom'd himſelf to violent Exerciſes, he often bled at the Noſe, which eas'd his Blood; but by that Cold the bleeding at the Noſe was ſtopt, and made him liable to that Head-ach, which increas'd by Degrees, and ſo alter'd his Conſtitution, that about the beginning of *October* he kept his Chamber, and began to conſult with his Phyſician Doctor *Hamond*; but then, having a Looſneſs for ſome Days, he ſeem'd to recover his Health; ſo that when the Prince *Palatine* came to *London*, the Prince, contrary to the Advice of his Phyſicians, came in to St. *James*'s, and in ſome Days after was ſo confident of his Health, that he undertook a Match at Tennis with the Prince *Palatine* and Count *Henry* of *Naſſaw*, who came at that time to *England* to viſit the Prince, he having heard great Fame of his dexterous Performance of all manly Exerciſes; but this Diverſion prov'd fatal to Prince *Henry*, for upon *Sunday* the 25th of *October*, he fell ſuddenly ill of a violent Head-ach; the next Day his Sickneſs encreaſing, Doctor *Mayren* preſcrib'd him a Gliſter, which gave him ſuch Eaſe, that he roſe, and was very cheerful, but look'd pale, and complain'd of great Heat; wherefore the Doctors *Mayren* and *Naiſmith* advis'd to let him Blood; but other Phyſicians differing from their Opinion, it was unhappily defer'd, till the eight Day, the Phyſicians bled the *Median* of his Right-arm; the Blood being about eight Ounces, was thin and putrid; but it gave him great Eaſe, ſo that he receiv'd the Viſits of the King, Queen, Prince *Palatine*, Lady *Elizabeth*, and ſeveral others of the Court, and was very cheerful; but the next Day his Sickneſs increas'd; whereupon a Conſultation of Phyſicians was held, who concluded his Diſeaſe to be a corrupt, putrid Fever, ſeated under the Liver, and gave over Hops of his Recovery; the Day after his Sickneſs increas'd with feveriſh Convulſions, and to eaſe his Pains, Cupping-Glaſes were apply'd. *A. D.* 1612.

The Cauſe of Prince *Henry*'s Sickneſs.

The King being inform'd of his Condition, he with exceſſive Grief remov'd to *Kenſington*-Houſe; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dean of *Rocheſter*, with the Prince's own Chaplains, continu'd with his Highneſs till *Friday* Night, the 6th of *November*, about eight a-Clock, when he expir'd, to the inexpreſſible Grief of the King, Queen, and all the Court.

His Death.

The next Day was appointed for emboweling his Corps, which ſtill appear'd in a moſt beautiful Form: The Phyſicians, Chirurgeons and Apothecaries having perform'd their Duty in emboweling and embalming of the Body, in Preſence of ſeveral Lords of the Council, they made a Declaration of what they had obſerv'd in the Operation, which they deliver'd under their Hands, as follows:

The Depoſitions of the Phyſicians and Chirurgeons, about the Condition of his inward Parts.

The Skin was no ways ſpotted with Blackneſs or pale Marks, nor no Appearance of any Contagion or peſtilential Venom. His Kidnies, Hips and Thighs, full of Redneſs. His Belly (by continual lying upon his Back) ſwell'd. The Stomach whole and handſome, without any Taint. The Liver mark'd with ſmall Spots above, and ſmall Lines below. The Gall Bladder, full of Wind. The Splen, blackiſh, fill'd with black Blood. The Kidneys, without Blemiſh. The Midriffe under the Film or Membrane, containing the Heart, ſpotted with black rediſh Colour, by reaſon of the Bruiſing. The Lungs, blackiſh, with Spots full of aduſt Blood, corrupt and thick, they concluded an extreme Heat. The Throat and Tongue, cover'd with Blackneſs, which was cleft and dry. The hinder Veins (Piamater) *ſwoln, Abundance of Blood, more than natural. The Subſtance of the Brain, fair and clear; the other Parts, by reaſon of the Convulſions, Reſoundings, Benumings, and of Fulneſs, choaking the natural Heat, and deſtroying the Vitals by their Malignity, have convey'd him to the Grave, without any Token or Accident of Poyſon.* Which Declaration was ſeal'd and ſubſcrib'd the 7th Day of *November*, by Doctor *Mayren*, Doctor *Atkins*, Doctor *Hammond*, Mr. *Palmore*, Mr. *Giffard*, and Mr. *Butler*.

His Corps was afterwards interr'd in *Weſtminſter* Abby. The Prince, in his Lifetime, was comely and tall, being 5 Foot 8 Inches; his Body ſtrong and

His Burial, and Character

A. D. 1612. and well proportion'd; his Countenance amiable and majeſtick; long face'd, broad Forehead, a piercing, grave Eye; affable and courteous; naturally modeſt and patient, ſlow to Anger, merciful and judicious, ſecret in Truſt, of undaunted Courage, ſo that he thought never any thing impoſſible for him to do, that could be perform'd by any other Perſon: He was never heard to ſwear an Oath; and it was remember'd at his Funeral Sermon, by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, That he being commended by one, for not replying with Paſſion in Gaming, or even anſwering to the Truth; made Anſwer, *That he knew no Game, that the Value to be won or loſt, could be worth an Oath.* To conclude, he was noted for all princely Virtues, and free from thoſe Vices which are common to Perſons of his Birth and Power; ſo that his Death was univerſally lamented.

The Lady *Elizabeth* married to the Elector.

Upon Account of the Prince's Death, the intended Marriage was put off to the Month of *February*, at which time the Marriage was celebrated with the utmoſt Magnificence and Solemnity.

The Crimes charg'd againſt the Earl of *Orkney*.

The Earl of *Orkney* being committed Priſoner, as before-mention'd, he was carried from *Edinburgh* to the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*; and, at the ſame time, Orders were given to examine the Complaints made againſt him; ſo that it was found, that he had fortify'd his Caſtles of *Kirkwall* and *Birſay*, and other Houſes of Strength; and that he had put Forces into them, to defend them, in Caſe of Neceſſity: But Sir *James Stewart*, being made Chamberlain, and his Son Captain *James*, Sheriff of *Orkney*, they rais'd a Party of arm'd Men, and took the Caſtles: whereupon the Earl ſent his Baſtard Son to re-take the Caſtles and Houſes, and no ſooner had he rais'd a Party, than he forc'd the two Caſtles to ſurrender to him; and in *Birſay*, having routed *Bernard Stewart* the Keeper, he plac'd a Garriſon therein of about 30 Men. The King's Deputy Lieutenant hearing what was done, he went and ſummon'd them, in his Majeſty's Name, to ſurrender: But they deſpiſing his Summons, and he not able to force them, he return'd to *Kirkwall*, to defend the Caſtle, but was purſu'd by the Rebels, who drove him out, and took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle.

The Earl of *Caithneſs* ſuppreſſes the Rebellion of *Orkney*.

To ſuppreſs this Rebellion, the Earl of *Caithneſs* had the King's Commiſſion of Lieutenancy, and raiſing a Party of his Vaſſals and Tenants in the Shire of *Caithneſs*, to the Number of 500, he went over to *Orkney*, and purſu'd the Rebels, who fled to the Caſtles for Refuge: But the Earl bringing ſome Cannon to the Caſtle of *Kirkwall*, and having beaten down a Part of the Wall, the Rebels deliver'd up their Leaders, and were forc'd to yield themſelves at Diſcretion, a few Days after. The Perſons taken, were *Robert Stewart*, the Earl of *Orkney*'s Baſtard Son; *Archibald Murray*, *Andrew Martin*, *Alexander Leggat*, and *Thomas King*, Servants to the Earl, who were all tranſported to *Edinburgh*, where being convicted by a Jury, were hang'd at the Market Croſs.

The Rebels taken and executed.

1613. The Earl of *Orkney* brought to his Trial.

The Earl of *Orkney* being Priſoner in *Dunbarton*, was brought again to *Edinburgh*, and in *February* put to a Trial before the Lords of Juſticiary, with whom there ſat the Earl of *Dumfermling*, Lord Chancellor; the Lord *Binny*, Secretary; Sir *John Preſton*, Preſident; Sir *Gideon Murray*, Treaſurer Deputy; Sir *Richard Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*, Lord Juſtice Clerk, Sir *Alexander Hay*, Clerk-Regiſter, Sir *William Livingſton* of *Kilſyth*, and Sir *Alexander Drummond* of *Meddup*, Senators of the College of Juſtice; before whom he was indicted of having enter'd into a Rebellion againſt the King, by having ſurpriz'd, taken and fortify'd the Caſtles of *Briſay* and *Kirkwall*, which, with other treaſonable Practices, were prov'd before the Court; whereupon the Aſſize, conſiſting of the Earls of *Glencairn*, *Winton*, *Perth*, *Lothian* and *Tullibardin*, the Lords *Scoon*, *Sanquhar*, *Herris*, *Torphichan*, *Semple*, *Kilmares*, *John Grant*, of That-ilk, Sir *Patrick Hepburn* of *Waughton*, *Robert Arnot* of *Fernay*, Sir *Henry Lindſay* of *Kinfauns*, who being ſworn, retir'd by themſelves for ſome Space, and returning to the Court, the Earl of *Glencairn* declar'd him guilty of Rebellion, and of the whole Articles of the Indictment; whereupon Sentence was given againſt him to be beheaded, and his

his Lands and Goods confiſcated to the King: Which Sentence accordingly was executed, the 6th Day of *February*, upon the Caſtle-hill of *Edinburgh*. *A. D.* 1614.

The Earl of *Orkney* beheaded.

Thus ended *Patrick* Earl of *Orkney*, Son to *Robert Stewart*, Baſtard Son of King *James* V. Which *Robert* was, by his Father, provided of the Abbacy of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, which he enjoy'd ſeveral Years; but upon the Forfeiture of the Earl of *Bothwell*, who was created Duke of *Orkney*, this *Robert* chang'd the Abbacy of *Holy-rood-Houſe* for the Biſhoprick of *Orkney*, and ſo became Lord of thoſe Iſles.

About the latter End of this Year, one *John Ogilvy* a Jeſuit, coming to *Glaſgow*, and reſiding for ſome time among the *Roman* Catholicks in that Part, he was taken notice of by ſome of the Miniſters, who were offended at the Liberty he had taken upon ſome Occaſions; to which he was encourag'd by what he had heard, that the King had made a ſolemn Promiſe, *Never to hang a Prieſt for his Religion.* Yet upon Accuſation of promoting his Religion contrary to the Laws, he was apprehended, try'd, and ſentenc'd to be hang'd; which was executed the ſame Day of his Trial.

John Ogilvy executed.

In the beginning of this Year Informations were given againſt ſeveral others, alledg'd to be of the ſame Society, and ſome of them were apprehended, but nothing being prov'd againſt them, they were ſet at Liberty. 1615.

An Account of Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Murder.

About this Time, at the Court of *England*, it was diſcover'd, that Sir *Thomas Overbury* had been poyſon'd by the Counteſs of *Somerſet*; for it ſeems, when ſhe had been devorc'd from her former Husband the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Somerſet*, then in great Favour with the King, fell in Love with her, at which time Sir *Thomas Overbury* being familiar with *Somerſet*, uſed many Arguments to diſſuade him from marrying the Lady, which the Earl ſo reſented, that he us'd means to have Sir *Thomas* committed to the Tower, where whilſt he remain'd Priſoner, *Somerſet* ſent to acquaint the Lady (whom he had then reſolv'd to marry) what Sir *Thomas* had ſaid againſt her Reputation, which Information incens'd her ſo againſt him, that ſhe ſtudied Revenge, and hir'd his Keeper to give him Poyſon, whereof he died ſoon after: But the Murder was not diſcover'd till ſome Years after, that the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, by a ſtrange Accident, found it out, and inform'd the King; whereupon the Earl of *Somerſet*, his Lady, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, were committed Priſoners; as alſo *Welton*, Sir *Thomas*'s Keeper, and a Man nam'd *Francklin*, and a Woman nam'd *Turner*, who had prepar'd the Poyſon; which three being examin'd, confeſs'd every Thing, and were afterwards executed at *Tyburn*. The Lieutenant, who had coniv'd at what they had done, was alſo executed, and from their Confeſſions, the Earl and his Lady were arraign'd, convicted, and ſentenc'd to be hang'd, but by the King's Clemency they were at firſt repriev'd, and their Lives afterwards ſpar'd.

In the beginning of this Year the Miniſters began again to quarrel with the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, alledging he had not perform'd his Promiſes in giving Satisfaction to them according to his former Agreement; whereupon they obtain'd a Warrant from the Council, and apprehended, and committed him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; but, in a few Days after, he was ſet at Liberty, by the Lord Chancellor's Warrant: Whereupon great Complaints were repreſented to the King againſt the Marquiſs and the Lord Chancellor; ſo that when the Marquiſs intended to have waited upon the King at Court, he was again remanded to his former Priſon. Mean time the Chancellor ſent a Repreſantation to the King, complaining of the Turbulency and Inſolence of the Miniſters; and, at the ſame time, the Marquiſs obtain'd Leave to proceed on his Journey to Court, offering what Satisfaction the King Pleas'd to propoſe to him: Upon which Offer the King permitted him to come to Court, and directed him to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with whom he had a Conference, and was abſolv'd from the Sentence of Excommunication, at *Lambeth* Chapel. 1616.

The Miniſters raiſe new Complaints againſt the Marquiſs of *Huntly*.

A. D. 1616. Againſt this Abſolution the Miniſters made ſeveral Objections, and exclaim'd againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for having encroach'd on the Privileges of the Church of *Scotland*; which being known to the King, he wrote a long Letter to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, declaring, that what the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had done, was by his ſpecial Order, and no ways intended as a Prejudice or Encroachment on the Freedom and Privileges of the Church of *Scotland*.

This Letter being produc'd before the General Aſſembly, they were ſtill offended; till the Marquiſs of *Huntly* was advis'd to ſupplicate the Aſſembly, to have himſelf abſolv'd according to the Form of the Church of *Scotland*, which accordingly was done; and in that Aſſembly, upon the 13th Day of *Auguſt*, he was again abſolv'd before the Earl of *Mountroſe*, the King's Commiſſioner.

The King writes to the Council of his coming to *Scotland*.

About this time the Council receiv'd a Letter, informing them of the King's Reſolution to viſit *Scotland*; with Orders to make Proviſion for the Reception and Entertainment of ſuch *Engliſh* Noblemen and others as were to accompany him in the Journey; and, at the ſame time, Orders were given to repair the King's Chapel, ſo that Carpenters being employ'd, they repair'd all things: But ſome of them having brought with them from *England*, the Pictures or Effigies of the twelve Apoſtles, it gave Occaſion to ſeveral Reports and Murmurings among the Common-people, who alledg'd, that the King intended to introduce Popery. Whereupon the King wrote a

1617. ſecond Letter, declaring the Contrary, that he intended no Alteration in the Church. Which Letter was dated at *Whitehall*, the 13th of *March*, 1617.

At that time the King was very much importun'd to defer his Journey till the next Year; but he being once reſolv'd, he ſet out from *London*, and came

The King ſets forward to *Scotland*.

to *Berwick* on the 2d Day of *May*, where he was met by the Council and ſeveral Nobility of *Scotland*, with their Attendance; and was receiv'd by the Earl of *Hume*, hereditary Sheriff of the *Merſs*, with three thouſand Horſemen, all well arm'd.

Of the *Engliſh* Nobility there were with his Majeſty, the Marquiſs of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Rutland*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, *Montgomery*, and *Carliſle*, with a great Number of Gentlemen and Perſons of inferior Rank.

When his Majeſty enter'd the *Scots* Bounds, he alighted from his Horſe, and receiv'd all the Nobility of *Scotland*, as alſo welcom'd the *Engliſh* Nobility into *Scotland*; and remounting his Horſe, he went to *Dunglaſs*, the Earl of *Hume*'s Houſe; from which he went the next Day to *Seaton*, the Earl of *Winton*'s Houſe; the Day after he enter'd *Edinburgh*, at the Weſt Port, where

He arrives at *Edinburgh*.

the Lord Provoſt receiv'd his Majeſty, and after making an eloquent Oration,

The City's Preſent to his Majeſty.

preſented a large Gold Baſon, with a thouſand Pieces of Gold therein, the Streets being lin'd both Sides with the Train'd Bands, all clad in Sattin, with Partiſans in their Hands. The King march'd with his Retinue through the Street to St. *Giles*'s Church, where he heard a Sermon preach'd by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s; after which he went towards the Abby of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, and at St. *John*'s Croſs in the Canongate, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *John Hay*, the Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*.

The Parliament being call'd to meet at *Edinburgh* the 17th of *May*, was

The Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*.

prorogu'd to the 13th of *June*, on which Day his Majeſty, attended with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Commiſſioners of Shires and Burghs, went in State, from the Royal Palace to the Parliament Houſe. At the firſt ſitting of the Parliament, the King complain'd of ſeveral Diſorders in the Church, and propos'd certain Regulations; againſt which the Miniſters not only objected, but likewiſe proteſted; and induſtriouſly rais'd Reports, that the King intended to bring the Church of *Scotland* to a Conformity with that of *England*; and upon that Occaſion, ſeveral of the Miniſters, in their Sermons, exclaim'd againſt the Rites of the Church of *England*, and in their Prayers earneſtly beſeech'd GOD to preſerve *Scotland* from ſuch Doctrine.

Which

Which being reported to the King by ſome of the *Engliſh* Clergymen, who had heard the Miniſters, his Majeſty was highly offended, and gave Orders to the Biſhops to meet him at St. *Andrew*'s the 10th of *July*, where he intended to call the principal Miniſters, to know his Mind about what had happen'd. *A. D.* 1617.

But before the riſing of the Parliament, the Miniſters had given in a Proteſtation againſt any Alterations to be made in their Forms of Doctrine and Diſcipline; which Proteſtation the King order'd to be reſerv'd to the meeting at St. *Andrew*'s. At the ſame time his Majeſty having made a Speech, recommending the Execution of the Laws, to the Council, Judges, and inferior Magiſtrates, he diſſolv'd that Parliament, taking a moſt kind Farewel of the three Eſtates.

Some Days after his Majeſty ſet out from *Edinburgh* to *Linlithgow*, from thence to *Stirling*, where he was royally entertain'd by the Earl of *Marr*. From *Stirling* he went to *Dumfermling*, *Faukland*, and *Scoon*, and croſſing *Tay*, went to St. *Andrew*'s, where he was royally entertain'd by the Archbiſhop. The King's Progreſs over the Country.

And upon the Day appointed, there aſſembled with the Biſhops 36 Miniſters, and being conveen'd in the Chapel of the Caſtle, the King made a Speech to them, wherein he complain'd of their Misbehaviour and unjuſt Reflections on the Church of *England*; at the ſame time declaring, that he intended no Alteration in their Religion, but only that he had deſir'd a few Articles to be propos'd for the yearly Commemoration of the Nativity, Paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of our SAVIOUR, and the Deſcent of the *Holy Spirit*; for the reverend Adminiſtration of the holy Supper; for the private Uſe of both Sacraments, in urgent and neceſſary Caſes; and a fourth Article, for catechiſing and confirming young Children by the Biſhops; therefore deſir'd to know what Scruples and Objections they made againſt theſe Articles. To which he added a Declaration of his ſincere Regard for them and their Conſtitution; and that he would never offer or impoſe any Alteration inconſiſtent with Reaſon. The Aſſembly meet at St. *Andrew*'s. The King's Speech to them.

The King having ended his Speech, the Miniſters fell on their Knees, beſeeching his Majeſty to believe them his obedient Subjects, and to permit them to confer together for a ſhort Space, that they would return an unanimous Anſwer. Their Requeſt being granted, they went to the Pariſh Church, and after two Hours return'd, and entreated the King to call a General Aſſembly, wherein theſe Articles might be propos'd, and receiv'd with general Conſent. But the King ſeem'd unwilling to conſent to the calling of an Aſſembly, unleſs they could give Aſſurance that the above-mention'd Articles, and any other reaſonable Demand, propos'd by his Majeſty, ſhould be approv'd, and have their general Conſent. Whereupon Mr. *Patrick Galloway* propos'd to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, to anſwer for the Miniſters. But the Archbiſhop knowing their Behaviour upon other Occaſions, refus'd. Then ſaid Mr. *Patrick*, *If your Majeſty will truſt me, I will be bound for the Miniſters.* The King anſwer'd, that he would truſt him. So it was agreed, that an Aſſembly ſhould meet at St. *Andrew*'s, the 25th Day of *November* after.

The King leaving St. *Andrew*'s, return'd to *Stirling*; from whence he went to *Glaſgow*, where he was receiv'd by the Lord Provoſt of the City; and after ſome Days ſtay there, he went to *Lochlowmount*, where he hunted and ſlew many large red Deer; and croſing the River *Clyde*, he came to *Paiſly*, where he was entertain'd by the Earl of *Abercorn*. The King's Journey from St. *Andrew*'s towards *England*.

From thence he went to *Hamilton* Palace, where he was entertain'd with the utmoſt Magnificence. From *Hamilton* his Majeſty went by *Sanquhar* to *Dumfrees*, where he ſtaid ſome Days; and upon the 5th of *Auguſt* he croſſed the River of *Eſk*, and went to *Carliſle*, where he ſtaid for ſome Days; then croſſing through *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Cheſhire*, he arrived at *London*.

A. D. 1617.

When the Time of the Aſſembly came, the Earl of *Haddington* and Viſcount *Stormont* were ſent down Commiſſioners, and being met, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s made an Exhortation, narating the Proceedings of the Church from the Reformation to that Time; and declar'd, *That the greateſt Troubles and Grievances of the Church, were owing to the imprudent Conduct and Violence of the Miniſters, who, by ſtudying to pleaſe and obtain the Favour of ill diſpoſed People, had provoked his Majeſty to juſt Anger. That ſince his Majeſty had ſo very often pardoned the greateſt of Crimes committed by them, when with Juſtice he might have puniſh'd them. That therefore his continual Indulgence of their unruly Diſpoſitions ought to oblige them to better Behaviour, and to prefer the Favonr of ſo good a King to the vain Applauſe of factious Perſons.*

The Aſſembly meet at St. *Andrew*'s.

The Archbiſhops Exhortation to the Miniſters.

The firſt Two Days of this Aſſembly, the Miniſters deſir'd to conſider of the before mention'd Articles, whereabout ſome Diſputes ariſing, the Miniſters made a Motion to delay giving their Conſent, till the next Aſſembly; notwithſtanding of their Promiſes and Surety given to the King to receive thoſe Articles, upon Condition his Majeſty would conſent to the preſent Aſſembly: ſo that upon this Motion of a further Delay, his Majeſty's Commiſſioners declar'd, how offenſive that Requeſt would be to his Majeſty; as alſo the Archbiſhop, and other Biſhops urged them, to perform their Promiſes in conſenting to thoſe moſt reaſonable Articles; but could not prevail with the Miniſters to alter their Reſolutions. Mean Time the King being informed by the Commiſſioners, he wrote a Letter to the Aſſembly, directed to the Two Archbiſhops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſgow*, wherein he declar'd his Diſpleaſure at the Proceedings of the Aſſembly, and concluded the Letter in theſe Words, "It is our Pleaſure, and we command you, (as you will a-"bide our higheſt Diſpleaſure) that one of you by your Deputy in St. *Andrew*'s, and one of you in *Edinburgh*, and the other of you in *Glaſgow*, "keep *Chriſtmas* Day preciſely, your ſelves preaching, and chuſing your "Texts according to the Time. And likewiſe that ye diſcharge all Modifi-"cations of Stipends for this Year, to any Miniſter whatſoever, ſuch ex-"cepted as have teſtified their Affection to our Service at this Time, by fur-"thering of their Power, in the Acceptation of the Articles propos'd; in theſe "Premiſſes we will you not to fail, and bid you farewell."

The King's Letter to the Aſſembly.

In the Poſtſcritpt to this Letter his Majeſty ſaid, "So many Biſhops as "you can get warn'd in Time to preach on *Chriſtmas* Day, urge them to "it. Thus much in Haſte for this Time, in two or three Days you ſhall "hear further from us." After which his Majeſty wrote with his own Hand, "Since your *Scotiſh* Church hath ſo far contemn'd my Clemency, "they ſhall now find what it is to draw the Anger of a King upon them."

Poſtſcript to the Letter.

In Five Days after another Letter came from the King, directed only to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, as follows.

A Second Letter to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s.

"After we had commanded the Diſpatch of our Letter, we received an "Extract concluded (we know not how) in your Aſſembly, and ſubſcrib'd "by the Clerk thereof; the one concerning private Communion, and the "other concerning the ſame to be uſed at the receiving the holy Sacrament, "both to be hedg'd and conceiv'd in ſo ridiculous a Manner; as beſides that "of the whole Articles propon'd, theſe were the leaſt neceſſary to have been "urg'd and haſtned, the ſcornful Condition and Form of their Grant, makes "me juſtly wiſh that they had been refuſed with the reſt: For in the firſt, "concerning the Communion allow'd to ſick Perſons, beſides the Number "required to receive with ſuch Patients, and a neceſſary tying them upon "Oath to declare that they truly think not to recover; but to die of that "Diſeaſe, they are yet further hedg'd in with a Neceſſity to receive the Sa-"crament (in caſe aforeſaid to be miniſtred unto them) in a convenient "Room; which, what it importeth we cannot gueſs, ſeeing no Room can "be ſo convenient for a ſick Man (ſworn to die) as his Bed, and that it "were injurious and inhumane from thence in any Caſe to tranſport him,

"were

" were the Room never ſo neat and handſome, to which they ſhould carry " him." A. D. 1617.

" And as to that other Act, ordaining the Miniſter himſelf to give the E- " lements in the Celebration, out of his own Hand, to every one of the Com- " municants; and that he may perform this the more commodiouſly, by the " Advice of the Magiſtrates and honeſt Men of his Seſſion, to prepare a " Table, at which the ſame may be conveniently miniſtred; truly in this " we muſt ſay, that the Miniſters Eaſe, and commodious ſitting on his Tail " hath been more look'd to, than that kneeling, which, for Reverence, we " directly requir'd to be enjoyn'd to the Receivers of ſo divine a Sacrament: " Neither can we conceive, what ſhould be meant by that Table, unleſs they " mean to make a round Table, (as did the Jews) to ſit and receive it. In " Concluſion, ſeeing either we and this Church here muſt be held idolatrous " in this Point of kneeling, or they reputed rebellious Knaves in refuſing the " ſame; and that the Two foreſaid Acts are conceiv'd ſo ſcornfully, and ſo " far from our Meaning; it is our Pleaſure, that the ſame be altogether ſup- " preſs'd, and that no Effect follow thereupon, ſo we bid you farewell. " *New Market* the 11th *December*, 1617."

With theſe Letters came an Order to the Privy Council, forbidding the Payments of any Stipends, to ſuch of the Miniſters as had refuſed their Conſent to the ſaid Articles, till they did comply. Which Order being intimated to the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, who were the chief Oppoſers, they hereupon requeſted the Archbiſhop to accept of their Obedience of preaching on *Chriſtmas* Day, and requeſted the Archbiſhop to interceed with the King, to mitigate the other Articles, which the Archbiſhop accordingly did; and the King readily comply'd to let them have their Stipends. And at the ſame Time the further Conſideration of the Articles was referr'd to particular Synods.

The Council forbid to pay Stipends to ſuch Miniſters as refuſe the Articles.

But the Order is recall'd at the Archbiſhop's Requeſt.

One Mr. *Archibald Sympſon*, who was Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, petition'd the Lords of the Council for his Liberty, promiſing Obedience to his Majeſty's Orders, and profeſſing great Sorrow for what he had done, eſpecially in reflecting on the Church of *England*: Whereupon he was brought before the Council, and made an ample Confeſſion of what he had done in Conjunction with the other Miniſters; which Confeſſion he having ſubſcribed, was permitted to return to his Pariſh of *Dalkeith*, where in a few Days, (having been reprov'd by ſome of his Brethren) he wrote and diſpers'd an Apology for this Confeſſion, for which he declar'd his Repentance, concluding, *That he hop'd to be like* Peter, *and never to betray the* LORD's *Cauſe again like* Judas. His Behaviour being approv'd and applauded by ſeveral other Miniſters, the Biſhops having Notice thereof, conveen'd at *Edinburgh* in *January*, and wrote to the King, intreating his Majeſty to grant a Warrant to proceed in the Commiſſion of the Articles, aſſuring him to endeavour in their Synods to induce the Miniſters to conſent to the Articles. In Anſwer to which, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s receiv'd his Majeſty's Directions, that the Commiſſioners for Stipends ſhould meet, and make proper Proviſions for Churches; and in the mean Time, that he and the reſt of the Biſhops ſhould obſerve the preſcrib'd Feſtivals till the Meeting of the Synods.

Mr. *Archibald Sympſon* his Behaviour.

The Synods meeting, and having concluded the Articles, the Biſhops joyn'd in a Petition to the King, for meeting in a General Aſſembly, and their Requeſt being granted, they were appointed to meet at *Perth*, the 25th Day of *Auguſt*. The Earl of *Haddington*, Lords *Carnegy* and *Scoon*, were appointed his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, to whom the King directed a Letter by the Dean of *Winchester*, who was appointed to ſit with them, and obſerve the Proceedings of the Aſſembly. In this Letter the King entreated the Miniſters in a moſt familiar and kind Manner, to lay aſide all Objections againſt the reaſonable Articles he had propos'd, promiſing to forget all paſt Offences, and to protect them in all their Privileges, and to promote their Intereſt to the utmoſt of his Power, concluding with earneſt Prayers to GOD to direct them in ſuch Things as might teſtifie their Zeal for the Goſpel, and Obedi-

A General Aſſembly at *Perth*.

The King writes to the Aſſembly.

A. D. 1618. ence to him their Sovereign. This Letter was dated at *Theobalds*, the 26th of *July* 1718.

The Aſſembly being met, and the Letter read once and again, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s adviſed the Miniſters to conſider the Danger they might expoſe the Church and themſelves to; whereupon a ſelect Number of the Miniſters were appointed to conſult about them, and they at laſt concluded the following Articles.

Article for kneeling at the Sacrament.

" 1. Seeing we are commanded by GOD himſelf, that when we come to " worſhip him we fall down and kneel before the LORD our Maker; and " conſidering withal that there is no Part of divine Worſhip more heavenly " and ſpiritual, than is the holy receiving of the bleſſed Body and Blood of " our LORD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, like as the moſt humble and " reverent Geſture of our Body in our Meditation, and the lifting up of our " Hearts, beſt becometh ſo divine and Sacred an Action; therefore notwith- " ſtanding that our Church hath uſed, ſince the Reformation of Religion, " to celebrate the holy Communion to the People ſitting, by Reaſon of the " great Uſe of kneeling, uſed in the idolatrous Worſhip of the Sacrament by " the Papiſts; yet ſeeing all Memory of by-paſt Superſtition is paſt, in Re- " verence of GOD, and in due Regard of ſo divine a Myſtery, and in Re- " membrance of ſo myſtical an Union as we are made Partakers of, the As- " ſembly thinketh good, that the bleſſed Sacrament be celebrated hereafter " meekly and reverently upon their Knees.

Private Communion.

" 2. If any good Chriſtian viſited with long Sickneſs, and known to the " Paſtor, by Reaſon of his preſent Infirmity, be unable to reſort to the Church " for receiving the holy Communion; or being ſick, ſhall declare to the Pa- " ſtor upon his Conſcience, that he thinks his Sickneſs to be deadly, and ſhall " earneſtly deſire to receive the ſame in his Houſe, the Miniſter ſhall not " deny him ſo great a Comfort, lawful Warning being given to him the " Night before; and that there be Three or Four of good Religion and Con- " verſation, free of all lawful Impediments, preſent with the ſick Perſon to " communicate with him, who muſt alſo provide a convenient Place in his " Houſe, and all Things neceſſary, for the reverent Adminiſtration thereof, " according to the Order preſcrib'd in the Church.

Private Baptiſm.

" 3. And the Miniſter ſhall often admoniſh the People, that they defer " not the Baptiſm of Infants any longer than the next Lord's Day after the " Child be born, unleſs upon a great and reaſonable Cauſe declar'd to the " Miniſter, and by him approv'd, the ſame be continu'd: As alſo they ſhall " warn them, that without great Cauſe they procure not their Children to " be baptiz'd at home in their Houſes; but when great Need ſhall compel " them to baptize in private Houſes, (in which Caſe the Miniſter ſhall not " refuſe to do it, upon the Knowledge of the great Need, and being time- " ouſly requir'd thereto) then Baptiſm ſhall be adminiſtred after the ſame " Form, as it ſhould have been in the Congregation; and the Miniſter ſhall " the next Lord's Day after any ſuch private Baptiſm, declare in the Church, " that the Infant was ſo baptiz'd, and therefore ought to be receiv'd as one " of the true Flock of CHRIST's Fold.

Confirmation of Children.

" 4. Foraſmuch as one of the ſpecial Means for ſtaying the Increaſe of Po- " pery, and ſettling of true Religion in the Hearts of People is, that a ſpeci- " al Care be taken of young Children their Education, and how they are ca- " techized; which in Time of the primitive Church moſt carefully was at- " tended, as being moſt profitable to cauſe young Children in their tender " Years drink in the Knowledge of GOD and his Religion, but is now al- " together neglected, in reſpect of the great Abuſe and Errors which crept " into the Popiſh Church, by making thereof a Sacrament of Confirmation; " therefore that all Superſtitions built thereupon may be reſcinded, and that " the Matter it ſelf, being moſt neceſſary for the Education of Youth, may " be reduc'd to the primitive Integrity; it is thought good that the Mini- " ſter in every Pariſh ſhould catechize all young Children of Eight Years of " Age, and ſee that they have the Knowldge, and be able to make Rehearſal

" of

" of the LORD's Prayer, Belief and Ten Commandments; with An- A. D.
" ſwers to the Queſtions of the ſmall Catechiſm us'd in our Church: And 1618.
" that every Biſhop in his Viſitation ſhall cenſure the Miniſter who ſhall
" be remiſs therein. And the ſaid Biſhop ſhall cauſe the ſaid Children to be
" preſented before them, and bleſs them with Prayer for the Increaſe of their
" Knowledge, and the Continuance of GOD's heavenly Graces with every
" one of them.

" 5. As we abhor the ſuperſtitious Obſervation of Feſtival-Days by the Obſervation of Feſtivals.
" Papiſts, and deteſt all licentious, profane Abuſes thereof, by the common
" ſort of Profeſſors; ſo we think, that the ineſtimable Benefits receiv'd
" from GOD by our LORD JESUS CHRIST, his Birth, Paſſion,
" Reſurrection, Aſſention, and ſending down of the *Holy Ghoſt*, were
" commendably and godly, remember'd at certain particular Days and
" Times, by the whole Church of the World, and may alſo be now: There-
" fore the Aſſembly admitted, that every Miniſter ſhall, upon theſe Days,
" have the Commemoration of the foreſaid ineſtimable Benefits, and make
" choice of ſeveral, and penitent Texts of Scripture, and frame their Doct-
" rine and Exhortation thereto; and rebuke all ſuperſtitious Obſervation, and
" licentious Profanation thereof.

Theſe Articles being concluded, Orders were given to intimate the ſame in all Pariſh Churches throughout the Kingdom, and the Miniſters enjoin'd to inform their Hearers of the Lawfulneſs thereof, and exhort them to Obedience. But as many of them had conſented with great Reluctancy, they neglected the Direction; which Negligence or Diſobedience, in a great meaſure contributed to the great Diſtractions that enſu'd; eſpecially among the People of *Edinburgh*, who had liv'd ſo long in the Profeſſion of the Presbyterian Government, that they could not believe their Miniſters would comply with the Ceremonies and ſuperſtitious Worſhip (as they term'd thoſe Articles) of the Church of *England*; and when they found the Miniſters comply, they withdrew themſelves in great Numbers, to hear and communicate with ſuch of the Miniſters as they found to take Notice of the Articles. Mean time the King being advertis'd that the Articles were concluded, order'd the ſame to be proclaim'd at the Market Croſſes of the Cities and Burghs, commanding all his Subjects to obey and conform themſelves under the Pain of his higheſt Diſpleaſure.

At this time the King was inform'd, that the Earl of *Argyle* (who had Leave the Year before to go over to the *Spaw*-wells in *Germany*, upon Account of his Infirmity) had turn'd to the Church of *Rome*; whereupon he had Orders to return home, and to appear before the Council in 60 Days after; but failing of the Time appointed, he was denounc'd Rebel, and a Proceſs of Forfeiture intended againſt him. By this means he loſt the King's Favour, and continu'd abroad during his Reign; but ſome Years after, made up his Peace, and return'd home. The Earl of *Argyle* turns to the Church of *Rome*.

Towards the latter end of this Year Queen *Anne* died of a lingring Sickneſs. She was a Princeſs indued with great Humanity and other Royal Virtues, and behav'd herſelf, during her Lifetime, with the utmoſt Regard and Affection to the King her Husband and Children, whoſe Pleaſure and welfare was her conſtant Study. She, upon all Occaſions, teſtify'd great Reſpect to his Subjects, without meddling with any Affairs of State. She was Siſter to the King of *Denmark*, who, in Teſtimony of his Reſpect and brotherly Affection, came twice to viſit her in *England*. She was interr'd in *Henry* VIIth's Chapel, in *Weſtminſter* Abby. Queen *Anne*'s Death.

In the Year 1619. it is ſaid the King made ſome ſecret Propoſals to the Biſhops of *Scotland*, to introduce the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, or at leaſt, that they ſhould form a Liturgy agreeable to that of *England*: Which Propoſals the Biſhops reliſh'd, yet conſidering with what Difficulty they had prevail'd on the Miniſters to comply with the Articles, they adviſ'd the King to delay that Deſign for ſome Time. 'Tis believ'd the Biſhops were induc'd to adviſe the Delay upon Account, that about that Time the Synod 1619. The King propoſeth to introduce the Liturgy of the Church of *England* to *Scotland*. But in vain.

A. D. 1619. of *Dordricht* in *Holland*, having condemn'd five Articles of the *Armenian* Doctrine, ſome of the diſſafected Miniſters in *Scotland* had induſtriouſly inſinuated among the vulgar Sort, in ſeveral Parts of the Nation, That ſuch a Body of learn'd Divines (meaning the Synod of *Dordricht*) had condemn'd the late five Articles of *Perth*: Which Alegation they not only ſupported with Words, but alſo diſpers'd ſeveral Libels and Pamphlets againſt thoſe Articles; which were anſwer'd by the Biſhops, eſpecially the Biſhop of *Galloway*, who about that Time died, and was ſucceeded by Mr. *Andrew Lamb*.

Strife between the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of *Edinburgh*.

About the ſame time great Numbers of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* having abſented from their Pariſh Churches, as before-mention'd, it occaſion'd great Strife between the Magiſtrates and Miniſters, who accus'd one another of connivance at the People's Behaviour; which Contention at laſt was repreſented to the King, The Miniſters complaining of being ill us'd for their Obedience to the Articles: On the other Hand, the Magiſtrates, by their Commiſſioner, inform'd the King, That the Miniſters were the Cauſe of the Peoples Diſobedience, ſome of them having openly preach'd againſt the Articles; and all of them declar'd, that they were concluded againſt their Inclinations. The Trial of their Complaints the King referr'd to his Secretary, and to the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſgow*; who having enquir'd into the Matter, found Faults on both Sides, and adviſ'd them to a good Agreement, and to lay aſide all future Contention, and to live in Obedience to his Majeſty and the Laws of the Nation.

They complain to the King.

1620. In the beginning of the Year 1620. the Prince *Palatine* being ſuddenly elected King of *Bohemia*, the Emperor being offended at his Election, rais'd an Army againſt the Prince, and invaded *Bohemia*, as alſo the *Palatinate*; whereupon the new elected King apply'd to King *James*, his Father-in-Law, for Aſſiſtance againſt the Emperor. And, in Conſideration of the great Danger he and his Family were expos'd to, the King intended to ſend Supply of Money and Forces to defend his Daughter and Grandchildren in the Poſſeſſion of their Patrimony. Upon which Occaſion the King employ'd ſome of his Council to deal with the Noblemen, the Members of Seſſion, and the Town of *Edinburgh* to grant a Contribution; which he conſider'd would induce the reſt of his Subjects to follow their Example. Upon this Meſſage the Nobility meeting at *Edinburgh*, in *November*, they expreſt great Forwardneſs to ſatisfy the King's Deſire; yet fearing the Contributions would prove too little, they adviſ'd the Council rather to call a Parliament, to lay a Tax on all the Nation, according to the Eſtate and Subſtance of every Subject; but this being ſignify'd to the King, he deny'd to impoſe the Tax, conſidering as it would be a great Burden to the common and labouring People, their Outcries might produce evil Conſequences; therefore again renew'd his Requeſt to the Noblemen and others, to ſhew their Liberality.

1620. Prince *Palatine* elected King of *Bohemia*.

The Conſequence of his Election.

The King deals with the Nobility and others of *Scotland* for a Supply of Money.

1621. This ſecond Meſſage occaſion'd a meeting in *January* next Year, wherein the Nobility offering to contribute according to their Abilities, but as ſeveral of their Rank were Minors, and others abroad in their Travels, they were at a Loſs to find who ſhould undertake for them. The Town of *Edinburgh* would not come to a Reſolution, without the Concurrence of the other Cities and Boroughs; and the Members of the Seſſion would not contribute without the Nobility and Magiſtrates: Of which Difficulties the Council inform'd the King, by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, who took Journey to *England*, and obtain'd his Majeſty's Warrant for calling a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, the firſt of *June*, which was prorogued to the 23d of *July* thereafter: At which time *James* Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, as his Majeſty's Commiſſioner conveen'd the Eſtates, and without any Contradiction, the Subſidy deſir'd was granted. After which the five Articles lately concluded, were ratify'd: And at the ſame time, the Commiſſioner finding ſome turbulent Miniſters had endeavour'd to impede the Ratification, he caus'd all Miniſters (the ordinary Preachers excepted) to be diſcharg'd out of the Town; and

A Parliament appointed to meet upon that Occaſion.

two

two of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* having made ſome Diſturbance at the diſcharging of their Brethren, he ſent them Priſoners to *Dunbarton*. Several other good Acts and Statutes were made in this Parliament, as may be ſeen in the printed Acts: Whereby the Commiſſioners Judgment, Prudence, and Fidelity to the King, was generally applauded. Yet ſome of the Diſcontented Miniſters were ſo malicious to take Notice, that as great Rains, with Thunder and Lightning, did fall the laſt Day of the Parliament, they did interpret it to be a viſible Sign of GOD's Anger, for ratifying the Articles at *Perth*. *A. D.* 1621.

After this the King wrote to the Biſhops and the Council, That all the Members of the Privy Council and Seſſion, or any bearing Office in the Government, ſhould forthwith conform themſelves to theſe Articles; and that none ſhould bear Office in any Burgh, nor be choſen Sheriff Deputy or Clerk, but ſuch as would conform themſelves in all Points. Which Letter was dated at *Hampton*, the 29th of *September*, 1621. The King's Orders to the Council of Biſhops.

About this Time Sir *Gideon Murray*, the Treaſurer-Deputy, was accus'd by *James Stewart*, then titl'd Lord *Ochiltree*, of having abus'd his Office to the King's Prejudice. Which Accuſation is ſaid to proceed from Malice that Lord bore to Sir *Gideon*, for having call'd him ſtrictly to Account for the Duties of *Orkney*: However his Accuſation prevail'd ſo far, as to have the Matter remitted to the Trial of the Council at *Edinburgh*. But Sir *Gideon* took the Affront ſo highly, that his Fidelity (whereof he had given very great Proof) ſhould be call'd in Queſtion, upon the Information of a malicious Enemy; ſo that he contracted ſuch Grief, that threw him into Sickneſs, whereof he died, a few Days after his coming to *Edinburgh*. He was a Gentleman of a moſt candid Character, and diſcharg'd his Duty to his King and Country with the utmoſt Fidelity. Sir *Gideon Murray* unjuſtly accus'd. He dies of Grief.

In the beginning of the Year 1622. died at *Pinkie* Houſe, near *Muſelburgh*, *Alexander Seaton*, Earl of *Dumfermling*, Lord *Fyvie* and *Urquhart*, High Chancellor of *Scotland*. His Death was generally lamented; for he had executed his Office with great Moderation and Prudence. As he was educated in the *Roman* Catholick Religion, he continu'd all his Lifetime therein. As he hated Lying and Diſſemulation, he ſtudied above all things to maintain Peace and Quietneſs in the Nation. He was the 2d Son of the Loyal *George* Lord *Setaon*, and in his Youth ſtudied the Civil Law of *Scotland*; and being admitted Advocate, was afterwards conſtituted one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, by the Title of Lord *Pluſcartie*. Soon after, by Letters Patent, bearing Date the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1591. he was created Lord *Fyvie*, and to his Heirs Male of his Body, and Failure of which, to the Heirs Male of Sir *John Seaton* of *Barns*, his Brother. In 1693. he was made Lord Preſident of the Seſſion, and Tutor to Prince *Charles*, and ſucceeded the Earl of *Mountroſe* as Lord Chancellor; and was afterwards created Earl of *Dumfermling* and Privy-Councellor of *England*; in which Offices he continu'd till the Day of his Death, which happen'd the 16th Day of *June* this Year. He left Iſſue by his firſt Lady *Lillias*, Daughter to *Patrick* Lord *Drumond*, four Daughters, 1ſt *Anne*, married to the 2d Earl of *Kelly*; 2d *Iſabel*, married to *John* 1ſt Earl of *Lauderdale*, 3d. *Margaret*, married to *Kenneth*, 1ſt Earl of *Seafort*; 4th *Sophia*, to *David*, firſt Lord *Balcarras*. 1622. The Death of *Alexander* Earl of *Dumfermling*. His Character

His 2d Wife was *Griſſel*, Daughter to *James* Lord *Leſly*, by whom he had a Daughter nam'd *Jean*, who was married to *John*, firſt Earl of *Tweedale*. His 3d and laſt Lady was *Margaret*, Daughter to *John* Lord *Yeſter*, by whom he had *Charles* his only Son and Heir, and a Daughter nam'd *Griſel*, who died unmarried. He was ſucceeded in the Office of Chancellor by Sir *George Hay*, afterwards Earl of *Kinoule*, who before was Clerk-Regiſter. And, at the ſame time, Mr. *John Hamilton*, Brother to the Earl of *Haddington*, ſucceeded him in his former Office of Clerk-Regiſter. He is ſucceeded by Sir *George Hay*.

About this time ſome *Roman* Catholicks having been releas'd from Confinement, and others us'd with leſs Severity than at other Times; whereupon ſome ſeditious Perſons rais'd and ſpread a Report, that the King intended to tolerate Popery, by granting them Liberty of Conſcience: Which Report

A. D. 1622. was increas'd on Account of Inſtructions ſent from the Biſhops of *England*, for reforming Abuſes among the Miniſters of *Scotland*. Altho,, at the ſame time, the Cauſe of this Toleration was, the Expectation of Favour the King had from foreign Catholick Princes to his Son-in-Law the King of *Bohemia*, who,about that time,was diſpoſſeſs'd not only of that Kingdom, but likewiſe was in Danger of looſing his own Paternal Principality: Yet, notwithſtanding all the King of *Britan*'s Endeavours to obtain good Conditions of Peace from the Emperor, and likewiſe the Aſſiſtance of *Spain*, which his Majeſty had earneſtly ſolicited, prov'd in vain, ſince that Prince had neither ſufficient Force of his own, nor timely Supply of Forces and Money to withſtand the Emperor; who at laſt depriv'd him of his Kingdom and Principality. To recover which, the King ſtill reſolv'd to employ his utmoſt Intereſt among foreign Princes, but nothing prov'd effectual; ſo that while this unfortunate Prince ſnatch'd at the Shadow, he loſt the Subſtance.

The King having Information of the Reports of his factious Subjects, who miſconſtructed his Favour to the Papiſts, he was highly offended; and having made a Speech to the Parliament of *England*, complaining of ſuch as had given Occaſion, and explaining the Cauſe of his Behaviour at that Time; he at the ſame Time directed a Letter to the Council of *Scotland*, upbraiding thoſe who had preſum'd to cenſure his Proceedings; and commanded that the Council would take an Account of all ſuch Perſons as had offended either by Word or Writ, and to puniſh them ſeverly according to Law.

1623. The Prince goes over to *Spain*.

Mean time News was brought of the Prince's Journey to *Spain*, whereat many were ſurpriz'd to hear that he was gone, and accompany'd by the Marquiſs of *Buckingham*, and a ſmall Retinue. For there having been a Match treated of between the Prince and the Infanta of *Spain*, which receiv'd many Obſtructions at home and abroad; it was thought, that all Delays would be eaſily remov'd by the Preſence of the Prince himſelf; whereof great Hopes had been given to the King by *Gundamore* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; ſo that the King conſented to the Prince's Journey, hoping, by the Alliance of *Spain*, to ſettle a general Peace throughout Chriſtendom, and to recover the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, or at leaſt the Principality to his Son-in-Law.

Thus the Prince, accompany'd in manner aforeſaid, departed ſecretly from Court, and landing at *Callis*, went *incognito* through *France*; and, in a few Days after, arriv'd ſafe at the Court of *Spain*; and went ſtraight to the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Houſe, he being then Ambaſſador extraordinary from *England*.

His Progreſs and Reception at the Court of *Madrid*.

The next Day after his Arrival, Count *Olivares*, the *Spaniſh* Favourite, had private Notice of his being come, wherewith he acquainted the King of *Spain*, who ſent the ſaid Count with his Salutations of Honour and Welcome to the Prince; who thereupon order'd the King, his Father's Letters, to be deliver'd to the King of *Spain*, who deſir'd to viſit and embrace the Prince at the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Houſe; but in return of that, the Prince immediately prepar'd to wait upon the King; whereof when the King had Notice, he came half Way, and meeting the Prince, came firſt out of his Coach, and embrac'd him with great Profeſſions of Love and Reſpect; and taking Coach together, the King forc'd the Prince firſt into it on the Right-hand, having with him the Earl of *Briſtol* for their Interpreter: (for the King of *Spain* ſpoke in his native Tongue). And after paſſing ſome Time together, the Prince return'd to his Lodgings. Next Day the King ſent two Dukes to viſit the Prince; and the ſame Day, a general Pardon was proclaim'd of all Offences, and all Priſoners within the Continent of *Spain* were releas'd; As alſo all *Engliſh* Slaves, for Piracy or mortal Crimes, were ſet at Liberty, out of Reſpect to the Prince.

The 16th Day of *March* being appointed for the Princes publick Entry through *Madrid*, Four Counſellors of State, were ſent to attend and conduct him to the Monſtray of St. *Jeronimo*, where he was entertained at Dinner by the King's Appointment, that Afternoon the Inquiſitor General, and ſeveral Counſellors, with the Corrigidor and Regidors, had Audience of the Prince;

and

and about Four a Clock in the Evening came the King, whom the Prince receiv'd at the Gate; and all Things being ready for their Journey, the King and Prince mounted two *Barbary* Gennets of great Value, and riding to the Entry of the Liberties of *Madrid*, attended by 24 of the Rigedors, with a large Canopy of Tiſſu, richly imboſs'd, (it being their Office to bear it) they being apparelled with rich Cloth of Tiſſu, lin'd with Crimſon Cloth of Gold, under the Canopy the King, with the Prince on his right Hand proceeded, being uſher'd by the Miniſters of Juſtice, Grandees, and other principal noble Men, with their Attendance and Servants in rich Equipage and Liveries. Next after the Canopy, follow'd the Marquis of *Buckingham*, and Count *Olivares*, as Maſters of the Horſes to both, then the Earl of *Briſtol*, between Two of the eldeſt Counſellors of State, and a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber; Sir *Walter Aſton* following them, accompanied with the reſt of the Council of State and Bed-chamber, then the goodly Guard *De los Archeros*, all richly clad, being followed by Numbers of the Youth of that Court and Kingdom, the Windows along the Streets being all deckt with Hangings of Arras and Pictures, in this Manner they proceeded to the Court Gate. *A. D.* 1623. The Prince's Entry to *Madrid*.

The Queen and Infanta were Spectators, but the Queen ſoon retir'd to the Palace, to receive the Viſit: The King and Prince embracing, they paſt up to the Appartment of the Queen, who receiv'd him at her Chamber Door, and conducted him under the Cloth of State, and ſat down on Three equal Chairs, the Queen in the midſt, the Prince on the right Hand, and the King on the left, the Room being richly furniſh'd, but more adorn'd by thoſe excellent Beauties the living Tapeſtry of Ladies, Noblemens Children called *Menines*. His Reception by the Queen of *Spain*.

Then the Prince addreſſing the Queen ſaid, Madam, *The Honour of this Day's Solemnity is due to your Majeſty, whoſe Hand I come here to kiſs*. At which he bow'd down to the Queen's Knee. To which the Queen anſwer'd, *Sir, ſuch Reſpect as the Court of* Spain *can ſhew, is due to your excellent Merit*. The Prince's Speech to the Queen. Her Anſwer.

After holding Converſation for an Hour in the *French* Tongue, (which was natural to the Queen) ſhe convey'd them to her Chamber Door, and the King conducted the Prince to his Lodgings, there being one Quarter of the Court prepar'd for his Reception. At the Entry ſtood the Two Infants the King's Brothers, who receiv'd the Prince, and they with the King conducted them to his Apartment, where they left him to his own Attendants, with whom waited ſeveral Grandees, with Officers of Honour, to wait the Prince's Pleaſure.

About an Hour after came the Queen's Major Domo, with a Preſent from her Majeſty, which was, *A large Baſon of Gold born by Two Men, with a curious embroider'd Night Gown laid double in it. Two Trunks bound with Bands of pure Gold, ſtudded thick with large Nails of Gold, with Locks and Keys of the ſame; they were fill'd with curious Things, ſuch as Linning and rich Perfumes; alſo a rich Desk full of Rareties in each Drawer*. The Preſent from the Queen to the Prince.

The Marquis of *Buckingham* had rich Preſents ſent him alſo from the Counteſs of *Olivares*. During that and the Two ſucceeding Nights, all the Houſes of *Madrid* were illuminated by Proclamation, and each Night and Day was heard loud Acclamations, crying, *Vive el Principe de Galles*, i. e. *Long live the Prince of* Wales.

Some Days the Prince perform'd the Exerciſe of running at the Ring, in the Preſence of the Infanta, whereby he gain'd her Favour, as well as the Honour and Applauſe of all the Court: But it was very ſtrange, he was not at all this Time permitted any Converſation with the Infanta, but in the Preſence of the King her Brother, and other Courtiers, at which Time he ſpoke to her by the Interpretation of the Earl of *Briſtol*, for ſhe ſpoke in her native Tongue.

By this Time ſeveral *Engliſh* Lords, and Perſons of Quality came over to the Court of *Spain*; for the Lord Viſcount *Doncaſter*, carried over a Patent creating the Marquis of *Buckingham* a Duke, by the ſame Title, and with

A. D. 1623. him came the Earl of *Denbigh*, Viſcount *Rochford*, the Lord *Kenſington*, with ſeveral others.

The Marriage being propos'd, a Diſpenſation was ſent for from *Rome*, with which came a Letter from Pope *Gregory* to the Prince, enumerating the Heroick Actions of his Anceſtors, and their ſtedfaſt Adherence to the Catholick Faith. To which the Prince wrote a very civil Anſwer, wherein he declared his being firm in the Religion wherein he was bred and born.

At this Time the Concluſion of the Marriage was daily expected, but Pope *Gregory* dying, his Diſpenſation became invalid, ſo a Delay was propos'd, for a new Diſpenſation from the then elected Pope *Urban*: But as Winter being then approaching, the Prince apprehended new Delays, wherefore he wrote to know the King his Father's Pleaſure. In Anſwer to which, he had an Expreſs to take Leave and to return home; and leave Inſtructions with the Earl of *Briſtol* to accompliſh the Marriage.

Upon Notice of this ſudden Reſolution of the Prince, Count *Olivares* blamed the Duke of *Buckingham*, which bred a Quarrel between them; whereupon the Prince ſent the Duke away immediately, to attend the Fleet at Port *Addor*, and then it was concluded between the King and Prince, that the Marriage ſhould be compleated in Ten Days after the Arrival of the Diſpenſation from *Rome*, for which the Earl of *Briſtol* had an ample Commiſſion.

The Prince takes Leave of the Court of *Spain*.

The Prince, having preſented a rich Pearl Necklace to the Infanta, took Leave of the Queen and Infants, and being accompanied by the King to the *Eſcurial*, they there feaſted, and next Day hunted a Buck, making the Chaſe directly in the Princeſs's Road: They parted with ſeveral Compliments and Embraces; and, at the Place of parting, the King caus'd to be erected a beautiful Pillar of Marble, with Inſcriptions in Memory of the Prince's parting with his Catholick Majeſty.

He parts with the King of *Spain*, who erects a Pillar in Memory of their parting.

The Prince lands in *England*.

Upon the 5th of *October*, the Prince landed at *Portſmouth*, where he was welcom'd by the People with loud Acclamations of Joy for his Safety; for, it ſeems, whilſt he was in *Spain*, many Reports were ſpread, that he was in Danger of being detain'd Priſoner there, as ſome alledg'd, to compel him to change his Religion, and others giving ſuch political Reaſons as their Humours or Inclinations did ſuggeſt. But this courteous Reception, magnificent Entertainment, and uninterrupted Return, eaſily contradicted and confuted theſe cauſeleſs Fears, and groundleſs Reports; and evidently prov'd, that the *Spaniſh* Court ſtudied rather to excel in generous Hoſpitality, Grandeur, and Civility, than State Policy.

The King ſeeing the Match would not anſwer Expectation, nor the Palatinate like to be reſtor'd, he order'd the Earl of *Briſtol* ſoon after, to take his Leave and return home, which accordingly he did; ſo the Match which had ſo much Time and Expence to carry on, was quite broke off. And it is reported, that the King ſaid, *That he would never match his Son with a Portion of his Siſter's Tears.*

The Match with *Spain* broke off.

A. D. 1624. In the Beginning of the next Year, ſeveral of the Perſons in *Scotland* who had denied Obedience to the Articles, betook themſelves to Conventicles in the Mountains, and moſt unfrequented Places, from which they had the Denomination of Mountaineers. The firſt Leader of them was one *William Rig*, a Bailie of *Edinburgh*, who was at firſt aſſiſted by Five or Six Tradeſmen of the Town, who being call'd before the Council, the Bailie was excluded his Place in the Magiſtracy, and declar'd incapable of any publick Office afterwards; yet that did not deter him and his Aſſociates from continuing to increaſe their Number of Hearers. Mean Time the Council and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* made ſeveral Rules to be obſerved by the Miniſters in and about the City, to prevent further Diſorders.

A. D. 1625. Upon the 16th of *February*, died *Lodowick* Duke of *Lennox*, and *Richmond* in *England*; his Death was very much lamented by all his Acquaintance, being a Nobleman of a moſt noble and generous Character. He was thrice married, firſt to the Earl of *Gowry*'s Siſter, but had no Iſſue by her. His Second

The Duke of *Lennox*'s Death and Character.

cond Lady was Sister to the Lord *Lowdon*, by whom he had a Son and a Daughter, but they both died young; and his Third Lady was the Countess of *Hartford*. He died in the 48th Year of his Age, and was succeeded in his Titles and Estate by his Brother *Esme Stewart*, Lord *Aubigny*, who also died the next Year, but left several Children, of whom *Charles* his eldest Son succeeded him, they were both interr'd in *Westminster* Abbey, with stately Monuments erected over their Graves. *A. D.* 1625.

The Marquis of *Hamilton*'s Death and Character.

In the Month of *March* died *James* Marquis of *Hamilton*, a Nobleman of most excellent Parts, being distinguish'd by his great Judgment and ready Wit upon all Occasions, of which he gave great Proof in the Parliament, wherein he representing his Majesty as his high Commissioner, brought Matters to a more agreeable Conclusion, than had been in some preceeding Parliaments; especially his bringing the factious Ministers to due Submission to the King's Authority; and obtaining the Subsidy which had been so long in Dispute. His Corps was brought to *Scotland*, and with great Funeral Pomp inter'd at *Hamilton* with his noble Ancestors.

The King takes their Deaths to Heart.

His Majesty's Prophetical Speech. And Death.

These Two Noblemen, (who were no less belov'd than near in Blood to the King) dying soon after one another, affected his Majesty with great Grief; so that having for some Time lamented the Duke's Death, when he had Notice of the Marquis's Death, he said in a sorrowful Accent, *If the Branches be cut down, the Stock cannot stand long after.* Which saying prov'd very true, for in a few Days after his Majesty fell into a dangerous Fever, whereof he died, on *Sunday* the 27th of *March*, about Twelve of the Clock in the Day, being in the 59th Year of his Age, and 58th Year of his Reign over *Scotland*, and 22d in *England*.

CHARLES I. *The* 109*th King of* Scotland.

CHARLES the only surviving Son of King *James*, succeeded his Father as King of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, upon the 27th Day of *March*, 1625. He was born at *Dumfermling* the 19th of *November* 1600, in the Second Year of his Age, he was created Duke of *Albany*, Marquis of *Ormond*, Earl of *Ross*, and Baron of *Ardmanach*. In the Fourth Year of his Age, he was brought to the Court of *England*, made Knight of the *Bath*, and created Duke of *York*. In the Eleventh Year of his Age, he was made Knight of the Garter, and the next Year created Duke of *Cornwall*; and in his 16th Year, upon the Death of his elder Brother Prince *Henry*, he was created Prince of *Wales*, Earl of *Chester* and *Flint*, having the Revenue of that Principality, assigned for the Maintenance of his Court. In his 19th Year he perform'd a Justing at *Whitehall*, wherein he acquitted himself with Bravery equal to his Dignity; and at all other Times perform'd Military Exercises with great Dexterity.

A Match propos'd betwixt the King and a Daughter of *France*.

His intended Match with the Infanta of *Spain* being broke off, as before mention'd, a Marriage was propos'd between him and the Princess *Henrieta Maria*, Daughter of *Henry* IV. King of *France*, which accordingly succeeded; and the King having given Orders about the Funerals of the King his Father, the same was perform'd with great Solemnity, upon the 7th of *May*, the Corps being carried from *Somerset* House, to *Westminster* Abbey; and in the Procession the King himself appear'd principal Mourner; which, tho' contrary to the Custom of other Princes, yet he chose rather to testify a pious Respect to his Father's Funeral, than to stand to the accustom'd Punctilio's of State.

The King attends his Fathre's Funeral.

The King married by Proxy.

Some Days after the Funeral, he had Notice, that upon *Sunday* the first of *May*, he was by his Proxy the Duke of *Chevereux*, espous'd to the before mention'd Princess, in *Nostre Dame* Church in *Paris*, by the Cardinal *Richlieu*.

A. D. 1625. Some Days thereafter, the Queen began her Journey towards *England*, being accompanied to *Amiens* by the Queen her Mother, the Duke of *Orleance* her Brother, and the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Chevereux*, with others of the Nobility of *France*; and there ſhe was met by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Carlyſle*, *Holland*, *Montgomery*, and many other *Engliſh* Perſons of Quality, who were ſent over by the King to attend her. She ſtay'd about a Fortnight at *Amiens*; and having parted with the Queen her Mother, and her Retinue, ſhe came to *Bologne*, where a Fleet of one and twenty of the King's Ships attended her, with the Dutches of *Buckingham*, and many other Ladies of Quality. On Trinity *Sunday*, at Night, ſhe arrived at *Dover*, which being made known to the King, who then waited for her at *Canterbury*, he went to meet her early next Morning, and receiv'd her with the utmoſt Demonſtrations of Affection and Reſpect; and the ſame Day they came to *Canterbury*, where the Duke of *Chevereux* deliver'd his Royal Charge to the King, and their Nuptials were compleated with all poſſible Magnificence, on *Wedneſday* the 15th of *June*. They went by Coach to *Graveſend*, and the next Day they came from thence to *Somerſet*-Houſe in their Royal Barges, attended by a great Number of Lords and Ladies, being ſaluted, as they paſt up the River, by the Ships and the great Ordnance of the Tower.

The Queen arrives at *Dover*.

She is met by the King.

Their Marriage proclaim'd.

The third Day after their Arrival their Marriage was proclaim'd at *Whitehall* with great Acclamations of Joy, the King and Queen being plac'd on Royal Thrones, were preſent at the Ceremony, with all the Nobility.

The Parliament of *England* being ſummon'd to meet one 18th Day of *June*, on the firſt Day of their meeting the King went to the Houſe, and made the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

The King's Speech to his firſt Parliament.

YOU are not ignorant, that at your earneſt Entreaty, March *the* 24, 1623. *my Father (of happy Memory) firſt took up Arms for the Recovery of the* Palatinate; *for which Purpoſe, by your Aſſiſtance, he began to form a conſiderable Army, and to prepare a goodly Armado, and Navy Royal: But Death intervening between him and the Atchievement, the War, with the Crown, is devolv'd upon me; to the Purſuance whereof, as I am oblig'd, both in Nature and Honour, ſo I queſton not, but the ſame Neceſſity continuing, you will cheriſh the Action with the like Affection, and further it with a ready Contribution. True it is, you furniſh'd my Father with affectionate Supplies, but they held no Symmetry or Proportion with the Charge of ſo great an Enterprize. For thoſe your Donatives are all disburſt to a Penny; and I am enforc'd to ſummon you hither, to tell you, That neither can the Army advance, nor the Fleet ſet forth, without further Aid. Conſider, I pray you, that the Eyes of all* Europe *are fix'd upon me, to whom I ſhall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to raiſe Men or maintain them, if you now deſert me. Conſider, it is my firſt Attempt, wherein if I ſuſtain a Foil, it will blemiſh all my future Honour. If mine cannot, let your own Reputation move you. Deliver and expedite me fairly out of this War, wherewith you have encumber'd me. (Let it never be ſaid, whereunto you have betray'd me.) I deſire therefore your ſpeedy Supply. The Sun, you know, is enter'd into its declining Point, ſo it will be ſoon too late to ſet forth, when it will be rather not too ſoon to return. Again I muſt mind you of the Mortality regnant in this City, which ſhould it (as ſo it may, and no Breach of Privilege neither) arreſt any one of either Houſe, it would put a Period, both to the Conſultation and Seſſion; ſo that your own Periclitation, neceſſitates an early Reſolution. In ſumme, three of the beſt Rhetoricians,* Honour, Opportunity *and* Safety, *are all of a Plot, and plead, you ſee, for Expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I ſhould ſay ſomething by Way of Account of my Religion, as alſo of my Temper and future Government: But I hope, I have not been guilty of any Thing which may juſtly ſtart the leaſt Queſtion in either; ſo I deſire you would repoſe in Aſſurance, That I will*

will in neither vary from these Principles, wherein I have been instructed, at the Feet of that most eminent Gamaliel, *my late Father.* A. D. 1625.

This Speech was very well receiv'd, and tho' it did not produce so great a Supply as the Exigence of Affairs requir'd; yet the Commons gave two Subsidies, and the Clergy three: All the *Roman* Catholicks being at the same time oblig'd to pay double.

The Plague at *London*. The Parliament remov'd to *Oxford*.

At this Time the Plague rag'd so in *London*, that the Parliament was adjourn'd to *Oxford*, and in *August* the 1st, they meet in *Christ's-Church-Hall*; where the King, in a brief Speech, acquainted them with his want of Money for seting out the Fleet, as the Eyes of the Confederates were then fixt upon him.

Observations on the King's Speech.

The Commons, upon the Return of the King to their House, had several long Debates upon the Substance of his Speech, and the present Condition of the Kingdom; many of them urging, That the Necessities was occasion'd by Imprudence of some of the King's Counsellors; and that tho' a former Parliament had engag'd the King in a War, and misapply'd the Treasury, that they were not then bound to follow their Counsel, and to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies, before Grievances were redress'd: Whereupon the House concluded to petition the King, to put the Laws in Execution against the *Roman* Catholicks (it being then alledg'd, that their Religion was too much countenanc'd by the Queen and others of the Court) which Petition was presented by their Speaker, attended by the House to the King. To which his Majesty return'd a satisfactory Answer; yet when the Supply came to be debated by the Commons, great Divisions arose among them; and a Majority prevail'd to insist on Redress of Grievances, before Supply; and to have a Remonstrance drawn up, and presented to the King.

Complaints against the Duke of *Buckingham*.

It is to be observ'd, that in their Speeches at this Time, they exclaim'd against the Duke of *Buckingham*, blaming him with many Miscarriages in the Government; notwithstanding that this very Man, against whom they now exclaim, in the last Parliament of the deceas'd King, was by the House of Commons, extol' for the greatest Ornament and Honour of the *English* Nation, and the chief Preserver of the Kingdom from the *Spanish* Practices; and that no Honour was thought enough to requit his Merit; so that by their sudden Change of Affection to him, it appear'd how changeable the Affections of People are.

Mean time the King having Notice, by those of his Council in the House of Commons, of their Debates, which tended chiefly to discredit the Duke, and remove him from his Council and Affection; and that their Expressions were so unusual from Subjects to their Prince, that the King determin'd to dissolve the Parliament, rather than to admit of their Remonstrances, and thereupon came to the House of Lords, to put an End to it. The House of Commons being call'd up to the House of Lords by the Usher of the Black Rood, whereupon one *Glanvil* stood up, and declar'd the Sentiments of the House, in these Words: *First*, To give his Majesty Thanks for his gracious Answer to their Petition for Security of their Religion; as also for his Care of their Health, in giving them Leave to depart at so dangerous a Time. And to conclude with a Declaration of Affection and Loyalty, and their Resolution to supply his Majesty in a Parliamentary Way, at a convenient Time.

The Parliament dissolv'd.

The Usher being call'd in, declar'd his Message, and they giving their Attendance, that Parliament was dissolv'd. And, at the same time, a Proclamation was issu'd, to put the Laws in Execution against Papists, and commanding the Children of Noblemen and others, sent to be educated in Popish Schools or Seminaries abroad, to return by a prefixt Time. And that all the King's Subjects in the Service of the Emperor, King of *Spain*, or Governors of the *Spanish Netherlands*, should return to their native Country, to be employ'd in his Majesty's Service.

A. D. 1625. The War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, reſolv'd upon by the late King, was now intended to be vigorouſly proſecuted; whereupon the Duke of *Buchingham*, and the Earl of *Holland* were ſent Ambaſſadors to the *United Provinces*, and were appointed to meet the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Denmark*, with whom and the *States*, a League was concluded for Reſtoring the Liberties of *Germany*. Mean time a Fleet was order'd to get ready, and intended to have ſurpriz'd *Cadez*, but return'd without Succeſs.

The King reſolves to purſue the War, for Recovery of the *Palatinate*.

1626. The beginning of the next Year, his Majeſty's Coronation was appointed at *Weſtminſter*, the 2d Day of *February*, on which Day he, with the Queen, were crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, with the utmoſt Solemnity.

The King and Queen crown'd.

The Commons impeach the Duke of *Buckingmam*.

In another Parliament this Year, the Commons ſent up Articles to the Houſe of Lords, charging the Duke of *Buckingham* with ill Managment of the Admirality, and ingroſſing Offices, prefering his Kindred to Places, and making Sale of Places of Judicatory. The leading Perſons of the Faction, that accus'd the Duke in the Houſe of Commons, were Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *John Eliot*, Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Glanvil*, Mr. *Pym*, and Doctor *Turner*; and in the Houſe of Lords the Earl of *Briſtol* ſeconded their Accuſation, whereupon the Quarrel grew ſo high, that the Duke and Earl impeach'd one another; but the King, to ſtop their Contention, diſolv'd the Parliament, before the Bill for Supplies was paſt. And at the ſame time, by Advice of his Council, uſed other means for raiſing of Money, ſuch as levying of Cuſtoms and Impoſts on Merchandizes, and making Compoſitions with *Roman* Catholicks and others, for Forfeitures of Lands, and Leaſes due ſince the tenth Year of the late Reign: But at laſt it was conſider'd, the moſt expeditious Way to raiſe Money would be, by a general Loan, which was reſolv'd upon, and Commiſſioners forthwith appointed for the receiving of it; which Reſolution meet with ſuch Oppoſition from People of all Degrees, that it breed great Confuſion in the Nation; and ſeveral Speeches, Libels and Pamphlets were diſpers'd, for which ſeveral Perſons were proſecuted and impriſon'd.

The Earl of *Arundel* committed to the Tower.

About the ſame time the Earl of *Arundel* was committed to the Tower, by the King's Order, for having married his Son, the Lord *Maltravers*, to the eldeſt Siſter of the Duke of *Lennox*, the King having deſign'd her for the Lord *Lorn*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Argyle*; expecting thereby to reconcile theſe two Families, there having been ancient Feuds betwixt them. The Earl of *Arundel* pleaded Pardon, proteſting that he was no ways privy to the Marriage, which, he ſaid, was contriv'd and agreed upon between the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Lennox* and his Lady, without his Knowledge; but the King would not hear him. The Earl's Commitment was highly reſented by the Houſe of Lords, who repreſented to the King, that it was their undoubted Right, that no Peer ſitting in Parliament, could be impriſon'd without Order from the Houſe of Peers, except for Treaſon, Fellony, or Diſturbance of the Peace; whereupon ſeveral Debates aroſe in the Houſe of Peers, and ſeveral Meſſages were ſent to the King, ſo that the Earl was releas'd from his Impriſonment.

1627. In 1627. upon an Agreement betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, ſeveral Goods belonging to *Engliſh* Merchants were ſeiz'd in the River of *Bourdeaux*; whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* was ſent with a Fleet to attack the Iſle of *Rhee*, in which Expedition he had no better Succeſs than the former Fleet had in *Spain*; which Miſcarriage increas'd the Number of the Duke's Enemies, ſo that when the next Parliament met, in *March*, they renew'd their Accuſations againſt him; and alſo brought in Complaints againſt Biſhop *Laud*, and Biſhop *Neale*, and others of the King's Council; and at laſt intended to take away the King's Right of Tonage and Poundage; whereof when the King had Notice, he immediately adjourn'd the Parliament to the 20th of *October*, and after, by Proclamation, to the 20th of *January* following. During this Seſſion a Fleet of fifty Sail was ſent to the Relief of *Rochell*, but were repell'd with much loſs. Another Expedition was reſolv'd upon, and a more formidable Fleet was prepar'd; but as the Duke of *Buckingham* (who commanded the Fleet and Army) who then was at

at *Portſmouth*, haſtning the Preparations for Sea, one Morning being ſurrounded by a Crowd, was call'd to his Breakfaſt, and drawing towards the Door, where the Hangings were held up, he, in the Paſſage, turn'd himſelf to ſpeak with Sir *Thomas Fryer*, who was ſpeaking near his Ear, he was ſuddenly ſtab'd into the Breaſt with a Knife, over his Shoulder, upon which he cry'd out, *The Villian has kill'd me*; and pulling out the Knife (which had gone to his Heart) with his own Hand, he inſtantly fell down dead. The Murderer being diſcover'd, was one *Felton* a Lieutenant, an obſcure Man, who having been bred a Soldier, was lately made a Lieutenant of a Foot Company, whoſe Captain being kill'd at the Iſle of *Rhee*, he expected that the Company ſhould have fallen to him, which being refus'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, he gave up his Commiſſion and immediately withdrew himſelf from the Army. When he had committed the Murder, and was diſcover'd in the Crowd; ſeveral were for running him through the Body with their Swords, but were prevented by ſuch of the Duke's Friends, as expected to diſcover by his Confeſſion, who had employ'd him; but being demanded, he boldly anſwer'd, that he had kill'd him for the Cauſe of GOD and his Country. He was immediately carry'd up to *London*, ſentenc'd, and hang'd at *Tyburn*; from whence his Body was carry'd to *Portſmouth*, where it was hang'd up in Chains without the Town. Mean time the Earl of *Lindſay* was ſent to *Rochell*, where after ſome vigorous, yet fruitleſs Attempts, he return'd to *England*, and the Proteſtants of *Rochell*, who had occaſion'd this Expedition, ſubmitted to their King.

A. D. 1627.

The Duke of *Buckingham* Murder'd at *Portſmouth*.

In the ſucceeding three Years, ſeveral means were us'd for raiſing of Money, but generally met with Oppoſition from the factious Party. A Peace at laſt was concluded with *France* and *Spain*, but upon diſadvantageous Conditions to *England*; which ſtill increas'd the Complaints of the factious Party againſt the chief Miniſters, and ſeveral ſcurilous Libels were diſpers'd againſt them; eſpecially againſt Biſhop *Laud*, who ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the Doctrine and Privilege of the Church, againſt all Sects diſſenting from it; as alſo againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, who was very diligent to ſupply the Treaſury, to defray the National Expences.

Complaints againſt Biſhop *Laud* and Lord *Weſton*.

Upon the 29th of *May*, 1630. the Queen was deliver'd of a Son, and about Noon that Day a bright Star was ſeen in the Firmament. And upon the 7th of *June* after, he was, with great Solemnity, baptiz'd by the Name of *Charles*; the Godfathers were, the King of *France*, and Prince Elector *Palalatine*, who were repreſented by the Duke of *Lennox* and Marquiſs of *Hamilton*; the Goodmother was the Queen of *France*, repreſented by the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*.

1630. The Birth of K. *Charles* II.

After the Solemnity of this Ceremony, the King intended to proſecute the Deſign to recover the *Palatinate*, and having Intelligence of a Dyet held at *Ratisbone*, his Majeſty ſent Sir *Robert Anſtruther* his Ambaſſador to the Emperor, taking that Opportunity when the States of the Empire were aſſembled, to treat of his Brother-in-Law's Reſtoration to the *Palatinate*. Sir *Robert* went with a very noble Equipage, and was very well receiv'd at his firſt coming; but having Audience of the Emperor, to whom he communicated his Embaſſy in Favour of the Prince, all the Anſwer he could obtain was, *That at that Time the great Affairs of the Empire could not admit of any foreign Debate: But that, when Time could permit, a ſatisfactory Anſwer ſhould be ſent to the King his Maſter.* What made the Emperor ſhew ſo little Reſpect to the Ambaſſador was, an Account he had, that the King of *Britain* intended to aſſiſt the King of *Sweden* in an intended Expedition againſt *Germany*; ſo that upon the Return of the Ambaſſador, the King having Notice that *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, had march'd into *Germany* with an Army; his Majeſty ſent over an Embaſſy to complement him, and, at the ſame time, preſented him with the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was ſolemnly inveſted in the midſt of his Army, being then at the Siege of *Warſaw* in *Poland*. Soon after the King hearing of his Succeſs, his Majeſty gave a Commiſſion to the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, to raiſe 6000 Men

Sir *Robert Anſtruther* ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor.

The Emperor's Anſwer to the Ambaſſador.

A Commiſſion given to raiſe an Army in *Scotland*.

A. D. 1630. Men in *Scotland*, to be ſent to aſſiſt the King of *Sweden*; and for the Marquiſs's Encouragment in this Expedition, the King gave him the Impoſt of Wines in *Scotland*, which amounted to 20000 Pounds Sterling a Year. But as the raiſing that Army, and an intended Supply of Money to the King of *Sweden*, requir'd greater Sums: The King, by the Advice of his Council and Attorney-General, renew'd an ancient Statute made in the firſt Year of King *Edward* II. whereby all young Men who had Eſtates of 40 Pounds *per Annum*, were ſummon'd to appear to receive Knighthood, and upon Default to be fin'd; by which Means 100000 Pound was brought in to the Exchequer.

A ſeditious Book wrote by one *Leighton*.

About that time one *Leighton*, a *Scotſman*, wrote a Book, call'd, *Zion's Plea*; wherein he exclaim'd againſt Biſhops and all Epiſcopal Ordination; and excited the Parliament to kill all the Biſhops, by ſmitting them under the Fifth Rib; he alſo therein reflected on the Queen, calling her a Daughter of *Heth* a *Cananite*, and Idolatreſs, for which he was apprehended and brought to the Star-Chamber, where he was ſentenc'd to be whip't and ſtigmatiz'd, to have his Ears cropt, and Noſe Slit; but before inflicting of the Puniſhment, he found Means to Eſcape into *Beaforaſhire*; yet by the Diligence of the Warden of the Fleet, he was retaken, and puniſh'd according to his Sentence.

For which he was puniſh'd.

A. D. 1631. In *July* 1631, the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, accompanied by the Lord *Rhae*, and ſeveral other Officers, with 6000 Men well arm'd and furniſh'd with Artillery, were tranſported to *Germany*; the Marquiſs taking with him 300000 Dollars in Money: At his landing he went to the King of *Sweden* in his Camp at *Werben* on the *Elb*. The King receiv'd him with all Teſtimony of Reſpect; and after ſhewing him the Fortifications and Preparations made againſt Count *Tilly*, the Emperor's General, who was then marching with all Speed towards him, he deliver'd the Marquiſs his Inſtructions to joyn General *Bavier*.

The Marquiſs of *Hamilton* with his Army goes over to *Germany*.

Their Behaviour in that Expedition.

In this Expedition the Marquis of *Hamilton*, with the *Scots* Army, behaved themſelves with the utmoſt Courage, ſo that by their Aſſiſtance the King of *Sweden* obtain'd great Victory, and penetrated ſo far into the *Palatinate*, that he quickly took all the Cities and Towns thereof, except *Heidleburg* and *Frankindale*: But there happening great Famine and Peſtilence in the Army, whereof many died, eſpecially of the *Scots* Army, whereupon the Marquis came over to *England*, leaving the Command of the Army to General Officers.

The Marquiſs of *Hamilton* returns to *England*.

At that Time the King of *Sweden* and *Elector*, had ſeveral Conferences with the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Holland*; and the *Elector* was then in Hopes of receiving his Poſſeſſions, when, to his great Misfortune, the King of *Sweden* was kill'd in a Battle, which was fought at *Lutzen* the 6th of *November*; the Account of which ſo afflicted the *Paſsgrave*, that he contracted Sickneſs, and died the 29th of the ſaid Month; ſo that that Expedition which had coſt *Scotland* ſo much Money and Men, at laſt came to nothing.

The King of *Sweden* kill'd in Battle.

The Death of the Prince *Palatine*.

On the 2d of *December* this Year, the King fell ſick of the ſmall Pox, but of no dangerous Conſequence, ſo that he recover'd in a few Days after. And at the ſame Time ſent over the Earl of *Arundell* to the *Hague*, to invite his Siſter the Queen of *Bohemia*, with her Children, over to *England*; but ſhe being then in ſuch great Grief for the Death of her Husband, ſhe refuſed to remove for ſome Time.

Having taken Notice of the Affairs of *England*, for the firſt Seven Years of this King's Reign, during which Time nothing of Moment happen'd in *Scotland*, except that the Miniſters having endeavour'd to aboliſh the late Articles of *Perth*; but finding that the King would maintain the Government eſtabliſh'd by his Father, they gave over all Hopes of obtaining their Ends that Way, and ſtudied to encreaſe the Number of their Proſelytes every where, in which they had good Succeſs in all Places, eſpecially in *Fife* and the Weſtern Shires; and having appointed a Faſt in all their Kirks, upon

The Proceedings of the Presbyterian Party in *Scotland*.

the

the firſt Sabbath of every Quarter, without publick Intimation; and upon thoſe Days they drew together ſuch Perſons as they thought proper, to whom they preach'd up the Danger of Religion under Biſhops, with the Dependencies of the People on their Ceremonies and Forms; and in their Prayers ſupplicated GOD, and all good Chriſtian People, to give ſuch Aſſiſtance as might effectually put an End to Popery and Prelacy. By which Means they prevail'd much among the common People; nor were their Perſwaſions leſs effectual among ſome of the Nobility, who, for ſeveral Reaſons were diſoblig'd at the Biſhops, therefore promiſed their Aſſiſtance to the Miniſters to ſuppreſs Epiſcopacy. Thoſe of the Nobility, who firſt appear'd in their Intereſt, were the Earls of *Rothes*, *Caſſils*, *Eglington*, and *Lothian*, the Lords *Lindſay*, *Lowdon*, and *Balmerinoch*. *A. D.* 1633.

Thoſe of the Nobles who firſt joyn'd the Presbyterian Faction.

In the Beginning of the Year 1633, both Nations being in a peaceable Condition, it was propos'd by ſome of the Council of *England*, to ſend for the Crown of *Scotland*, that the King might be therewith crown'd; whereupon the King wrote to the Council of *Scotland*. In Anſwer to which, they deny'd removing of the Crown: But if his Majeſty would be pleas'd to accept of it in the proper Place, he ſhould find his People of that Notion ready to render him all due Reſpect, Honour, and Obedience, as their lawful King. And as the King was a great Lover of *Scotland*, as it was native Country, therefore had the greater Deſire to go thither; and upon the 13th Day of *May*, his Majeſty begun his Journey towards *Scotland*. Where being arriv'd, all the *Engliſh* Officers and Servants ſurrender'd their Attendance to thoſe of *Scotland*, who treated the *Engliſh* Nobility with all Freedom and Civility; and all theſe Noblemen, whoſe Offices did not entitle them to Tables at the Charge of the Crown, at their own Expence, made ſumptuous Entertainments for their *Engliſh* Gueſts, in Return for the Entertainment they had from them, while at the Court of *England*. The *Engliſh* Nobility themſelves acknowledg'd, that the Generoſity and Civility of the *Scots* far exceeded their Expectation; nor did they deny, but that the King appear'd with as great Luſtre at *Edinburgh*, as he did at any Time at *London*. *A. D.* 1633.

The Council of *England* adviſe the King to ſend for the Crown of *Scotland*.

But deny'd by the Council of *Scotland*.

His Majeſty's Journey to *Scotland*.

The Reception of the *Engliſh* Nobility in *Scotland*.

Upon the 18th Day of *June*, the King was crown'd at *Holy-rood-houſe*, in great Splendor and Solemnity, and ſoon after called a Parliament, which met at *Edinburgh* the 28th of *June*, wherein his Majeſty, with the Conſent of the Three Eſtates, paſſed ſeveral Acts without any Oppoſition or Debate; ſo that all his Subjects, by their Repreſentatives, gave his Majeſty all Teſtimonies of Reſpect and Loyalty, wherewith the King ſeem'd extremely pleaſed, as he had been with his Reception, and all other Tranſactions, during his Stay in that Nation.

The King crown'd at *Holy-rood-houſe*.

A Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*.

As the King was always very zealous for the Church of *England*, he had nothing more at Heart, than to unite both Nations under one Form of Worſhop; and Biſhop *Laud*, who attended his Majeſty in that Journey, preaching in the Royal Chapel at *Edinburgh*, in his Sermons exhorted the People of *Scotland*, to a Conformity of the Church of *England*, had all the Marks of Applauſe and Approbation imaginable; and having obſerv'd the Form of the Church of *Scotland*, he in a Conference with the Biſhops and others of the Clergy, he exclaim'd againſt their Form of Service, eſpecially the Want of a Liturgy: To which they anſwer'd, *That King* James *had endeavour'd to introduce the Service of the Church of* England; *but in Conſideration of the Diſturbance the Articles of* Perth *had made, that Deſign was dropt, leſt it might have produc'd dangerous Conſequences.* To which Dr. *Laud* reply'd, *That he would move the Matter to the King at a proper Opportunity.*

Biſhop *Laud*'s Exhortation to the People of *Scotland* to conform to the Church of *England*.

His Obſervations on the Form of the Church of *Scotland*.

It is believ'd, if the King had propos'd the Liturgy of the Church of *England* at that Time, that the People (who ſtudied all Means to demonſtrate their Love, Reſpect, and Obedience) would have receiv'd it without any Oppoſition; but when it was propos'd to the King by Dr. *Land*, he did not think that a proper Time to make the Alteration, but gave Orders to the Biſhops to frame a proper Liturgy, and Book of Canons, which being made ready, they ſhould tranſmit them to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Orders given to the Biſhops of *Scotland* to frame a Liturgy and Book of Canons.

A. D. 1633. Matters being order'd thus in *Scotland*, the King took Leave of the Nobility, and other Subjects of that Nation; and on the laſt Day of *Auguſt* he ſet out on his Journey to *London*, where he arriv'd about the Middle of *September*; and on the 14th of *October*, the Queen was deliver'd of a Second Son, who was baptiz'd *James*, and created Duke of *York*.

The King returns to *England*.

Proceedings of the Miniſters.

To return to the Miniſters, who, when they had Notice of the King's coming to *Scotland*, reſolv'd upon a Petition to his Majeſty in Parliament, for Redreſs of all their Grievances; which having ſubſcrib'd, they committed to the Earl of *Rothes*, to acquaint the King with it in private, before it was deliver'd to the Clerk Regiſter, who receiv'd and preſented all Petitions to the King: To which End the Earl of *Rothes* went to the King, upon the firſt Day of the Parliament's ſitting, early in the Morning, and imparted the Matter to his Majeſty, delivering at the ſame Time the Petition; which, when the King read, he return'd it to the Earl, ſaying, *No more of this my Lord, I command you.* Which Anſwer *Rothes* having at his Return communicated to the reſt, they concluded to ſuppreſs the Petition; ſo that nothing more was heard of it, till the next Year, that my Lord *Balmerinoch* having diſcover'd to one *John Dunmure* a Writer in *Dundee*, that he had fram'd that Petition, whereof he then had the original Copy by him; which having given to *Dunmure* to read, he went to his Chamber and tranſcrib'd it; which Copy he kept, and return'd the Original to my Lord. Some Days after *Dunmure* lodging at the Houſe of Mr. *Hay* of *Naughton*, (who was then at Variance with the Lord *Balmerinoch*, and very much in the Intereſt of the Biſhops) he begun to Diſcourſe of the Subject of the Petition, and in ſhort diſcover'd what my Lord *Balmerinoch* had told him; ſhewing him at the ſame Time the Copy of the Petition, which Mr. *Hay* by fair Words got from him. And ſome Days after he went to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, to whom he deliver'd the Copy with an Account of the Diſcourſe that had paſt betwixt him and *Dunmure*, relating to that Affair; whereupon the Archbiſhop acquainted the King thereof by a Meſſage: So that in a few Days thereafter, an Order came to the Lords of the Council, to call *Balmerinoch* and *Dunmure* before them, who appearing, were examin'd, and *Dunmure* confeſs'd that he had wrote that Copy from the Original, which my Lord *Balmerinoch* had put into his Hands. The Lord acknowledg'd, that he had given the original to *Dunmure* to read, but had not allow'd him to copy it; however *Dunmure* was diſmiſt, and *Balmerinoch* ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and after ſome Time brought to his Trial, where by an Aſſize of his Peers, he was condemned to die: But the King repriv'd him, and ſoon after gave him a Remiſſion, which before the Council Table he receiv'd upon his Knees, with ample Acknowledgements of the King's Mercy to him, and ſolemn Promiſes of examplarly Loyalty thereafter.

A Petition drawn by them to the King.

The King's Anſwer to the Earl of *Rothes*, concerning their Petition.

The Petition ſuppreſs'd.

The Lord *Balmerinoch* diſcovers himſelf to be the Author of the Petition.

He is called before the Lords of Council.

He is found guilty, and ſentenc'd. But is pardon'd.

What the Lord *Balmerinoch* had ſuffer'd for his Party, exaſperated them ſtill the more againſt the Biſhops, againſt whom they exclaim'd and defam'd, upon all Occaſions, inſinuating to ſuch Noblemen and Perſons of Quality, as they found inclinable to their Intereſt: That the Biſhops were not ſatisfied to rule the Church at their Pleaſure, but likewiſe intended to rule the State in like Manner, whereof ſome of the Noblemen, who expected State Preferments, being diſappointed were eaſily perſwaded to believe, that the Biſhops were the Cauſe of thoſe Diſappointments; and as at that Time *Archibald* Lord *Lorn*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Argyle*, (a Nobleman very conſiderable both for Power and Parts, and at that Time generally beloved) being diſappointed of the Office of high Chancellor; which, upon the Death of *George* Earl of *Kinnoul*, was given to Doctor *Spotſwood*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s; the Diſappointment ſo irritated the Lord *Lorn* againſt the Biſhops, that he eaſily believed what the Miniſters had ſaid againſt them; as alſo at the ſame Time, the Earl of *Traquair*, then High Treaſurer, being ſuſpicious that the Biſhops intended his Ruin, to obtain his Office for the Biſhop of *Roſs*, he became jealous of them, and more ready to favour their Adverſaries. Beſides theſe two ſeveral other Noblemen were not wanting to promote

The Presbyterian Party exclaims againſt the Biſhops.

The Lord *Lorn* diſoblig'd at the Biſhops.

mote the Intereſt of their Party. Mean time they ſent ſecret Agents to deal with ſuch Perſons as they knew diſaffected to Epiſcopacy in *London* and other Parts of *England*. Among thoſe ſent to *England* was one *Eleazar Borthwick*, who engag'd ſeveral Fanaticks about *London*, to attempt ſomething for the Reformation of Religion; and returning to *Scotland* with an Account of his Succeſs, he gave great Encouragment to the Party. Next they dealt with the *Scots* Miniſters in the North of *Ireland*; who, upon Notice of their Deſigns, turn'd ſo very diſobedient to their Biſhops, that they were turn'd out of their Livings; whereupon they came over to *Scotland*, pretending to fly from the Perſecution they had ſuffer'd in *Ireland*. They were receiv'd by their Friends in *Scotland* as ſo many Saints and Martyrs, and Shelter and Care was taken of them in private Places, till, by the ſudden Revolution which enſu'd, Places were provided for them. And, as at that time the before-mention'd Liturgy was propos'd, they reſolv'd to take that advantageous Opportunity to engage their Party to reſiſt it; and in all Places where they had Power or Intereſt, they repreſented that Deſign in ſuch a manner, that the generality of the Common-People utterly abhor'd the Biſhops and the Thoughts of Epiſcopal Government, or any Rules for Form of Diſcipline, except Presbytery. And whilſt the Biſhops were buſy in preparing the Liturgy and Book of Canons, ſeveral Reports were ſpread over the Kingdom, that the true Religion was undermin'd by a Conſpiracy betwixt the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other *Engliſh* and *Scots* Biſhops, who intended to bring in the Maſs-Book and Idolatry into *Scotland*; which Report wrought ſo upon the People, that daily Clamours were heard in the Streets againſt Epiſcopacy and Popery. Whereupon the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to deal with the King, that the Liturgy and Book of Canons then in Preparation, might be laid aſide till the People were better prepar'd to receive it. But at that time ſome of the younger Biſhops were ſo forward to have it accompliſh'd, that they prevail'd with the Earl of *Traquair* then Lord Treaſurer, to ride Poſt to Court, and repreſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that there was no Danger to be apprehended in receiving the Liturgy, only that the old Biſhops were timerous and fearful without Cauſe: That if his Grace would move the King to lay his Commands upon him, he would engage his Life to accompliſh that Affair without any Stir. By which means the Treaſurer obtain'd the King's Warrant to command the Biſhops to proceed; and that if they delay'd, the King would turn them out of their Places, which ſhould be ſupply'd with Men more reſolute and vigorous.

A. D. 1637.

The Miniſters ſend Agents to *England*.

The Liturgy propos'd, but reſiſted.

The Lord Treaſurer goes to Court to forward the Liturgy.

Upon the Lord Treaſurer's Return, the young Biſhops were overjoy'd at his Succeſs, which was not at all agreeable to the older Biſhops, nor could they conceal their different Sentiment from being diſcover'd by many People, who foreſaw the fatal Conſequences of their imprudent Conduct. And when the Liturgy and Book of Canons had been tranſmitted to, and amended and approv'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other *Engliſh* Biſhops, it was return'd to *Scotland*; where, by an Act of Council (without the Knowlege or general Conſent of the Church) the Liturgy was forthwith ordain'd to be publiſh'd, and upon *Sunday* the 16th of *July*, 1637. the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* were commanded to intimate from their ſeveral Pulpits, that the next *Sunday thereafter* the Service-Book would be read in all the Churches, and exhort the People to comply with it.

1637. The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* order'd to read the Service Book.

And accordingly the next *Sunday*, the Biſhop of *Edinburgh* came from *Holy-rood-Houſe* to St. *Giles*'s Church, where the Dean of *Edinburgh* that Morning was appointed to begin the Service, The Lord Chancellor, Treaſurer, and others of the Council, with the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, being preſent. But the Dean had no ſooner begun to read the Liturgy, than a prodigious Noiſe and Clamour was rais'd throughout the Church; and after ſeveral inveterate Exclamations, the Common-People, both Men and Women, flung Cudgels, Stones and Stools, or any thing that came firſt to Hand at the Dean. It is ſaid that this Attack was firſt begun by an old Woman, nam'd

The great Diſturbance that happen'd in the Church upon reading of it.

A. D. 1637. nam'd *Janet Geddes*, who ſitting near the Dean, hearing him begin the Liturgy, ſhe ſtood up, and cry'd aloud, *What the De'il does the fa'ſe Loon think to ſay his black Maſs at my Lugg?* and with that threw her Stool, whereon ſhe ſat, at the Dean; which was ſeconded by all the Mob in the Church: Whereupon the Biſhop mounted the Pulpit, and from thence put the People in mind of the Place, their Duty to GOD and the King; but his Lordſhip found no Reverence nor Obedience, nor was the Clamour and Diſorder leſſen'd, till the Chancellor from his Seat commanded the Lord Provoſt to interpoſe his Authority to ſuppreſs the Mob; which at laſt he did, by calling his Guards, who drove out of the Church the rudeſt of thoſe who had made the Diſturbance, and the Doors being ſhut, the Dean proceeded in reading the Liturgy: Yet thoſe who were turn'd out, continu'd ſuch a barbarous Noiſe without, and batter'd the Windows and Doors, ſo that the Congregation were all the Time diſturb'd in their Devotion. And when they had done, and the Council and Magiſtrates went out of the Church to their Houſes, the Rabble followed the Biſhops, upbraiding them with bringing in Popery and Superſtition into the Kingdom. Nor were they ſatisfy'd with the Force of their Tongues, but likewiſe threw Stones and Dirt at the Biſhop of *Edinburgh*; who, 'tis believ'd, had ſcarce eſcap'd their Fury, had not the Earl of *Roxburgh* got him into his Coach, and drove ſo quick away, that the Mob could not overtake them.

The Service Book treated the ſame way in the other Churches in the City.

And, as this was the Reception the Liturgy had in the Cathedral, it fared no better in the other Churches in this City, where it was read; for the Mob threaten'd thoſe, whoſe Buſineſs it was to read it, with the ſame bitter Exclamations againſt Popery and Epiſcopacy. But two of the Reverend Miniſters, nam'd Mr. *Andrew Ramſay* and Mr. *Henry Rollock*, (either by their own Inclination and Reſolution, or Suſpiſion of the Danger) kept their own Way, and did not meddle with the Liturgy, which render'd them moſt praiſe-worthy to their Party; who, by this Time, had ſeveral Meetings and Conſultations, about means to withſtand the Liturgy, and pull down Epiſcopacy.

The moſt eminent of the Brethren, who appear'd at firſt, were Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* and Mr. *David Dick*, who, after ſeveral Conferences with Companies of the Bretheren, and the moſt zealous of both Sexes about *Edinburgh*. Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* return'd to *Fife*, with the utmoſt Privacy and Concealment of his being at *Edinburgh*; as likewiſe did Mr. *David Dick* to the Weſt Country, taking *Lithgow*, *Stirling* and *Glaſgow* in his Way; in both which Places they us'd their utmoſt Diligence and Induſtry, to prepoſſeſs the People with a proper Opinion of the Deſigns they intended to proſecute.

The Biſhops diſpatch an Expreſs to the King.

The Liturgy meeting with this Oppoſition, the Biſhops diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the King, (as it is ſaid, without deſiring the Protection or Conſent of the Council, whereat ſeveral Noblemen were offended) giving a full Account of what had paſt, and deſiring that his Majeſty would uſe ſuch means as might moſt effectually carry on this Affair. And as the King had never ſuffer'd any thing relating to *Scotland*, to be debated, or even communicated to the Council of *England*, but managed all the Affairs of that Nation himſelf, with a few *Scots* Noblemen, who always attended the Court for the Buſineſs of that Kingdom: After conſulting them in the matter, he return'd an Anſwer to *Scotland*, expreſſing his utmoſt Diſpleaſure at what had been done, and charging the Lords of the Council to appear more vigorous in the Vindication of his Authority, and to ſuppreſs thoſe Tumults. Mean time the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s having ſome private Intelligence of Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*'s Behaviour, he ſent a Meſſenger to charge him and Mr. *James Bruce* to read the Liturgy, under pain of Proſecution.

The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s charge Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Bruce* to read the Liturgy.

This Mr. *Henderſon*, in his Youth, was very much inclin'd to Epiſcopacy, and being a Profeſſor of Philoſophy at the Univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s, he was a great Favourite with Archbiſhop *Gladſtane*, who gave him the Kirk of *Leuchers*, but being no further advanc'd in the Church by the Biſhops,

and

and finding himſelf ſo much careſs'd by the Chief of the Presbyterian Faction, he readily engag'd in their Cauſe, and at this Time had ſuch eaſy Acceſs to the Secret Council, that upon the 23d of *Auguſt* he ſupplicated their Lordſhips for a Suſpenſion of the Archbiſhop's Charge, and prevail'd with them to repreſent the ſame to the King, deſiring to know his Majeſty's Anſwer betwixt and the 20 of *September* after. *A. D.* 1637.

The Biſhops having expected that their Supplication would have been rejected by the Council, and Puniſhment inflicted on ſuch as had acted in the Tumult at *Edinburgh*; but finding neither done, they begun to be jealous of the Council when it was too late. For when the Intereſt which Mr. *Henderſon* and other Miniſters had in the Council, was made known to their Correſpondents in other Parts of the Nation, great Numbers repair'd to *Edinburgh* againſt the next Council Dyet; and upon the 19th of *September*, the Earls of *Rothes*, *Caſſils*, *Eglington*, *Hume*, *Lothian*, and *Weems*, the Lords *Lindſay*, *Yeſter*, *Balmerinoch*, *Cranſton*, and *Lowdon*, with divers Burgeſſes, and Miniſters from *Fife* and the weſtern Shires, came alſo into *Edinburgh*; and the next Day after preſented their Supplication againſt the Canons and Liturgy. In their Proceedings, Sir *Thomas Hope*, the King's Advocate, is ſaid to have been their principal Director, but by reaſon of his publick Office made no Appearance in their Cauſe, but gave his private Inſtructions, from time to time, to that Party; and the Lord *Balmerinoch* and Mr. *Henderſon* were the Perſons appointed to receive his Overtures. Mean time ſeveral other Lords ſpoke favourably of the Supplicants, and rebuk'd the Biſhops; but the Council delay'd anſwering the Supplication until *October*, that they wrote to the King, ſhewing what Height the Strife was come to, entreating his Majeſty's Anſwer againſt the 17th of that Month. And as, at the ſame time, the Duke of *Lennox* (who had come to *Scotland* to attend the Burial of his Mother, the Counteſs of *Abercorn)* being in the Council, and ready to take his Journey the next Day, they entreated his Grace to repreſent the Matter fully to his Majeſty; and the Council diſſolv'd.

The Biſhops jealous of the Council.

The Names of the Nobility who firſt appear'd for the Miniſters.

Sir *Thomas Hope*, the King's Advocate, a principal Director of the Party.

Some Days after the chief Perſons of the Presbyterian Faction had a Meeting in the City, wherein they conſulted how the Brethren throughout the Kingdom might be brought to concur with them; and after Conſultation, Mr. *Andrew Ramſay*, and Mr. *Robert Murray* had their particular Inſtructions to travel over the Shires of *Lothian*, *Tiviotdale*, *Merſs*, *Stirling*, *Perth*, *Angus*, *Merns*, *Aberdeen*, and all Parts of the North, to acquaint the People of their Deſigns, and to engage them to eſpouſe their Cauſe: Whereupon great Multitudes of People, from ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, flock'd into *Edinburgh*, and join'd in the Supplication before-mention'd. Mean time, inſtead of an Anſwer of what had been repreſented to the King, they were ſurpris'd with a Proclamation at the Market Croſs, ordaining the Service-Book to be practis'd at *Edinburgh* and other Places adjacent, the Council and Seſſion to remove from *Edinburgh*, firſt to *Linlithgow*, and then to *Stirling*, and all the Supplicants to depart *Edinburgh*, and return home towards their own Homes in 24 Hours, under pain of Rebellion.

Miniſters ſent to ſeveral parts of the Nation to bring over People to join their Party.

A Proclamation ordering the Council and Seſſion to remove from *Edinburgh*.

This irritated the People of *Edinburgh* ſo, that about 300 Women rendevouz'd in the Street, and meeting one of the Biſhops going into the Town Council-Houſe, they fell upon him with ſuch Fury, that had he not been ſuddenly reſcu'd, they had torn him to Pieces: Whereupon they ſurrounded the Town Council-houſe, threatning the Magiſtrates to pull down the Houſe about their Ears, unleſs they did preſently nominate two Commiſſioners for the Town to join the Supplicants: Which Requeſt, or rather Command, the Magiſtrates were compell'd to obey to compoſe the Tumult, ſo the Women disbanded for that Day.

Whereupon the People of *Edinburgh* raiſes a Mob againſt the Biſhops.

This Attempt at *Edinburgh* prevail'd ſo far among the other Burghs, that all of them, except *Aberdeen* only, engag'd in the Cauſe; ſo that all ſuch as were of the contrary Faction, found it dangerous to be among them.

The Proceedings of the Party.

A. D. 1637. Yet notwithstanding of this Proclamation, ordering the Supplicants to depart out of *Edinburgh*, they remain'd in Town, and next Day met in several Congregations to consult about what was next to be done; and having some Assurance from some Lords of the Council, that no Notice should be taken of their staying in *Edinburgh*, provided they kept within Doors, and did not appear in the Street; wherefore they abode in their Meeting Houses all that Day, during which Time my Lord *Balmerinoch* and Mr. *Henderson*, were, with Sir *Thomas Hope*, receiving private Instructions; and after Consultation, Mr. *Henderson* brought a Proposition from the Lords to the Ministers. That whereas they had before only desired only to be freed from the Service-Book, they might now complain of the Bishops as Under-minders of Religion, and crave Justice to be done upon them; but the Report being made to the Noblemen of that Faction; that several Ministers professed they had no Quarrel against the Bishops, and only desired to be freed from the Service-Book, wherefore they sent the Earl of *Rothes*, and Lord *Lowden* to perswade and threaten the Ministers to comply with their Request: So that the Accusation of the Bishops (which had been by them before Hand prepared) was subscrib'd by them all, and deliver'd to the Clerk of the Council; and Copies whereof were given to all the Ministers, to be carried to their several Parishes, to be subscrib'd by Persons of all Ranks, and return'd against the 15th of *November*, being appointed for their next Meeting Day.

The Ministers returning home at this Time, they, in their several Congregations, labour'd so effectually, that by the Day appointed, greater Numbers then formerly from all Quarters, came to *Edinburgh* to joyn their Supplication.

The Earl of *Montrose* engaged to joyn the Presbyterian Faction.

At this Time the Earl of *Montrose*, Chief of the most ancient and noble Family and Sirname of *Graham*, who was a Nobleman much noted for his Activity and Ability, both in Military and State Affairs, was engaged to joyn the Presbyterian Faction, tho' he had been always formerly inclin'd and stedfast to Episcopacy; which, when he first forsook, very much surprised the Bishops, who then begun to look upon their own Cause as desperate, and consider the Designs of their Enemies, to be more formidable than they at first apprehended.

Mean Time the Noblemen of the Presbyterian Faction, finding the Number of their Party to be so great in Town, they held a Consultation, wherein they appointed certain Persons of each Rank, to remain constantly in *Edinburgh*, to watch their Proceedings, and receive Answers from the Council and the rest to return home, which accordingly they did; and in the Council which then sat at *Dalkeith*, the Noblemen and Commissioners of the Party, upon the 19th of *December*, presented the Complaint against the Bishops, wherein they petition'd, that the Bishops being now made a Party, might not sit and vote in that Judicatory.

The Council sit at *Dalkeith*.

In the Council at this Time the Earl of *Traquair*, Lord Treasurer, Sir *James Carmichael* his Deputy, Sir *Thomas Hope* Advocate, and Sir *John Hamilton* Justice-Clerk, appear'd far more favourable to the Presbyterian Faction, than formerly they had done, the Earl of *Roxburgh* Lord Privy Seal seem'd reserv'd, nor did any of the Council speak favourably of the Bishops, except Sir *John Hay* Clerk Register, who strenuously asserted their Privileges, and Authority. However, the Council at last resolv'd to send the Lord Treasurer to Court, to inform the King how Matters stood; and tho' the Bishops that were present, used their utmost Endeavours to have some other Person, whose Friendship they could more confide in, imploy'd in that Message; yet as the Earl of *Roxburgh*, and the chief of the Counsellors had appointed him, the Bishops were oblig'd to consent, and his Lordship set out on his Journey to Court, the 21st of *December*.

The Earl of *Traquair* sent to Court.

A. D. 1638. Upon the 8th Day of *January* 1638, in Obedience to the Proclamation of the 17th of *October*, the Council and Session met at *Stirling*, where they continu'd to sit; and upon the 14th of *February*, the Treasurer return'd from Court to *Dalkeith*. Upon the 16th he came to *Edinburgh*, where he stay'd till the 19th, and then at Two a Clock in the Morning past away to *Stirling*. But

it

it is ſaid, that at his coming to *Dalkeith*, the Commiſſioners reſiding at *Edinburgh*, ſent the Lord *Cranſton* privately to the Treaſurer, who, after a long Conference with him, he return'd to *Edinburgh*, where the Party had frequent Conſultations; and the ſame Morning that the Treaſurer went to *Stirling*, they ſent the Earl of *Hume* and Lord *Lindſay* with Orders, that if any Proclamation was publiſh'd at *Stirling*, they, in the Name of the Party ſhould proteſt againſt the ſame. The Two Lords arriv'd in *Stirling* an Hour before the Treaſurer; who coming into Town early, preſently called a Council, and at Ten of the Clock cauſed to be publiſh'd at the Market-Croſs his Majeſty's Proclamation, approving the Service Book, and diſcharging all Meaſures to the contrary, under the Pain of Treaſon. *A. D.* 1638.

Whereupon the Earl of *Hume* and Lord *Lindſay*, proteſted againſt the Proclamation taking Inſtruments in the Hands of Mr. *David Forreſter* Notary.

The Earl of *Hume* and Lord *Lindſay*'s Proteſt againſt the Proclamation.

The reſt of the Noblemen then at *Edinburgh*, (having diſperſt Meſſengers to the *Lothians*, *Fife*, and *Perth* Shire, notifying to all that wiſh'd well to the Cauſe, to come to *Stirling* in all Haſte) they went ſtraight to *Stirling*, where they arriv'd at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and by Midnight the Town was full of arm'd Men, that came from all Quarters, which Appearance very much ſurpriz'd all People, eſpecially the Biſhops, who were under great Apprehenſions of Danger, eſpecially Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, for there went a current Report, that he would be ſerv'd as his Predeceſſor Archbiſhop *Hamilton*, had been ſome Years before in that Town; to which the Mob were very much inclin'd, but by the Advice of the graver Sort of Miniſters, they forbore offering him any Violence. Mean Time the chief Perſons of the Party having conferr'd with the Treaſurer, they gave a Commiſſion to *Arthur Erſkine* of *Scotſcraig*, and Sir *William Murray* of *Polmais*, to repreſent their Complaints and Grievances at the firſt Diet of the Council; the whole Party being in Number about 2000, went ſtraight from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh*, where they enter'd into Conſultation about what was next to be done, and at laſt unanimouſly reſolv'd upon a Solemn Contract or Covenant, to be ſubſcrib'd by all that would joyn with them: According to which Reſolution, Lawyers were employ'd to draw the Form of their Covenant; which being prepar'd, the whole Party aſſembled in the *Gray-Friers* Church and Church-yard, where it was publickly read, and ſubſcrib'd by all the Party, with the utmoſt Demonſtrations of Joy.

The Town of *Stirling* filled with a Number of armed Men, to the great Surprize of the Biſhops.

The Contract ſubſcrib'd at *Edinburgh*.

After this Covenant had been ſubſcrib'd at *Edinburgh*, Copies thereof were forthwith ſent through the Nation to the ſeveral Burrows, Presbyteries and Pariſhes, to be ſubſcrib'd by all ſuch as would joyn the Cauſe; ſo it was receiv'd with great Joy in the Southern and Weſtern Shires; but in the Northeren Parts and Highlands, it met with great Oppoſition.

Copies thereof ſent throughout the Kingdom.

The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s hearing what was done, cry'd out, *All that we have been doing theſe Thirty Years paſt, is now thrown down at once*; and leaving *Stirling* he came to *Edinburgh* privately, and to eſcape Violence, poſted ſtraight to *London*, where he remain'd till his Death, which happen'd next Year, the reſt of the Biſhops being equally fearful of Violence, went likewiſe to *London*; ſo that none remain'd in *Scotland*, except *Alexander Ramſay* Biſhop of *Dunkell*, *George Graham* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *James Fairly* Biſhop of *Argyle*, and *John Guthrie* Biſhop of *Murray*, whereof the Three former prevented Danger and Perſecution by ſolemn Recantations; but Biſhop *Guthrie* endured Excommunication, Impriſonment, and other Sufferings, in the midſt of which he continued to juſtifie Epiſcopal Government to his Death.

Upon the firſt Account of the Covenant's being ſubſcrib'd, the Council met at *Stirling*; and upon the 10th of *March* ſent Sir *John Hamilton* Juſtice-Clerk, to inform the King of what had paſt, who going to Court, returned upon the 20th of *April*, and deliver'd to the Council a Letter from the King, wherein his Majeſty order'd the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Lord *Lorn* then Juſtice General, to repair to Court, which they forthwith obey'd; and after Conference with the King, his Majeſty reſolv'd to ſend

The Council meet at *Stirling* upon Notice of the Covenant.

A. D. 1638. down *James* Marquiſs of *Hamilton* his Commiſſioner, to ſettle the Matters of the Kingdom. Whereupon the Lord *Lorn* immediately return'd to *Scotland*, but the Lord Treaſurer and Lord Privy-Seal remain'd at Court, until the Commiſſioner was ready to take his Journey.

The Lord *Lorn* returns from *England.*

The Cauſe of the Lord *Lorn*'s ſudden Return is alledg'd to be, That his Father, the Earl of *Argyle*, who had been baniſh'd for turning to the Church of *Rome*, having obtain'd Leave to return to *England*, he then was at Court, and finding how his Son was diſpos'd upon that Occaſion, he went to the King, and advis'd his Majeſty not to let his Son return to *Scotland*, otherwiſe he would, (as he then expreſs'd it) *Wind him a Pirn.* The King thank'd the Earl for his Advice, but ſaid, As he had call'd his Son to Court by his Warrant, he would not detain him; ſo the Lord *Lorn* being permitted to return, he acquainted the Presbyterian Faction with his Majeſty's Reſolution, to ſend the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* Commiſſioner, which occaſion'd their various Sentiments of his Behaviour, and as they ſuſpected his Friendſhip to their Cauſe, they rais'd and ſpread ſeveral Reports to that Nobleman's Diſadvantage.

The Covenant reſiſted at *Aberdeen.*

The Earl of *Montroſe*, Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, Mr. *Andrew Cant*, and Mr. *David Dick*, having been employ'd in the North to engage all that they could to join the Covenant, they found the Members of the Univerſity and Clergy of *Aberdeen* had reſiſted, and employ'd their Intereſt againſt it, both in that City and adjacent Shires: Yet the Earl and the three Miniſters, (who were, by the Brethren, call'd, *The Apoſtles of the Covenant*) prevail'd with ſeveral of the Citizens and Country-People, to ſubſcribe the Covenant. And, being attended by a great Number of Proſolites, they return'd to *Edinburgh*; where they arriv'd the ſame Day that the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* came to *Dalkeith*; and the next Day, when he was on his Journey towards the Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, the Covenanting Nobility caus'd all the People to be drawn up on the Sands of *Leith*, and the Miniſters in a Body by themſelves: Of which, when the Commiſſioner had Notice, he paſt that Way to take a View of them, and paſſing by the Miniſters, one *William Livingſton* offer'd to make an Oration to his Grace; but he refus'd to hear it.

The Marquiſs of *Hamilton* arrives at *Dalkeith.*

He comes to *Holy-rood-Houſe.*

At his coming to *Holy-rood-Houſe*, the Covenanters ſent the Earls of *Rotheſs*, *Morton*, Lord *Lindores*, with Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, *David Dick*, and *Andrew Cant*, to attend, and treat with his Grace about their Affairs, but had no favourable Reception.

A Proclamation order'd by him, and what follow'd

Upon the 4th of *July*, the Commiſſioner caus'd publiſh, at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*, a Proclamation, rather approving than condemning the Service-Book: Againſt which Proclamation a Proteſtation was taken by great Numbers there preſent; which was read by Mr. *Archibald Johnſton*, ſeconded by the Earl of *Caſſils*, in the Name of the Nobility; *Alexander Gibſon* of *Dury, junior*, in Name of the Gentry; *James Fletcher*, Provoſt of *Dundee*, in Name of the Burghs; and Mr. *John Hare*, with Mr. *Archibald Johnſton* the Reader thereof, in the Name of the Miniſters, and all that did or would adhere to the Covenant.

After this Proteſtation, the chief Perſons of the Covenanters had ſeveral Conferences with the Commiſſioner, without any Agreement; and as they had preſt for an Aſſembly and Parliament, his Grace return'd to Court, promiſing to return again with his Majeſty's Anſwer before the 12th of *Auguſt*: And returning upon the 8th of that Month to *Edinburgh* again, he declar'd in Council, that he had obtain'd his Majeſty's Warrant to call a Parliament and an Aſſembly, provided the Covenanters would condeſcend to certain Articles; which they rejecting, he return'd again to Court.

Whereupon the Covenanters printed and diſpers'd a Treatiſe, containing *Reaſons for the Church's Power to call and hold Aſſembles without the Magiſtrate's Authority, in caſe he denied the ſame.* By which the King might know what they intended, in caſe he deny'd. Mean time the Commiſſioner return'd to *Edinburgh* the 17th of *September*, and having conveen'd

veen'd the Council, his Grace, and the whole Lords thereof, according to his Majeſty's Command, did upon the 22d Day, ſubſcribe that Confeſſion of Faith, by ſome call'd a Covenant, which had been ſubſcrib'd by the late King *James* and his Council, and the Eſtates of the Land, in the Year 1580. And, by a Proclamation at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*, the Liturgy and Book of Canons were diſcharg'd, and the Articles of *Perth* declar'd to have no Force. The Aſſembly was appointed to meet at *Glaſgow* the 24th of *November*, and the Parliament the 15th of *May*, next Year, 1639. *A. D.* 1638.

A Proclamation at *Edinburgh*, diſcharging the Liturgy, and the Articles of *Perth*.

Altho' it was believ'd, that this Proclamation would ſatisfy the Covenanters, yet immediately after it was read, they took a Proteſtation againſt it, wherein they ſaid, *That they gave Thanks for the Favours granted them in it; but proteſted againſt ſome Things, which they accounted not Satisfactory.*

By theſe means the Covenanters Party daily increas'd, by the Diligence of the Nobility, who were very active in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom where they reſided; among whom none was more active than the Lord *Lorn*, who commanded moſt of the Shire of *Argyle*, *Lorn*, *Kintyre*, *Cowell* and *Broadalbin*, where many were found to join that Party. And the Earl of *Argyle* his Father dying at that Time, and he ſucceeding to the Titles and Eſtate, became the more powerful to ſerve his Pary, yet manag'd his Part ſo privately, that he continu'd in the Council, and attended the Commiſſioner as a Privy-Counſellor in the Aſſembly which met the 21ſt of *November* at *Glaſgow*, whereof Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* was choſen Moderator, and Mr. *Archibald Johnſton* Clerk.

The Covenanters Party daily increaſe.

The firſt Thing this Aſſembly enter'd upon, was to debate a Repreſentation made by the Covenanters, to exclude the Biſhops from being Members of that Aſſembly or the Council, and other Things that belong'd to the Conſtitution thereof. The Commiſſioner ſitting in the Aſſembly, attended by the Council, being diſſatisfy'd at the Proceedings of the Miniſters, he withdrew, and the next Morning at Nine a-Clock, by a Proclamation at the Market Croſs of *Glaſgow*, diſcharg'd the Aſſembly to ſit under pain of High Treaſon: Againſt which the Presbyterian Faction took Inſtruments, and notwithſtanding the Proclamation, the Aſſembly preſently met thereafter, and ſat daily for ſeveral Weeks, until they had conſulted their Affairs.

The Aſſembly meets at *Glaſgow*.

To this Aſſembly came the Earl of *Argyle*, who declar'd himſelf publickly for their Party, making an Apology for not having declar'd formerly after a publick manner: And, by his Example, ſeveral other Lords, and others join'd the Covenanters.

The Earl of *Argyle* delares publickly for that Party.

In this Aſſembly the Liturgy and Book of Canons, the Book of Ordination, the High Commiſſion, the five Articles of *Perth*, together with all Things offenſive to them in any preceding Aſſembly, were all condemn'd and declar'd to be null: As alſo it was declar'd, That the *Confeſſion of Faith*, (by them call'd the *Covenant*) ſubſcrib'd by the late King *James*, in 1580. was declar'd to be ſubſtantially one and the ſame with the Covenant now ſubſcrib'd by them; and that by the former Epiſcopacy was abjur'd. Mean time they depos'd all the Biſhops, and excommunicated them, except thoſe who ſubmitted to the Aſſembly: Likewiſe all the Miniſters that oppos'd the Covenant were depos'd, and Commiſſioners appointed to ſupply their Places with ſuch of the Brethren as they thought proper; whereupon Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* was tranſlated from *Leuchers* to *Edinburgh*, and *Eliezar Borthwick* put in his Place. This Aſſembly having order'd all Matters to their own Satisfaction, they concluded to draw up a Letter to be ſent to the King, to obtain his Royal Aſſent to what they had done; ſo upon the 20th Day of *December* they broke up with great Joy. And after ſome private Conſultations of the Noblemen and Miniſters, *Eliezar Borthwick* was return'd to *London*, to deal with ſuch as he could prevail with to join their Cauſe: And it is ſaid, that the Earl of *Haddington*, who was then at Court, was very diligent among the Noblemen of *England*, to obtain their Favour and Countenance to the Presbyterian Party in *Scotland*; and that he ſent

The Proceedings of the Aſſembly.

A. D. 1638. Notice from Time to Time, of his Proceedings to the Earl of *Rothesſ*, who communicated the ſame to the Party.

1639. The Marquiſs of *Hamilton* leaving *Scotland*, came to *London* the laſt of *December*; and in the beginning of *January* Mr. *George Windram* of *Liberton* came to Court with the Letter from the Aſſembly of the Miniſters, which was deliver'd to the King. His Majeſty having read it, call'd the *Scots* Council, to whom he communicated the Letter, deſiring their Opinion of it. And finding them all approve of it, he return'd his Anſwer by a Letter to the Council, That he intended to be in *Scotland* in *April* after, and would call the Council of *Scotland* to meet him there, to conſult the Affairs of that Nation.

The Aſſembly ſends a Letter to the King.

His Anſwer.

So ſoon as this Letter came to the Council, the Miniſters ſeeing this Delay of Time propos'd by the King, were reſolv'd to proſecute their Deſigns with the greater Speed: And at that time reported, that they had Intelligence of the King's Deſign to raiſe an Army to invade them. Upon which Report they call'd a general Meeting of the Noblemen and chief Perſons of their Party; and after Conſultation, reſolv'd upon a defenſive War. In the mean time a Paper was produc'd (which had been before-hand prepar'd) by the Lord *Balmerinoch*, Sir *Thomas Hope*, and Mr. *Henderſon*, containing Reaſons for the Lawfulneſs and Neceſſity of raiſing an Army for their own Defence; which being read in the Meeting, all the Noblemen, and others in that Aſſembly agreed, to liſt an Army, and voted General *David Leſly* (who had lately commanded in the *German* Expedition) General of their Army: Which Reſolution was forthwith order'd to be intimated by all the Miniſters in their ſeveral Congregations, and that they ſhould frame their Doctrine to that Purpoſe.

The Noblemen and others of the Covenanters reſolve upon a defenſive War.

David Leſly made General.

Upon the 21ſt of *March* General *Leſly*, accompanied with all the Covenanters then in Town, went and demanded the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which was immediately ſurrender'd, by Mr. *Patrick Halden* Conſtable thereof, who had neither **Proviſion** nor Men to make any Defence; for ſome Time before the Covenanters had contriv'd to keep it in that Condition, that they might the more eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of it at their Pleaſure. After this the General, with the Strength of his Party, march'd to *Dalkeith*, where the King kept a Garriſon, which immediately ſurrender'd to the General; who therein found a great Quantity of Ammunition and Arms, which he brought with him to *Edinburgh* Caſtle.

General *Leſly* demands the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. It ſurrenders.

The King's Garriſon at *Dalkeith* ſurrenders.

Upon the firſt Notice of the Covenanters being in Arms, the Marquiſs of *Huntly* came to *Aberdeen*, and headed the Citizens, who had arm'd themſelves againſt the Covenanters: Whereof when General *Leſly* had Notice, he appointed the Earl of *Mountroſe* to go and levy an Army with all Expedition to ſuppreſs the Marquiſs of *Huntly*; which he accordingly did; and coming near the City of *Aberdeen*, the Marquiſs retir'd to his Houſe of *Strathbogie*, and the Citizens ſubmitted to the Earl. It is ſaid, that ſome of the Miniſters deſir'd Leave for the Soldiers to plunder the City, and afterwards to burn it, to terrify other Towns from following their Example; but could not prevail with the Earl of *Montroſe* to conſent. The Earl propos'd ſeveral Articles to the Marquiſs, which he at firſt agreed to, but next Day proteſted againſt it; whereupon *Montroſe* cancell'd the Articles, and carry'd the Marquiſs, with his eldeſt Son Lord *Gordon*, to *Edinburgh*, and committed them Priſoners to the Caſtle: But the Lord *Aboyn*, the Marquiſs's ſecond Son, at the Earl of *Montroſe*'s Requeſt, ſubſcrib'd the Covenant, and had Leave to ſtay in the North.

The Marquiſs of *Huntly* comes to *Aberdeen* and heads the Citizens.

They ſubmit to *Mountroſe*.

The King being come to *York*, and having Notice of the Covenanter's being in Arms, publiſh'd a Declaration, containing an Account of the Reaſons why he intended to raiſe an Army, to ſuppreſs that Party in *Scotland*, who had depos'd the Biſhops, and acted ſo far contrary to all Church Diſcipline, and that Allegiance and Obedience due from Subjects to their Sovereign: And finding the Nobility and People of *England* ready to aſſiſt him, he forthwith rais'd an Army, and at the ſame time ſent a Fleet of 20 Sail of Ships, under

The King comes to *York*, and publiſhes a declaration for raiſing an Army.

under the Command of the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* and Sir *John Pennigton*, with 3000 Land Forces; which Fleet, upon the 21ſt Day of *May*, came to the Road of *Leith*. *A. D.* 1639.

By this Time General *Leſly* march'd his Army towards *Berwick*, where the King's Army then lay, commanded by the Earl of *Arundell*; and General *Leſly*, with his Army coming to *Dunce*, they held a Council of War, wherein it was agreed by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and other chief Perſons to ſend by the Earl of *Dumfermling*, a Supplication to the King for a Treaty, which his Majeſty granted, and appointed their Commiſſioners to meet in the Earl of *Arundell*'s Tent upon the 2d of *June*.

General *Leſly* marches with the Covenanters Army to *Berwick*.

They ſend a Supplication to the King for a Treaty.

The Covenanters having this Anſwer, appointed the Earl of *Rothes*, the Lord *Lowdon*, Sir *William Douglas* of *Cavers*, and Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* to treat with the King as their Commiſſioners: And being come to the Earl of *Arundell*'s Tent, the King unexpectedly came there; and after thoſe Commiſſioners kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand, they enter'd into a Conference, which laſted for ſome Hours, and the Treaty was adjourn'd to the 13th Day; on which Day they again attended, and continued to meet and confer till the 18th, on which Day the Treaty ended in Pacification, in the following Articles.

The Articles of Pacification.

That as the King would not own their Aſſembly at Glaſgow, *ſo neither ſhould they be urged to diſown it: That there ſhould be a full and free Aſſembly holden at* Edinburgh, *upon the 12th of* Auguſt, *and a Parliament to meet the 26th of the ſame Month. That in the mean Time both Armies ſhould disband, all Priſoners releas'd, and Places be reſtored to the Owners, and mutual Aſſurances from all Dangers.*

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* delivered to the Marquis of *Hamilton*.

This Agreement was upon the 18th of *June* ſigned by the King, his General and Council; and the next Day the Earls of *Arundell* and *Holland* came to *Dunce*, and in General *Leſly*'s Head quarters, the ſame was ſign'd by him and his Council of War; and upon the 20th Day both Armies were disbanded, and retir'd home. And upon the 22d the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was deliver'd to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who releaſed the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, and his Son the Lord *Gordon*, and placed General *Ruthven* as Governor thereof; upon the 27th Day he ſail'd out of the *Firth* with the King's Navy towards *England*.

This Pacification, howſoever diſagreeable to ſome Perſons, gave all good People Hopes, that all further Troubles would ceaſe; but as the Covenanters were ſtill diſſatisfied, they encourag'd the meaner Sort to inſult thoſe who had not appear'd in their Party. For, upon the 2d of *July*, the Lord Treaſurer, with the Lord *Kinnoul*, and General *Ruthven* coming occaſionally from the Caſtle through the City, were attack'd by a Mob of furious Women, who throwing Stones and Dirt at them, calling them Traitors and Enemies to the Cauſe of the LORD; which Inſolence was ſo far own'd by the chief Perſons of the Party, that after Conſultation they ſent the Lord *Lowdon* to the King, who ſtill was at *Berwick* to excuſe this Accident, which his Majeſty eaſily granted; and at the ſame Time gave Orders, that 14 of the *Scots* ſhould attend him at *Berwick*, to conſult Matters to be propos'd to the next Aſſembly and Parliament. Theſe appointed to attend the King were the Earls of *Argyle*, *Rothes*, *Montroſe*, *Lothian*, *Caſſils*, *Dumfermling*, and *Lowdon*, Lord *Lindſay*, Sir *William Douglas* of *Cavers*, Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, Mr. *Archibald Johnſton* Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, *Edward Edgar* Bailie, and the Provoſt of *Stirling*; but of theſe 14 there only went, the Earls of *Rothes*, *Montroſe*, *Lowdon*, the Provoſt and Bailie of *Edinburgh*, who coming to the King, and having kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand, he order'd them back again to bring up the reſt of their Number, whereupon they return'd to *Edinburgh*; and when the other Perſons aforemention'd, were ready to take their Journey, they were ſtopt by a Mob at the Water Gate, occaſion'd by a Report, that if they went to *Berwick*, they would be detain'd, and their Party oblig'd to ſubmit to the King, and Council of *England*'s Pleaſure. Upon this Interruption the Earl of *Lowdon* wrote a Letter to the King, excuſing what had happen'd: But as the King ſtill inſiſted upon their coming to *Berwick*,

The Lord Treaſurer, &c inſulted by a Mob of Women.

The *Scots* Commiſſioners ſtopt by a Mob.

A. D. 1639. *wick*, after Conſultation the Earl of *Lowdon* and Lord *Lindſay* were ſent to his Majeſty to excuſe the reſt, alledging that the unruly Multitude threaten'd their Lives if they proceeded; which Excuſe was ſo offenſive to the King, that on the 29th of *July*, he took Journey to *London*, tho' he had intended coming to *Scotland* in Perſon, to meet the Parliament. Mean Time the Aſſembly met at *Edinburgh*, upon the 12th of *Auguſt*, the Earl of *Traquair* being appointed his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, and Mr. *David Dick* choſen Moderator, having Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* for his Cuoadjutor, they paſt an Act condemning Epiſcopacy as unlawful, and contrary to the Word of GOD; and another Act approving and ratifying the Covenant, and ordaining the ſame to be ſworn to, and ſubſcrib'd by all the Subjects of the Kingdom; to which Acts the Commiſſioners and Council aſſented.

The Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*.

On the 31ſt of *Auguſt* the Parliament met, wherein the Earl of *Traquair* was alſo appointed Commiſſioner. The firſt Thing they enter'd upon was to ratify the Acts of the Aſſembly, which was agreed to by the Commiſſioner, and Majority of the Members. At the ſame Time ſome Motions were made by the Covenanters, to alter the Conſtitution of Parliaments; to which the Commiſſioner anſwer'd he had no Power; as alſo theſe Motions were oppos'd by the Earl of *Montroſe*, upon which Account he was ſuſpected of having turned to the King's Party. Mean Time the Commiſſioner acquainted the King of thoſe Motions; in Anſwer to which he receiv'd his Majeſty's Letter to prorogue the Parliament, and repair to Court, whereof, when the Eſtates had Notice, they refuſed to be prorogued, and denied Leave to the Commiſſioner to depart; whereupon his Grace ſent the Earl of *Kinnoul* to repreſent the Matter to the King; and the Eſtates at the ſame Time, ſent the Earls of *Dumfermling* and Lord *Lowdon* to repreſent their Caſe; but theſe Two Noblemen were diſcharg'd from coming within a Mile of Court. The King wrote again to the Commiſſioner, to prorogue the Parliament to the 2d of *June* 1640, which being done upon the 1ſt of *November*, the Covenanters proteſted againſt the Prorogation; which Proteſtation (being before Hand prepar'd) was preſently read by Mr. *Archibald Johnſton*, and Inſtruments thereupon taken by the Earl of *Rothes*; ſo the Members diſmiſt, and the next Day the Lord Commiſſioner took his Journey to *London*. As likewiſe upon the 17th of *November*, did Mr. *William Cunningham* of *Brownhall*, who was ſent by the Committee of Eſtates, with a Supplication to the King, to order a Proclamation for Commiſſioners to come to Court, to give his Majeſty Satisfaction of all Matters paſt.

A Motion made by the Covenanters to alter the Conſtitution of the Parliament.

The Parliament refuſe to be prorogued by the King's Order.

The Covenanters Proteſt.

The Crown carried from the Abbey to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Traquair* returned to *Edinburgh* upon the 18th Day of *December*, and the next Day privately carried the Crown, and other Royal Ornaments from *Holy-rood-houſe* to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which occaſion'd great Speeches among both Parties, but his Lordſhip without taking Notice of any Thing elſe, return'd to Court within a few Days after. Upon the 23d of *December*, arriv'd Mr. *William Cunningham*, with a Proclamation for Commiſſioners to repair to Court; whereupon the Council and moſt of the Eſtates met at *Edinburgh*, and appointed as Commiſſioners to attend the King, the Earls of *Dumfermling* and *Lowdon*, the Sheriff of *Tiviotdale*, and Mr. *Robert Barclay* Burgeſs of *Irvine*, who, as ſoon as they had receiv'd their Inſtructions ſet out for *London*.

Commiſſioners ſet out for *London*.

A. D. 1640. In *January* 1640, arriv'd Two of his Majeſty's Ships in *Leith* Road, and ſent a Meſſenger aſhore to deliver the King's Letter to the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, commanding them under Pain of Treaſon, to convey the Men, Arms, and Ammunition, brought by theſe Ships to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, under a ſtrong Guard, which they (after Conſultation, and obtaining Conſent of the Noblemen and others then in Town) obey'd.

The Covenanters agree to levy an Army.

The Commiſſioners at their coming to Court, were admitted to kiſs the King's Hand, and were deſir'd to give in Writing whatever they had to ſay to the Earl of *Traquair*. Thoſe Commiſſioners having conſulted with ſuch Perſons as they thought proper in *London*, they ſent Notice to their Friends at *Edinburgh*, that they might expect War; whereupon all the Noblemen, Com-

Commiſſioners, and Miniſters, who had ſubſcrib'd the Covenant, met at *Edinburgh* the Tenth of *March*, where, being met, they concluded to levy an Army, and order'd the Miniſters to adviſe the Brethren throughout the Nation, to frame their Doctrine accordingly. Mean Time they wrote a Letter to the King of *France*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance in Defence of the Privileges of the Nation, according to the ancient League betwixt both Kingdoms; which Letter being ſubſcrib'd by ſuch as were then preſent at *Edinburgh*, it was committed to Mr. *Archibald Johnſton* to have it ſubſcrib'd by others of the Party, as they came to Town from Time to Time; but by Chance this Letter was dropt, and the Perſon who found it, carried it to the Earl of *Traquair*; which Letter being miſt, they immediately wrote a Letter to the ſame Purpoſe, to the *French* King, with another to Cardinal *Richlieu*, both which were immediately ſent to *France* by Mr. *Colvil*, Brother to Sir *Robert Colvil* of *Cleiſh*.

A. D. 1640.

They write to the *French* King.

When the firſt Letter was deliver'd to the King, he ſhew'd the ſame to the Parliament of *England*, who offered their Concurrence, and ready Aſſiſtance to purſue the *Scots* Covenanters, whoſe Commiſſioners being then at Court were examined; and the Earl of *Lowdon* having ſubſcrib'd the Letter, he was committed to the Tower, whereof, when the Covenanters had Notice, they appointed a general Meeting at *Edinburgh*, the 16th of *April*, where they determin'd to raiſe Forces, elected General *Leſly* Commander in Chief of their Army.

About the ſame Time the Parliament of *England*, who had ſo readily offered Aſſiſtance to the King againſt the Covenanters, refuſing to grant any Subſidy, till certain Grievances were addreſſed, they were diſſolved, and as ſome of the Members were impriſon'd, the *London* Mob had broke into *Lambeth* Houſe to Search for Archbiſhop *Laud*, againſt whom great Complaints were made, and ſeveral Libels were diſperſt threatning his Life.

Troubles in *England*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* having been prorogued to the 2d of *June*, the King's Letter came to the Lords of the Council, to prorogue it to the Month of *July* after; but thoſe Lords having conſulted Sir *Thomas Hope* his Majeſty's Advocate, he declar'd that the Warrant for the Prorogation was ſo irregular, that it was not valid in Law, wherefore they did not allow the Prorogation, but continued to meet in Council, and having ſummon'd General *Ruthven* to ſurrender the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, (which he refuſed) they paſſed an Act of Forfeiture againſt him; and in a Committee of the Eſtates, they appointed Twelve of each Eſtate to be divided, ſo that one Half of them ſhould ſit at *Edinburgh*, and the other Half of the Number ſhould attend the Camp to diſpoſe of Military Affairs. Upon the 11th of *June* they adjourned the Parliament to the 19th of *November*, and employ'd all Hands in raiſing the Levies over the Nation, and by the latter End of *July* they had their Regiments ready, and order'd Contributions to be rais'd for maintaining of them. The Money was collected and given into the Hands of *Alexander Gibſon* of *Durie junior*, whom they had appointed their Receiver-General. The Earl of *Lowdon* being releaſed from his Impriſonment in *England*, arrived at *Edinburgh*, where, being met by the chief Perſons they held a Conſultation, wherein they reſolv'd to march their Army into *England*. Mean Time they publiſh'd a Declaration, wherein they proteſted before the Almighty GOD, that they intended not the leaſt Deminution of the King's Honour or Power, nor any Hurt to *England*, but only to ſeek their own Peace.

The Parliament raiſes an Army,

They reſolve to march them into *England*.

They publiſh a Declaration.

In this Meeting the Earl of *Argyle* inform'd them, that the People of *Atholl* and *Ogilvies* of the *Braes* of *Angus*, were diſaffected to their Cauſe, wherefore he obtain'd a Commiſſion to raiſe his *Highlanders* and go againſt them; and having raiſed Three Regiments, he marched towards the Braes of *Atholl*, whereupon the Earl of *Atholl* having rais'd Twelve hundred Men, encamped in the Way to meet *Argyle*'s Army; which being come within a few Miles, both Earls appointed a Conference in the Earl of *Argyle*'s Tent, which was conſented to; and they enter'd into Articles of Agreement, which was concluded and ſubſcrib'd by both Parties; but when the Earl of *Atholl*, with his Brother-in-law Sir *Patrick Ogilvie* of *Inchmartin*, were about to return, they

The Earl of *Argyle* informs the Covenanters of the *Atholl* Men, and *Ogilvie*'s riſing againſt them.

Articles of Agreement between the Earls of *Argyle* and *Athol*.

A. D. 1640. were ſtop'd by the Earl of *Argyle*'s Guards; and, contrary to his Promiſe and Word of Honour, to have ſafe Acceſs and Receſs, they were both confin'd Priſoners, and commanded to ſend an Order to their People to disband; which was done: Yet they were continu'd Priſoners, and the next Day ſent to *Stirling*; from whence they were convey'd to *Edinburgh*, where they continu'd Priſoners until they gave Security for their good Behaviour; after which they were releas'd and permitted to return home. This diſhonourable Action of the Earl of *Argyle* was very much exclaim'd againſt; and as he had (after Notice ſent him by the Earl of *Montroſe*, that the Earl of *Airly* had ſurrender'd his Houſe) march'd his Men into the Braes of *Angus*, and giving them Leave to plunder ſeveral Houſes in that Part of the Country, his Name became odious to all ſuch as ſtood up for the King's Intereſt; ſo that he was more blam'd than any of that Party.

The General Aſſembly ſit without a Commiſſioner from the King

Upon the laſt *Tueſday* of *July* the General Aſſembly ſat down at *Aberdeen*, without any Commiſſion from the King: And after appointing a ſolemn Faſt to be kept throughout the Kingdom, for a Bleſſing upon their Army, they ordain'd, That all ſuch of the Brethren, either of *Scotland* or of ſuch as came from *Ireland* to join their Cauſe, ſhould be provided with Pariſhes, ſo that they ſhould not be oblig'd to keep any Field Conventicles, as they had done for ſome Time paſt: And having appointed the next General Aſſembly to meet at St. *Andrew*'s, they at that Time diſmiſt.

The *Scots* Army enter *England*.

Upon *Friday*, *Auguſt* the 21ſt, the *Scots* Army enter'd *England*, and paſſing the River *Tweed*, came to *Newburn* Foord upon the River *Tyne*, where they were meet by an Army, commanded by the Lord *Connoway*, being ſent by the Earl of *Strafford*, General of the King's Army, who then lay at *York*; ſo that when the *Scots* paſt the Foord, they were encounter'd by the *Engliſh* Army, with whom they engag'd with great Fury, and having ſlain 80 upon the Spot, and taken 40 Priſoners, the reſt of the *Engliſh* Army fled in great Haſte.

The *Scots* engage the *Engliſh* Army and routs them.

After which Victory the Covenanters ſummon'd the Town of *Newcaſtle* to ſurrender, which was readily granted by the Magiſtrates; ſo that upon *Sunday*, *Auguſt* 30. the *Scots* Army enter'd *Newcaſtle*, where they found the King's Magazine, both of Arms and Proviſions; and Mr. *Colvil*, who had been Priſoner there, from the Time he had been apprehended, was releas'd with great Joy; the ſame Day Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* preach'd in the great Church of *Newcaſtle*.

The Town of *Newcaſtle* ſurrenders.

Dowglaſs Caſtle blown up, and the Earl of *Haddington* and 60 Gentlemen kill'd.

Upon the ſame Day a diſmal Accident happen'd in *Scotland*, for the Earl of *Haddington*, who had forſaken the King's Intereſt, and taken Command under General *Leſly*, being at *Dunglaſs* Caſtle, had march'd out in the Forenoon to take Notice of the Garriſon of *Berwick*, he return'd about Mid-day, and ſtanding in the Court with 60 Gentlemen, their Magizine of Powder taking Fire by ſome Accident, blew up the Caſtle, ſo that one of the Walls fell upon them, and cruſh'd them to the Ground with ſuch Violence, that when the Ruins were remov'd, no Marks of Bodies nor Limbs could be diſcover'd.

The Earl of *Lothian* appointed Governor of *Newcaſtle*.

The next Day after the *Scots* Army enter'd *Newcaſtle*, the Earl of *Lothian* was appointed Governor thereof, and 2000 Soldiers allow'd him to keep the Town. At the ſame time the General and his Committee ſent a Supplication to the King, who was then at *York*, for Redreſs of their Grievances; the ſame being ſubſcrib'd, was incloſ'd in a Letter to the Earl of *Lanarick*, his Majeſty's Secretary. In Anſwer to which the King deſir'd the Secretary to acquaint them, That he had call'd a Meeting of the Peers of *England* to be at *York* the 24th of *September*, before which time he deſir'd they might ſet down their Demands in particular; to which they ſhould have an Anſwer. In Obedience to which, they, upon the 8th of *September*, ſent *William Fleming*, Son to the Earl of *Wigton*, with the Particulars of their Demands; which coming to the King, it was taken into Conſideration: When at the ſame time, another Supplication was preſented, ſign'd by ſeveral Peers of

of *England*, desiring a Parliament for Redress of Grievances, and settling Peace betwixt the Nations. *A. D.* 1640.

The King finding those Supplications come at the same time, and to the same Purpose, he was very much surpriz'd; however he took no Notice to these who brought them, and delay'd the Answers until the meeting of the Peers: And when they had met on the Day appointed, it was determin'd, That the Parliament of *England* should meet at *London* the 13th of *November*, and a Treaty with the *Scots* to begin *October* the 1st; the Place of meeting to be at *Rippon*, in that Shire: And there being at the same Time appointed 15 Noblemen of *England*; and for the *Scots*, the Earls of *Dumfermling* and *Lowdon*, the Laird of *Waughton*, the Sheriff of *Twedale*, a Bailie of *Edinburgh* and another of *Dundee*; of the Ministers, Mr. *Alexander Henderson* and Mr. *Archibald Johnston*, who meeting at *Rippon* on the Day appointed, concluded upon a Cessation of Arms until the 16th of *December*; and that the Treaty should be remov'd to *London*, to be prosecuted there in time of Parliament. Mean time it was agreed, that the Sum of 850 Pound *per Diem*, should be allow'd to the *Scots* Army, the same to be paid weekly, till the Conclusion of the Treaty.

A Treaty between Commissioners for *Scotland* and *England* at *Rippon*.

The Parliament of *England* meeting at *Westminster* the 3d of *November*, the before-mention'd Commissioners, having the Earl of *Rothes*, with the Laird of *Riccarton* and *Hugh Kennedy* added to them, they went to *London* to prosecute the Treaty: And at the same time the Parliament of *Scotland* met at *Edinburgh*, and having re-establish'd the Committee, adjourn'd to the 4th of *January* next Year.

The Parliament of *England* meet.

In this Parliament of *England*, the King's Enemies begun to prosecute their Designes; and having declar'd so much Aversion to Episcopal Church Government, they the more easily engag'd the *Scots* Commissioners to join in their Designs; and finding the Earl of *Strafford* and Archbishop *Laud* to have great Interest in maintaining Episcopacy, they first impeach'd the Earl, who was soon after committed to the Tower: And, at the same time, by Vote of Parliament, borrow'd 50000 Pounds Sterling from the City of *London*, which they presented to General *Lesly* and his Committee, to be distributed by them through their Army, besides the 850 Pound Sterling *per Diem*, before, allow'd them.

They declare an Aversion to Episcopal Government, and impeach the Earl of *Strafford*.

Upon the 14th Day of *January*, 1641. the *Scots* Parliament met again, and having re-establish'd the Committee of Estates, adjourn'd to the 13th of *April*. The Committee meeting in the beginning of *February*, they enter'd into Consultation about a Bond of Association; wherein several Noblemen had combin'd to oppose such as had the chief Power at that Time. This Bond was form'd at *Cumbernald*, in the Presence of the Earls of *Montrose* and *Wigton*, Lords *Fleming*, *Boyd*, and *Almond*, who at first subscrib'd it, as did soon after, the Earls of *Marishal*, *Marr*, *Athole*, *Kinghorn*, *Perth*, *Hume*, *Seaforth*, the Lords *Stormount*, *Erskin*, *Drummond*, *Ker*, *Napier*, and several others. 1641.

A Bond of Association form'd.

After long Consultation and many Debates, the Bond was desir'd to be kept as a Secret; but the Subscribers were sharply reprov'd for their too great Adherence to the King's Interest, and speaking against the Earl of *Argyle* and the Ministers. Yet some Time after, the Earl having full Information and Proof of their having subscrib'd that Bond, he inform'd the Committee; who, after Consultation, voted them liable of Censure; and some of the Ministers were so enrag'd at them, that they insisted upon taking their Lives; but the Earl of *Argyle* considering the Strength of their Party, prevail'd with the Committee to accomodate the Matter, upon a Declaration under their Hands, not to attempt any thing against the Publick; which the Lords agreed to, and having given up the Bond of Association, the Committee caus'd it to be burn'd

While the Commissioners remain'd at *London*, the Earl of *Strafford* was brought to his Trial before the House of Lords; and being deny'd Bail or Council, he was remanded to the Tower. All this while the *Scots* Com-

A. D. 1641. missioners attended the King, who had a good Opinion of them; but his Majesty soon discover'd how deeply they were engaged with the *English*; and in the Month of *April*, when the Earl of *Strafford*'s Trial came on, they were found very active among the Earl's Enemies, whereat the King was highly offended. Mean Time the Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, the 13th of *April*, and having re-established the Committee, adjourn'd to the 25th of *May*.

The Earl of *Strafford* found guilty of High Treason.

At *London* the Earl of *Strafford*'s Trial was continued, and was by the prevailing Faction found guilty of high Treason: But as the King was too sensible of the unjust Proceedings of his Enemies, his Majesty used all possible Means to save him from their Fury; yet at last Matters came to that Extremity, that in Consideration of the great Danger, the King and his Friends were expos'd to, that most noble and truly loyal Peer, urged his Majesty to consent to his own Execution, so that his Lordship was beheaded on *Towerhill*, the 12th of *May* 1641. The Parliament meeting at *Edinburgh* on the Day appointed, had Notice that the King intended to come to *Edinburgh*; and having received his Majesty's Letter to prepare for his Reception, they adjourned to the 15th of *July*, the Committee sitting at this Time had an Information of Speeches utter'd by the Earl of *Montrose* and others, against the Earl of *Argyle*'s Character, for which they were called before the Committee, wherein the Earl of *Montrose* charged the Earl of *Argyle*, with having said, *That he had consulted both Lawyers and Divines, anent deposing of the King*, and produced Mr. *John Stewart* Commissary of *Dunkell*, who had been in the Earl of *Argyle*'s Tent, and heard them express these Words, which he affirmed before the Committee: But the Earl of *Argyle* falling into a Passion, with great Oaths denied the Whole, whereupon Mr. *Stewart* was sent Prisoner to the Castle, where being examined by the Lord *Balmerinoch*, and *Gibson* of *Dury*, he confessed, that by the Advice of the Earl of *Montrose*, Lord *Napier*, Sir *George Stirling* of *Keir*, and Sir *Andrew Stewart* of *Blackhall*, he had sent a Copy of these Speeches under his Hand to the King, by one Captain *Walter Stewart*; which Confession being reported to the Committee, they sent to watch the Captain's Return, who finding him at *Cockburn's-Path*, apprehended him, and sent him Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*; and upon the 11th of *June*, the Earl of *Montrose*, Lord *Napier*, Sir *George Stirling*, and Sir *Andrew Stewart*, being cited before the Committee, were committed Prisoners to the Castle of *Edinburgh*; for the Earl of *Argyle* having threat'ned Mr. *John Stewart* to take his Life, procured a Letter from under his Hand, acknowledging, that what he had said was by him forg'd, against the Earl's Character; and what he had done was by the Advice of the Earl of *Montrose*, and those before mentioned; which Letter the Earl of *Argyle* laid before the Committee; and having consulted Sir *Thomas Hope* in Point of Law, it was thought proper, that he should suffer, lest by Recantation, he should renew his Accusation; so this unfortunate Gentleman was in the Month of *July* condemned, and beheaded at the Cross of *Edinburgh*.

He urges the King to give Consent to his Execution, and was beheaded on *Towerhill*.

The Earl of *Montrose* and others sent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

Mr. *John Stewart* beheaded.

Upon the 15th of *November* the Parliament met, they receiv'd a Letter from the King, excusing his not coming till the 15th of *August* after, whereupon they resolved to continue and sit, in the mean Time to prepare Matters against the King's coming, they summon'd the Earl of *Montrose*, with the other Persons imprison'd with him, to appear before the Parliament on the 13th of *August*, whereupon the Earl desired the Liberty of Advocates for Consultation: But most Part of the Advocates being so much afraid of the Committee, refused to attend the Earl, so that the chief Person who attended him, was one Mr. *John Gillmore*, whose greatest Imployment before that Time, had been to agent the Affair of some of the depos'd Bishops; but having consulted with *Montrose*, and being called his Advocate, all the other Royalists employed him; so at length he became the most considerable Man of his Profession.

The Treaty of *London* being now ended, the Commissioners having obtain'd all their Desires, for the whole Arrears of the daily Payment of 850 Pounds to the *Scots* Army, was to be satisfied before the first of *September*, at

at which Time the Army was to be disbanded; and at the same Time the Parliament of *England* gave unto the *Scots*, (under the Name of brotherly Assistance) the Sum of 300000 *l. Sterling*, whereof 80000 *l.* to be paid before the disbanding of the Army, and the other 220000 *l.* to be paid at Two Terms, *viz.* the one Half thereof at *Midsummer*, 1642, and the other Half at *Midsummer* 1643, as the Acts of the *English* Parliament, dated the 19th and 29th of *June* 1641, do mention. *A. D.* 1641.

The Parliament of *England* gave the *Scots* Army 300000 *l.*

This News was very acceptable to the Covenanters, especially the leading Men, who knew what their Shares thereof would be: But the Royalists were very much surprised to find the Parliament of *England*, grant such a Sum where nothing was due; whereupon they concluded, that the Covenanters had entred into some secret Engagement, to joyn them in their future Designs.

Upon the 27th of *July*, the General Assembly met at *Edinburgh*, wherein the Earl of *Weems* was his Majesty's Commissioner, and Mr. *Alexander Henderson* Moderator, in which Assembly the Commissioner complied with whatever the Ministers propos'd, so they rose again upon the 9th of *August*,. And upon the 15th the Earl of *Montrose* was brought before the Parliament; and having made Answer to his Charge, he was continued till the 24th Day, and again remitted to Prison.

The Earl of *Montrose* brought before the Parliament.

Upon the 16th Day the King came to *Holy-rood-house*, accompanied with the Prince *Palatine*, Son of the late Prince, the Duke of *Lennox*, Marquis of *Hamilton*, Lord *Willoughly*, and others: And upon the 17th, his Majesty came to the Parliament, and upon the 24th the Earl of *Montrose* appear'd, and was continued *de novo*; as also the Lord *Napier*, the Lairds of *Keir* and *Blackhall*, appear'd the 28th, and were likewise continued.

The King comes to *Holy-rood-house*.

September the 1st, the *Scots* Army having receiv'd the Arrears of their dayly Maintenance; as also the 80000 *l.* promis'd by the Parliament of *England*, they disbanded at *Newcastle*, and return'd home to *Scotland*.

The *Scots* Army disbanded at *Newcastle*.

Within a few Days after arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*, Mr. *Vane*, Mr. *Hampden*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, as Commissioners from the Parliament of *England*, to attend the King, and to observe the Proceedings of the Parliament of *Scotland*, during his Majesty's Residence there; which Commissioners having daily Conferences with the chief Persons of the Covenanters, gave Intelligence to their Friends in the Parliament of *England*, of whatever past; and as in this Parliament the King found the Presbyterian Faction so strong, he gave Way to many Things, which he could not well approve of; yet at such a dangerous Juncture, was willing to preserve Peace in the Nation.

Commissioners from *England*.

About this Time the Earl of *Argyle* having endeavour'd to draw in the Marquis of *Hamilton* to his Party, inform'd the Marquis of a Plot intended by the Earl of *Crawford*, Collonel *Cochran*, and Lieutenant Collonel *Stewart*, against the Marquis and himself, whereupon they both, upon the 12th of *October* left *Edinburgh* abruptly, and went to *Kineil*. Mean Time it was whisper'd, that the Earl of *Argyle*, by pretending this Plot, expected to have made a publick Rupture, that the Parliament would have broken up on their leaving the Town; but the King coming to the House, accompanied with many Noblemen, and above 500 Gentlemen, he made a Speech reflecting on the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Argyle*; but the Earl's Friends offering to vindicate him, gave Account of the Plot, which was the Cause of their leaving the Town, whereupon the King gave Orders, that the Three alledged Plotters should be confined until they were tried, whereof when Notice was sent to the Marquis and Earl of *Argyle*, they returned the next Day to *Holy-rood-house*, and were admitted to kiss the King's Hand. Some Days after the Plot being tried to the uttermost, nothing could be found to charge the Earl of *Crawford*, or the Two Collonels with, so they were acquitted and released.

The Earl of *Argyle* endeavours to draw the Marquis of *Hamilton* to his Party.

In this Parliament the Earl of *Lowdon* was made Chancellor, the Earl of *Roxburgh* continued Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Lanrick* also continued Secretary of State: The King having nominated the Lord *Almond* to be Treasurer;

A. D. 1641. which being oppos'd, his Majesty, with Consent of Parliament, agreed, that the Office should be discharg'd by a Committee of Four, *viz*, The Earls of *Argyle*, *Glencairn*, *Lothian*, and Lord *Lindsay*; Sir *James Carmichael* being continu'd Treasurer-Deputy, Sir *Thomas Hope* continu'd King's Advocate, Mr. *Alexander Gibson* of *Durey*, *junior*, was Knighted, and made Clerk-Register, and Sir *John Cockburn* of *Ormiston*, was continu'd Justice-Clerk.

By an Act of this Parliament, the Nomination of the Privy-Counsellors was to be with Consent of the Parliament, as also the Places of the Session; whereupon the President, *Spotswood*, Sir *John Hay*, Sir *Patrick Nisbet*, and Sir *William Elphingston*, for their Adherence to the King, were turn'd out; and in their Places were appointed, Sir *John Lesly* of *Newton*, Sir *Thomas Hope*, *junior*, Mr. *Adam Hepburn*, and Mr. *Archibald Johnston* (Clerk to the General Assembly); which last two were Knighted.

There was another Court erected by Parliament, under the Name of Conservators of the Peace; their Employment being to order all Things, whereby the Peace of the Land, and with *England*, might be preserv'd. Those who were appointed being all prime Covenanters, there was also a Committee nominated to sit after the rising of the Parliament, for the Trial of the Earl of *Montrose* and the other Prisoners then in the Castle; mean time they were enlarg'd, upon giving Bail to attend the Committee when call'd for. The Bishop of *Murray* and General *Ruthven* were releas'd, and the General restor'd to his Estate, which had been forfeited by the Covenanters; who had likewise seiz'd his Money, of which he never had any Account.

Several Noblemen and others get new Titles.

At this Time the King bestow'd Honours upon several of the Nobility; the Earl of *Argyle* made Marquis, General *Lesly* made Earl of *Leven*, and Keeper of the Castle of *Edinburgh*; the Lord *Almond* made Earl of *Collander*, the Lairds of *Diddup* and *Arburthnet* made Viscounts, and Mr. *Andrew Murray* of *Ebde* made Lord *Balvaird*, Mr. *Alexander Henderson* had the Benefit of the Royal Chapel, with a large Pension settled upon him; and all the Professors of the Universities put in by the Covenanters, had their Provisions augmented out of the Revenues formerly belonging to the Bishops; as also large Portions of the same were allow'd to the Ministers who occupy'd the Cathedral Churches throughout the Kingdom; and to oblige all the rest of the Ministry, a Parliament was ordain'd to sit in *January* next, to augment all their Stipends, and to settle the same by an Act.

An Express comes to the King concerning the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

Matters being thus order'd in *Scotland*, an Express came to the King, giving an Account of a Rebellion in *Ireland*, wherein it was said, that 20000 Persons were murder'd; and as by the Express the Parliament of *England* intreated his Majesty's speedy Return; the Parliament of *Scotland* offer'd to raise an Army, to be sent over to *Ireland*, to suppress the Rebellion, provided the Parliament of *England* would maintain them: Which Motion being approv'd by the *English* Commissioners, the Earl of *Lothian*, Lords *Lindsay* and *Balmerinoch*, Sir *Thomas Morton* of *Cambo*, Sir *Thomas Hope*, *junior*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, *Patrick Bell*, and Mr. *Robert Barklay*, Provost of *Irvine*, were nominated Commissioners to repair to *London*, and treat of the Conditions of sending the Army to *Ireland*.

On *Wednesday* the 17th of *November*, the Parliament being to rise, the Earl of *Lowdon*, in Name of the Nobility, and Sir *Thomas Hope*, *junior*, in Name of the Commons, made Speeches to the King, wherein they return'd Thanks to his Majesty, for giving them full Satisfaction in all Things concerning Religion and Liberty; wherewith the King seem'd well pleas'd, and at their breaking up the Cannons of the Castle were discharg'd, in Testimony of the Joy for the happy Agreement of the King and Parliament. And at Night the King entertain'd all the Nobility and Officers of State in the Palace of *Holy-rood-House*, where they took Leave of his Majesty, with many solemn Protestations of their future Affection and Obedience; and the next Morning early, his Majesty set out towards *London*.

The King entertains the Nobility, and takes his Leave of them, at *Holy-rood-House*.

1642. In *January*, 1642. the Earl of *Montrose* was brought to his Trial, as were the other Persons who had been in Confinement with him; and compearing,

pearing, the Trial was put off till the firſt of *March*. Mean time the *Scots* Commiſſioners at *London* ſent Notice to the Committee at *Edinburgh*, that they had agreed with the Parliament of *England* for an Army of 10000 Men, to be ſent over to *Ireland*, to be maintain'd by the Parliament of *England*. Whereupon the Army was levy'd, whereof General *Leſly* (now Earl of *Leven*) had the Command; and the Earls of *Argyle* and *Lothian*, with other chief Perſons of the Covenanters, made Collonels of the Regiments. While this Army was a levying, there came News to *Scotland* of the great Diviſions between the King and Parliament of *England*; and that the Multitude, upon that Occaſion, were become ſo tumultuous, that the King, with the Queen and Children, thought fit to withdraw firſt to *Hampton*-Court, and afterwards to *Windſor*; from whence his Majeſty ſent ſeveral Meſſages to the Parliament, with ſuch Offers as he thought might prevail with them to come to a peaceable Agreement; but to no Purpoſe. And ſoon after, the Parliament having taken upon them to ſit as long as they pleas'd, without the King's Authority, his Majeſty rather aſſented to, than interrupted their Proceedings, hoping thereby to bring them to more moderat Terms.

A. D. 1642.

The *Scots* Commiſſioners agree to ſend 10000 Men to *Ireland*.

Great Diviſions in *England*.

The King, Queen, and their Children withdraws from *London*.

The Parliament ſits without the King's Authority.

His Maleſty having married his Daughter, the Princeſs *Mary*, to the Prince of *Orange*, the Queen imbark'd with her to *Holland*; whereupon the King, with the Prince and reſt of the Children, came to *York*: Where whilſt his Majeſty remain'd, ſeveral Meſſages and Declarations paſt betwixt him and the Parliament of *England*. And among other Things charg'd againſt his Majeſty, it was aledg'd, *That he had given Commiſſion for the* Iriſh *Rebellion*. Wherefore, to vindicate himſelf from that Calumny, he offer'd to go to *Ireland* in Perſon, to hazard his Life for ſubduing of the Rebels; but the Parliament oppos'd his going, and publiſh'd a Declaration to that Effect. Mean time the *Scots* Army being ready, they croſs'd the Sea, and arriv'd at *Craigfergus* the 2d of *April*. The Committee at *Edinburgh* being inform'd of the Diviſions betwixt the King and his Parliament of *England*, they ſent up the Chancellor to *York* with their Advice to the King, and to offer his Service in procuring an Accomodation with the Parliament of *England*; and propoſing at the ſame time, to go forward to *London*: But upon Accout of what had been reported, that the *Scots* Commiſſioners had been active among the Rebels in *England*, the King order'd the Chancellor to return to *Edinburgh*, to conveen a Council againſt the 25th of *May*; and ſent the Earls of *Roxburgh*, *Kinoule*, *Lanerick*, and Sir *James Galloway* to the ſame End. The Council being met, the Covenanters join'd in a Supplication, entreating that nothing ſhould be enacted prejudicial to the Work of Reformation, and the Treaty of Union betwixt the two Nations, ratify'd in Parliament; which Supplication was preſented by the Earl of *Haddington* and the Lord *Elcho*, with ſeveral Commons, who were well receiv'd by the Council.

The Princeſs *Mary* married to the Prince of *Orange*.

Upon the firſt Account of the Council being met, the Noblemen and others who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves for the King, met in the *Canongate*, and join'd in a Supplication to the Council for his Majeſty's Intereſt, which was preſented by the Earl of *Kelly*, and Lords *Erskine*, *Ker* and others; but their Supplication was rejected, and the Preſenters ſharply reprov'd for their Preſumption. When the King had Notice of the Behaviour of the Council, he ſent down the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* from *York*, to interpoſe his Endeavours to keep the Nation in Peace. And coming to *Edinburgh*, was met by the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, with whom he had ſeveral Conferences, he having promis'd to the King to uſe all means to bring over *Argyle* to his Majeſty's Intereſt; yet upon this Occaſion ſeveral of the King's Friends were ſuſpicious of the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*'s Deſigns, whereof they inform'd the King: Yet his Majeſty had ſuch Aſſurance of his Fidelity, that whatever was ſaid againſt him was diſcredited.

In *July* the General Aſſembly met at *Aberdeen*, wherein the Earl of *Dumfermling*, then his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, preſented a Letter from the King, wherein he intreated the Miniſters, by their Doctrine and Example, to keep his Subjects in Peace and Obedience; which Letter being read, the

A. D. 1642. Aſſembly reſolv'd to return his Majeſty a Letter of Thanks, promiſing to comply with his Deſire: But the next Day having receiv'd from the Commiſſioners at *London*, a printed Copy of a Declaration publiſh'd by the Parliament of *England*, ſhewing their Intention to extirpat Epiſcopacy, with a Letter from the Miniſters to the ſame Effect; all which being read in the Aſſembly, they enter'd into Conſultation about what Anſwer they ſhould return, both to the King's Letter, and to the Declaration of the Parliament and the *Engliſh* Miniſters Letter: And at laſt they reſolv'd to write Anſwers to the Parliament and Miniſters, to certify their great Deſire of Reformation, and ready Aſſiſtance to proſecute their Deſignes. With which Anſwers they appointed the Lord *Maitland*, Son to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, to go to *London*; by whom, beſides theſe Anſwers which were read in the Aſſembly, they ſent ſeveral private Inſtructions to their Commiſſioners, to treat with the Parliament and Miniſters. Mean time it was mov'd in the Aſſembly, that a Committee of their Number ſhould ſit at *Edinburgh*, to correſpond with the Parliament of *England* for the Advancement of Reformation; which Meaſures being concluded, the Aſſembly roſe the 6th of *Auguſt*, having appointed the next Aſſembly to ſit at *Edinburgh*, the firſt *Wedneſday* of *Auguſt*, 1643.

A printed Declaration from the Parliament of *England*.

The Parliament raiſes an Army and ſeizes the Fleet.

While the King remain'd at *York*, he had daily Meſſages from the Parliament of *England*, who had then declar'd publickly what they had ſo long carry'd on ſecretly. The Parliament by this Time having rais'd an Army, appointed the Earl of *Eſſex* their General; and having taken the Fleet by Force from Sir *John Pennington*, the Command of it was given to the Earl of *Warwick*.

The King deny'd Entrance at *Hull*.

Mean time the King, being attended with ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, his Majeſty went to *Hull*, expecting to have Poſſeſſion of his Magazin there, but was deny'd Acceſs by Sir *John Hotham*, who declar'd his Commiſſion from the Parliament: Whereupon the King return'd to *York*, and at the ſame time publiſh'd a Proclamation, requiring all his Subjects to repair to him at *Nottingham* by the 22d of *Auguſt*; on which Day, about ſix a-Clock in the Evening, the Royal Standard was ſet up, with little other Ceremony than beating of Drums and ſounding of Trumpets. When the Standard was ſet up at *Nottingham*, it blew ſuch a Storm of Wind, that the Standard fell to the Ground, which was look'd upon by many as a bad Omen.

The King's Standard ſet up at *Nottingham*.

All the Forces which the King had at this Time, beſides the Nobility and Gentry which attended him, were only the Train'd Bands of the Shire, being drawn together by Sir *John Digby* the High Sheriff; but in a few Days after, great Numbers repair'd daily to his Majeſty, in Obedience to his Proclamation: Yet the King was unwilling to make War againſt his own Subjects, and therefore ſent ſeveral Meſſages to both Houſes of Parliament, to deſire a Treaty of Peace; but receiv'd no ſatisfactory Anſwer. And having Notice that the Earl of *Eſſex* was advanc'd as far as *Northampton*, the King remov'd to *Derby*, and order'd his Army to rendevouze at *Wellington*, within a Day's March of *Shrewsbury*; where he caus'd the Military Orders for the Diſcipline and Government of his Army, to be read at the Head of every Regiment: And being join'd by ſeveral People from *Derby*, *Stafford*, and *Shropſhire*, he form'd his Army, and appointed the Earl of *Lindſay* his Lieutenant-General, Prince *Rupert*, (ſecond Son to the late Elector *Palatine*) General of the Horſe, and General *Ruthven* Field Marſhal. After which his Majeſty ſent ſeveral of the Nobility then with him, to all Parts of the Nation, to ſecure Forts and raiſe Forces.

The King's Army increaſe, he appoints Generals.

The War being thus begun in *England*, the *Scots* Commiſſioners return'd from *London*; and in the beginning of *September* the Committee of the late Aſſembly meeting at *Edinburgh*, the Lord *Maitland* gave them an Account of his Negociations in *England*; wherein he inform'd them, That the Parliament of *England* were reſolv'd to aboliſh Epiſcopacy Root and Branch; and to call an Aſſembly of Divines for modeling a new Government, whereunto they entreated the General Aſſembly in *Scotland* to ſend Commiſſioners. And, at the ſame Time, deſir'd the Committee to ſend ſome proper Perſons to

ſerve

ſerve as Officers in their Army, then commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*. Whereupon ſeveral Officers, who had been employ'd in the Army, lately disbanded, were ſent privately to joyn the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was then upon his March towards *Worceſter*, which City had been taken by Sir *John Byron*, who had brought thither ſome Money for the King; whereof, when his Majeſty had Notice, he ſent Prince *Rupert*, with his Brother Prince *Maurice*, and the Lord *Digby* with a Party of Horſe, who coming near the City of *Worceſter*, encounter'd a Body of 500 Horſe, commanded by Collonel *Sands*, being diſpatch'd from the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, to take Poſſeſſion of *Worceſter*; but being met at ſome Diſtance from the City, at a Place called *Powick Bridge*, the Prince attack'd them with ſo much Bravery, that he ſoon routed them, with the Loſs of their Collonel, and ſeveral other Officers, beſides ſeveral others taken Priſoners. As this Victory was a conſiderable Advantage to the King, it gain'd a great Character to Prince *Rupert*, whoſe Courage and Conduct in this Action was very much commended. The next Battle was fought the 23d of *October* at *Edghill*, where the King obtain'd the Victory, but loſt the Earl of *Lindſay*, the Lord *Stewart* Son to the Duke of *Lennox*, and Sir *Edward Verney* the Standard Bearer. After this Battle the King went to *Oxford*, where he was receiv'd by the Members of the Univerſity, with all Demonſtrations of Loyalty and Affection.

A. D. 1642.

Prince *Rupert* routs 500 Horſe of the Parliament's Forces.

Whilſt the King and Parliament were recruiting their Armies, a Declaration from the Parliament was ſent to the Committee at *Edinburgh*, wherein they urged the Danger of Religion, as a ſufficient Motive to induce their Brethren in *Scotland*, to joyn in their Aſſiſtance to ſupport the common Cauſe. The King having Notice of the Declaration, he ſent the Earl of *Lanerick* with a Letter to the Privy Council, in Oppoſition to the Declaration of the Parliament: And by a Plurality of Voices, it was order'd that the King's Letter ſhould be printed and publiſh'd; whereupon the Marquiſs of *Argyle* and his Adherents, who had oppoſed the Reſolution, ſent Meſſengers to their Friends in *Fife*, and the Weſtern Shires to haſten to *Edinburgh*, to conſult proper Means to maintain their Cauſe.

A Declaration of the *Engliſh* Parliament ſent to the Committee at *Edinburgh*.

In *January* 1643, the Conſervators of Peace, and the Committee of the General Aſſembly met at *Edinburgh*, and being joyned together, they preſt the Council to explain their Meaning in cauſing the King's Letter to be printed; and at the ſame Time cauſed the Parliament of *England*'s Declaration, to be printed and publiſh'd. Mean Time, ſuch as ſtood up for the King's Intereſt, aſſembled and petition'd the Council, to ſuppreſs the Parliament of *England*'s Declaration; which Petition was preſented by the Earls of *Airly*, *Hume*, and *Dumfries*, the Lords *Erskine*, *Montgomery*, *Ker*, *Fleming*, *Livingſton*, *Drummond*, *Linton*, *Salton*, *Napier*, *Kirkcudbright*, and *Bargeny*, but their Petition was rejected by the Council, and the Committee of the Aſſembly publiſh'd a Declaration againſt it, which was printed, and Copies thereof ſent to all the Presbyteries of the Kingdom, with a ſtrict Charge to the ſeveral Miniſters to read it in their Pulpits, and to explain it to their Congregations.

A. D. 1643.

At this Time, the Earl of *Montroſe* having conſider'd how far the Covenanters acted againſt what they at firſt profeſs'd, he reſolv'd to joyn the King's Party; and having had ſome Difference with the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, he ſuſpected his frequent Conference with the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, might be againſt the King's Intereſt; tho' at the ſame Time 'tis believ'd, that the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, was uſing all the Means he could to bring over the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, to joyn the King's Party.

In the latter End of *February*, the Queen landed in *Burlington-Bay* from *Holland*, having brought over a good Quantity of Arms and Ammunition. Her Majeſty was purſu'd by the Earl of *Warwick*, who ſent Four Ships after her to the *Bay*, and ſeeing her go aſhore, they fired their Cannon on the Houſe where ſhe lodg'd; ſo that ſhe was oblig'd to leave the Town, and ſhelter all Night in the Fields, till Sir *Hugh Cholmondley* receiv'd and convoy'd her Majeſty to *Scarborough*, which, tho' he then kept for the Parliament, yet ſubmitted

The Queen lands at *Burlington-Bay*.

A. D. 1643. mitted to the Queen; and having convoy'd her Majeſty to the King, he was continued Governor of *Scarborough*.

While the Queen was at *York*, the Earl of *Montroſe* went to wait on her Majeſty; and having ſpoke indifferently of the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, her Majeſty took little Notice of whatever he ſaid otherwiſe at that Time, ſo that he left the Queen without any Satisfaction. Mean Time the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* came to *York*, and was receiv'd with great Reſpect by the Queen, who immediately acquainted him of what the Earl of *Montroſe* had ſpoken againſt him; and being ready to leave *York*, the Marquiſs had her Majeſty's Aſſurance of having the King's Favour continued; and that in earneſt of future Kindneſs, he ſhould in a little Time be created a Duke, whereupon the Marquiſs return'd home, and the Queen leaving *York*, went to the King, who was then at *Oxford*.

Montroſe ſuſpected by the Covenanters.

At this Time the Covenanters in *Scotland* having Notice, that the Earl of *Montroſe* had ſeveral Conſultations with the Earl of *Callendar*, the Lords *Erskine*, *Napier*, and *Montgomery*, and Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, and that they had offered to joyn the King's Intereſt againſt the Covenanters, the Marquiſs of *Argyle* ſent Sir *James Rollo*, and Sir *Mungo Campbell*, to offer the Earl of *Montroſe* the chief Command in their Army, next to General *Leſly*, if he would continue ſtedfaſt to their Intereſt. The Earl being unwilling to declare his Intentions to ſerve the King, till he was in ſome Condition to defy his Enemies; therefore deſir'd ſome Days Time to conſider of what they propos'd; and at the ſame Time deſir'd a Conference with Mr. *Henderſon*, pretending ſome Scruples of Conſcience, tho' at the ſame Time he expected to know from him the Secrets of the Covenanters; yet, leſt a private Meeting ſhould be miſconſtructed by the King's Friends, he appointed the Lords *Napier* and *Ogilvie*, and Sir *George Stirling* of *Keir*, to be Witneſs to their Conference; and being met, the Earl receiv'd Mr. *Henderſon* in a courteous and friendly Manner; and after having made ſome Appoligies for the Miſunderſtandings betwixt the Covenanters and him; *That as he had been for ſome Time excluded from their private Conſultations, he declar'd himſelf at a Loſs how to behave himſelf at that Time, therefore intreated Mr.* Henderſon, (*for old Acquaintance Sake*) *to let him freely know what they intended.* Mr. *Henderſon* being by this Diſcourſe perſwaded, that the Earl intended to joyn the Covenanters; he plainly declar'd, *That it was reſolv'd to ſend as ſtrong an Army as they could raiſe to joyn their Brethren in* England, *againſt the King's Forces; that the Covenanters of both Kingdoms had unanimouſly agreed, either to die, or bring the King to their Terms, that nothing could be of greater Advantage to his Lordſhip, than to renew Friendſhip with the Nobility, and reſt of the Kingdom, which would be great Satisfaction to all Men, beſides the Honour and Profit that would redound to himſelf: That by his Example, ſuch as idolized the empty Shadow of the King's Name, would joyn the Covenanters; and for his own Part, he would give moſt hearty Thanks to his LORD GOD, that had vouchſafed to make him the Miniſter and Mediator of ſo great a Work.* And at the ſame Time intreated his Lordſhip to commit all ſuch Things to his Care and Induſtry, as he ſhould deſire from the Parliament, either in Relation to his Honour or Profit, aſſuring he would be ſatisfied to his Heart's Deſire.

His Conference with Mr. *Henderſon*.

The Earl of *Montroſe* having by this Means obtain'd his End, communicated the Account he had from Mr. *Henderſon* to ſome ſelect Friends, who joyn'd with him in a Letter to the King, informing him of the Danger: Yet his Majeſty had ſuch Confidence in the Covenanters Promiſes, that he could not be perſwaded to ſuſpect their deep Deſigns, till at laſt he had Notice, that they were levying an Army with all Speed, and were ſo expeditious, that in a few Days they had an Army of about 18000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, ready to march.

The Covenanters raiſe a new Army.

The Marquiſs of *Hamilton* created a Duke.

The Marquiſs of *Hamilton* being created Duke in *April* this Year, was then in *Scotland*; as alſo his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick*, then Secretary, they, by the King's Orders attended the Meetings and Conſultations of the Covenanters; and when the Covenanters had called a Parliament without the King's

King's Authority, the Duke appear'd in the King's Name, and invited all the King's Friends by Letters to be preſent in that Parliament, expecting they might be able to out-vote the Covenanters, or at leaſt to proteſt againſt them, if their Number prevailed. But upon the Account of the Miſunderſtandings betwixt the Duke and the Earl of *Montroſe*, the Earl denied to appear, as did moſt of his Adherents, unleſs the Duke would promiſe, *That in caſe they could not bring the Parliament to right Terms, he would endeavour to compel them by Dint of Sword.* To which the Duke anſwer'd, that he had no Commiſſion from the King to fight, whereupon the Earl retir'd to his own Houſe. Mean Time in the Parliament the Covenanters out-voted the King's Party, by Seventy Voices; and having laid aſide the Royal Authority, they uſed all ſuch Means as might contribute to their Deſigns.

A. D. 1643.

The Earl of *Montroſe*'s Propoſitions to the Duke.

And having ratified the Solemn League and Covenant, upon the 24th of *Auguſt*, a Proclamation was publiſh'd at the Market Croſs of *Edinburgh*, commanding all Men between Sixty and Sixteen Years of Age, to be in Readineſs upon Twenty four Hours Warning, to march when and where they ſhould be called. Mean Time the Lord *Maitland*, Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, Mr. *Gilleſpie*, and Two *Engliſh* Preachers, (who had reſided for ſome Time at *Edinburgh*) took their Journey to *London*, to get the Covenant ſubſcrib'd and approv'd by the Parliament, which, at the firſt coming, was readily agreed to; ſo the Covenant being ſubſcrib'd at *Weſtminſter* Hall, theſe Commiſſioners return'd to *Edinburgh*; whereupon Orders were diſperſt to all the Presbyteries of the Kingdom, to call every one to ſwear to and ſubſcribe the Covenant; and upon the 13th of *October*, the Committee of Eſtates met in St. *Giles*'s Church in *Edinburgh*, where they ſwore to, and ſubſcrib'd it with the utmoſt Solemnity, in the Preſence of Sir *William Ermin*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Mr. *Martine*, who were ſent Commiſſioners from the Parliament of *England*, to the Covenanters in *Scotland*, for that Purpoſe; a Copy of which *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, I think proper here to inſert.

The Covenant ſubſcrib'd by the Parliament of *England*.

And in *Edinburgh* before the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners.

A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, *and* Ireland.

A Copy of the Covenant.

" We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all Sorts in the Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, by the Providence of GOD, living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, having before our Eyes the Glory of GOD, and the Advancement of the Kingdom of our LORD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, the Honour and Happineſs of the King's Majeſty and his Poſterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one's private Condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of GOD, againſt the true Religion, and Profeſſors thereof in all Places, eſpecially in theſe Three Kingdoms, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion, and how much their Rage, Power, and Preſumption, are of late, and at this Time increaſed and exerciſed, (whereof the deplorable Eſtate of the Church, and Kingdom of *Ireland*, the diſtreſſed Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of *England*, and the dangerous Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, are preſent and publick Teſtimonies) we have now at laſt, (after the Means of Supplication, Remonſtrance, Proteſtation and Sufferings) for the Preſervation of our ſelves and our Religion, from utter Ruin and Deſtruction, according to the commendable Practice of theſe Kingdoms in former Times, and the Example of GOD's People in other Nations, after mature Deliberation, reſolv'd and determined to enter into a mutual Solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all ſubſcribe, and each of us for himſelf, with our Hands lifted up to the moſt High GOD, do ſwear.

" 1. That

A. D. 1643. " 1. That we ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, through the Grace of " GOD, endeavour in our ſeveral Places and Callings, the Preſervation of " the Reform'd Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, " Diſcipline, and Government, againſt our common Enemies, the Reforma- " tion of Religion in the Kingdom of *England*, and *Ireland*. In Doctrine, " Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, according to the Word of GOD, " in the Example of the beſt Reform'd Churches, and we ſhall endeavour to " bring the Churches of GOD in the Three Kingdoms, to the neareſt Con- " junction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, Form of Church " Government, Directory for Worſhip and Catechiſing, that we and our Po- " ſterity after us, may as Brethren live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may " delight to dwell in the midſt of us.

" 2. That we ſhall in like Manner, without Reſpect of Perſons, endeavour " the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is of Church Government by " Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, Deans, and " Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers, depending on " that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſy, Schiſm, Profaneneſs, and whatſoe- " ver ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the Power of " Godlineſs, leſt we partake in other Men's Sins, and thereby be in Danger " to receive of their Plagues; and that the LORD may be one, and his " Name one in the Three Kingdoms.

" 3. We ſhall, with the ſame Sincerity, Reality, and Conſtancy, in our " ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates and Lives, mutually to pre- " ſerve the Privileges and Rights of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the " Kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon and " Authority, in the Preſervation and Defence of the true Religion, and Li- " berties of the Kingdoms; that the World may bear Witneſs with our Con- " ſciences of our Loyalty; and that we have no Thoughts or Intention to " diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs.

" 4. We ſhall alſo, with all Faithfulneſs, endeavour the Diſcovery of all " ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments, " by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his " People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Factions or " Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant, or that " they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign Puniſhment, " as the Degree of their Offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the ſupreme Ju- " dicatories of both Kingdoms reſpectively, or others having Power from " them, for that Effect ſhall judge convenient.

" 5. And whereas the Happineſs of a bleſſed Peace, between theſe King- " doms, denied in former Times to our Progenitors, is by the good Provi- " dence of GOD granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and " ſettled by both Parliaments; we ſhall, each one of us, according to our " Places and Intereſt, endeavour, that they may remain conjoyn'd in a firm " Peace and Union to all Poſterity; and that Juſtice may be done upon the " wilful Oppoſers thereof, in Manner expreſs'd in the preceeding Articles.

" 6. We ſhall alſo, according to our Places and Callings, in this common " Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom, aſſiſt and defend " all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaing and " purſuing thereof, and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly nor indirectly, by " whatſoever Combination, Perſwaſion, or Terror, to be divided or with- " drawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defe- " ction to the contrary Part, or give our ſelves to a deteſtable Indifference of " Neutrality in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the Glory of GOD, " the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the King; but ſhall all the " Days of our Lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein againſt all " Oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our Power, againſt all Lets " and Impediments whatſoever, and what we are not able to ſuppreſs or o- " vercome, we ſhall reveal and make known, that it may be timely preven- " ted or remov'd; all which we ſhall do as in the Sight of GOD.

" And

" And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins and Provocations, *A. D.*
" againſt GOD and his Son JESUS CHRIST, as is too manifeſt by our 1643.
" preſent Diſtreſſes and Dangers, the Fruits whereof we profeſs and declare,
" before GOD and the World, our unfeigned Deſire to be humbled for our
" own Sins, and for the Sins of theſe Kingdoms, eſpecially that we have not
" as we ought, valued the ineſtimable Benefit of the Goſpel, that we have
" not laboured for the Purity and Power thereof; and that we have not en-
" deavour'd to receive CHRIST in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of him
" in our Lives, which are the Cauſes of other Sins and Tranſgreſſions, ſo
" much abounding amongſt us, and our true and unfeigned Purpoſe, Deſire,
" and Endeavour for our ſelves and all others, under our Power and Charge,
" both in publick and in private, in all Duties we owe to GOD and Man,
" to amend our Lives, and each one to go before another in the real Example
" of Reformation, that the Lord may turn away his Wrath and heavy In-
" dignation, and eſtabliſh theſe Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace:
" And this Covenant we make in the Preſence of Almighty GOD, the
" Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the ſame, as we
" ſhall Anſwer at that great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts ſhall be
" diſcloſed; moſt humbly beſeeching the LORD to ſtrengthen us by his
" holy Spirit, for this End, and to bleſs our Deſires and Proceedings, with
" ſuch Succeſs as may be a Deliverance and Safety to his People, and En-
" couragement to other Chriſtian Churches, groaning under, or in Danger
" of Anti-Chriſtian Tyranny to joyn in the ſame, or like Aſſociation and
" Covenant, to the Glory of GOD, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of
" JESUS CHRIST, and the Peace and Tranquillity of Chriſtian King-
" doms and Commonwealths."

The King's Enemies in *England*, being by this Solemn League and Covenant joyn'd with the Covenanters in *Scotland*, the latter acted with more Authority; and at this Time they charged the Lords of the Council, to appear at *Edinburgh* the Second of *November*, to ſwear and ſubſcribe the Covenant, which ſome of them obeyed to ſave their Eſtates; but the Duke of *Hamilton*, Earl of *Lanerick*, *Roxborough*, *Morton*, and *Kinnoul*, refuſed, whereupon Orders were given to ſeize their Rents.

Money ſent by the *Engliſh* Parliament to the Covenanters.

To forward the Covenanters in *Scotland*, there arrived in the *Firth* of *Forth*, a Ship with 50000 *l. Sterling*, from the Parliament of *England* to the Committee to carry on the Work, whereupon they order'd their Army to be raiſed with all Speed.

The King ſends for the Earl of *Montroſe*.

The Duke and his Brother ſeeing their great Preparations, wrote to the King, acquainting his Majeſty, that they had uſed all poſſible Means to keep the Nation in Peace till then, that the Covenanters had ſuddenly rais'd ſo powerful an Army, which they could not oppoſe. When the King receiv'd this Letter, he immediately wrote to the Earl of *Montroſe*, who coming in all Haſte to his Majeſty, he ſhew'd him the Duke and his Brother's Letters, at the ſame Time deſiring his Advice what was beſt to be done; the Earl having for ſome Time endeavour'd to diſcredit the Duke with the King, took this Opportunity to repreſent the Duke's Delays, and bad Conduct, ſo much to his Diſadvantage, that the King readily believed what he ſaid. Mean Time the Earl freely offer'd to ſerve his Majeſty with his Life and Fortune, and either loſe both, or bring his Enemies to due Obedience.

He engages to ſerve his Majeſty.

The King being extremly pleaſed to find the Earl ſo reſolute in his Deſigns, thereupon gave him a Commiſſion to raiſe what Forces he could in *Scotland*, and at the ſame Time advanced his Lordſhip to the Dignity of a Marquiſs. At this Time *Ronald Mackdonald* Earl of *Antrim*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, who was deſcended of the ancient Family of the *Macdonalds* in *Scotland*, and allied to ſeveral Noblemen in *England*, by marrying the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, being a Man of great Eſtate and Power in *Ireland*; and being then with the King at *Oxford*, he voluntarily offered to raiſe 10000 Men in *Ireland*, and ſend them over to joyn the Marquiſs of

A. D. 1643. *Montroſe*; whereupon this Earl was created a Marquiſs, and taking Leave of the King, went to *Ireland* to raiſe the Forces. Mean time the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* left *Oxford*, with his two truſty Friends, the Lord *Ogilly* and Sir *William Rollo*, and coming to the Border, he found the Covenanters Army, commanded by their old General *Leſly*, Earl of *Leven*, were advan'd as far as *Hairlaw*, within four Miles of *Berwick*, he, with his Friends, paſt their Camp in Diſguiſe, and coming into *Annandale*, he truſted himſelf to a Gentleman of his Name, who convoy'd him ſafe to *Perthſhire*, where he had ſeveral meetings with ſuch Noblemen and others, which he knew ſtedfaſt to the King's Intereſt; to whom he communicated his Commiſſion, and gave proper Directions to raiſe Forces. Of thoſe who came to the Marquiſs at this time, none were more forward in the Engagement than the *Macdonalds* and other Clans; who, promis'd in a ſhort time, to be in Readineſs to attend the King's Standard whenever it ſhould be ſet up. Mean time the Marquiſs wrote to the King, to ſend to the King of *Denmark* (who was his Uncle) for ſome Troops of *German* Horſe, and at the ſame time to give Orders to the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*, who was General of his Forces in the North of *England*, to ſend a Party of Horſe into the South of *Scotland*, to be in Readineſs, and to join ſuch Foot as he could raiſe: And, laſtly, that his Majeſty ſhould uſe ſome means to procure and tranſport Arms from foreign Countries into *Scotland*.

The Earl of *Montroſe* leaves *Oxford* and comes into *Scotland*.

His Meſſage to the King.

To this Letter the King return'd an Anſwer, That he would uſe all poſſible means to fulfil his Requeſt.

The Duke of *Hamilton* and his Brother goes to *Oxford*.

The Duke of *Hamilton* and his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick*, ſeeing the Proceedings of the General Aſſembly and Committee of the Covenanters at *Edinburgh*, they left *Scotland* and went to the King at *Oxford*: But the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* and others, having blam'd the Duke and his Brother's Conduct ſo much in Complaints to the King, that ſo ſoon as they came to Town, they were confin'd to their Lodgings by the King's Orders. And as the Earl of *Lanerick* (fearing ſome Danger) found means to make his Eſcape, the Duke was the worſe look'd upon; and altho' the Informations which prevail'd upon the King to miſtruſt them were groundleſs, yet ſo far the Malice of his Enemies (who were many) prevail'd with his Majeſty, that the Duke was ſent Priſoner to *Briſtol*, from thence to *Exeter*, and after to *Pendinis* Caſtle, where he remain'd till 1646. Mean time the Earl of *Lanerick* return'd to *Edinburgh*.

They are confin'd to their Lodgings.

The Earl makes his Eſcape.

The Duke is ſent Priſoner to *Pendinis* Caſtle.

1644. In the beginning of the Year 1644. the Committee of the Eſtates at *Edinburgh* having agreed to impoſe an Exciſe on ſeveral Goods, for the better Maintenance of their Army, the Citizens having Notice of their Deſign, rais'd a Mob, and ſurrounded the Houſe where the Committee ſat, exclaiming againſt that Act of Tyranny; which being firſt mov'd by the Lord *Balmerinoch*, the Mob threaten'd to pull him to Pieces unleſs it were repeal'd. To compoſe the Tumult, the Committee at this time diſcharg'd the Exciſe, but at their next meeting, the Miniſters had ſo prevail'd with the People, that they impos'd the Exciſe without any Oppoſition. For as the Covenanters at that time had two powerful Armies, one in *England*, and the other ſtill remaining in *Ireland*, moſt People were glad to ſubmit to their Power, which then extended over moſt Shires of the Kingdom, excepting thoſe Parts belonging to the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Marr*, *Athole*, *Murray*, *Seaforth*, the Lairds of *Mackdonald*, *Grant*, *Mackintoſh*, with ſeveral other Noblemen and Chiftains of Clans, who notwithſtanding all the Hardſhips they were expos'd to, reſolv'd to maintain the King's Authority, in Oppoſition to the Covenanters. The Marquiſs of *Huntly* having receiv'd the King's Commiſſion, rais'd his Vaſſals and Tenants, with ſuch others of his Neighbours as he could have to his Aſſiſtance. Whereupon a Convention of Eſtates was call'd at *Edinburgh*, and the Earl of *Argyle* appointed to raiſe three Regiments to ſuppreſs the Marquiſs of *Huntly*. Mean time Sentence of Excommunication was pronounc'd againſt the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, the Laird of *Drum* and *Robert Irwin* his Brother, the Laird of *Haddo* and *Thomas*

The Committee at *Edinburgh* impoſe an Exciſe: Whereat the Town raiſes a Mob.

Thomas Hay his Servant, the Laird of *Skeen*, and Mr. *James Kennedy* the Marquiſs of *Huntly*'s Secretary. The Marquiſs of *Argyle* having rais'd his Regiments with great Expedition, went againſt the Marquiſs of *Huntly*; who, upon the Approach of ſo powerful an Enemy, disbanded his Forces, and retir'd privately to *Strathnaver*, where he remain'd ſome Time with the Lord *Rae*. But the Laird of *Haddo* (who blam'd the Marquiſs's Conduct in this Action) with one Captain *Logie*, kept ſome of the Soldiers together, and fortify'd his Caſtle of *Haddo*, which he defended for ſome Time with great Bravery, altho' beſieg'd by the Marquiſs of *Argyle*'s Regiments; till at laſt the Marquiſs, by Policy, prevail'd upon the common Soldiers to urge the Laird to ſurrender; which he denying, they bound him and the Captain, and caſt open the Gates; ſo that the Marquiſs enter'd, and ſent the two Gentlemen Priſoners to *Edinburgh*. *A. D.* 1644.

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe* after ſome Stay in *Scotland*, return'd to *England*, where he met with the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*; and having conſulted Matters, the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, with a Party of 100 Horſe, came to *Carliſle*, where he was join'd by 800 Foot and three Troops of Horſe, rais'd in the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, with which ſmall Body of Forces he enter'd *Scotland*, on the 13th of *April*; and coming to the Town of *Dumfries* (which immediately ſurrender'd to him) he ſet up the King's Standard, and intended to have ſtaid there till the landing of the Earl of *Antrim*'s *Iriſh* Forces.

The King's Standard ſet up at *Dumfries*, by *Montroſe*.

The Covenanters having Notice of the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s Proceedings, they immediately rais'd an Army, whereof the Earl of *Callander* had the Command, which coming towards *Dumfries*, the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* finding the *Engliſh* Forces unwilling to fight, he retir'd to *Carliſle*. Mean time the Earl of *Callender* having muſter'd an Army of 5000 Men, the General Aſſembly (after having excommunicated the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, the Earls of *Crawford* and *Nidſdale*, the Lords *Ogilvy* and *Aboyne*, and ſeveral others then with *Montroſe*) gave Orders to the Earl of *Callander* to march into *England* to ſuppreſs *Montroſe*: But the Earl, ſo ſoon as he enter'd *England*, having Notice that General *Leſly*, with his Army, had join'd the Earl of *Manchеſter* and *Fairfax*, two Generals of the Parliament Army, who then had beſieg'd the City of *York*, which was defended by the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*, for the King; he went to *Newcaſtle* and beſieg'd it. Mean time the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* having routed a Party of the Covenanters near *Morpeth*, he took that Town, from whence he ſent Proviſions to the King's Forces in *Newcaſtle*.

He retires to *Carliſle*.

The City of *York* being thus beſieg'd by *Leſly*, *Manchеſter*, and *Fairfax*'s Armies, the King ſent Prince *Rupert* with his Army to relieve it; whereupon the three Generals, with their Armies, left the Siege and return'd to *Langmarſton* Moor, where they were follow'd by Prince *Rupert*, who gave them Battle; and at the firſt Attack put *Manchеſter* and *Fairfax* to Flight, but *Oliver Cromwel* and *David Leſly*, *junior*, who commanded the *Scots* Horſe, having kept their Ground, renew'd the Battle againſt the Prince's Army ſo vigorouſly, that he ſoon retriev'd the Loſs of the other Generals, and worſted the Prince's Army with great Slaughter. This Battle, which was fought upon the 2d of *July*, was moſt fatal to the King's Army in *England*; for till that time his Majeſty had tollerable Succeſs, having obtain'd Victory in ſeveral Places, wherein Prince *Rupert* had behav'd himſelf with no leſs Conduct than Courage: But in his Engagement at *Marſton* Moor, he was blam'd for not waiting till the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, with his Army, and ſeveral other Parties of the King's (then upon their March to join him) had come up to him.

The City of *York* beſieg'd.

The Battle of *Longmarſton* Moor.

After this Battle General *Leſly*, with his Army, return'd to *Newcaſtle*, to join the Earl of *Callander*, the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* having made his Eſcape from *York*, that City ſurrender'd to *Fairfax* upon common Terms. Mean time the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* having been with Prince *Rupert*, after his Retreat from *Marſton* Moor, he ſent the Earl of *Crawford* to the Garriſon of

York ſurrenders to *Fairfax*.

A. D. 1644. *Newcaſtle*, and the Lord *Aboyn* to *Carliſle*, to wait his coming there: And, at the ſame time, ſent the Lord *Ogilvy*, with ſome other Gentlemen, to the King (who was then at *Oxford*) for new Inſtructions from his Majeſty; but on their Way, as they paſt through *Lancaſhire*, they were taken, after a gallant Defence, by a Party of the Parliament's Troops, and ſent Priſoners to *Hull*, from whence the Governor ſent them to General *Leſly* at *Newcaſtle*.

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe* returns to *Scotland*.

The Marquiſs returning to *Carliſle* to the Earl of *Aboyne*, with whom having conſulted Matters, he took with him Collonel *Sibbald* and Sir *William Rollo*, and having put on the Dreſſes of common Troopers, they, in that Diſguiſe, march'd into *Scotland*, and in a few Days came to *Perthſhire*, to the Houſe of *James Graham* of *Inchbrekie*, the Marquiſs's near Relation, who receiv'd his Lorſhip and Companions with all teſtimonies of Affection and Fidelity.

The Covenanters call a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, without the King's Authority.

By this Time the Covenanters at *Edinburgh* having call'd a Parliament without any Commiſſion or Authority from the King, they appointed the Earl of *Lauderdale* Preſident; and having ratify'd all the Acts of their Aſſemblies, they order'd the Laird of *Haddo* and Captain *Logie* to be try'd, ſentenc'd, and beheaded at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*; as alſo *John Maxwell* of *Logan*, in the Shire of *Dumfries*, was likewiſe beheaded at *Dumfries*, for aſſiſting the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*; the Earl of *Crawford*, General *Ruthven*, and General *King*, were declar'd Rebels, and forfeited: And all other Things were order'd at their Pleaſure, without any Regard to the King's Authority.

The Earl of *Antrim* ſends 1500 Men from *Ireland* to join *Montroſe*.

At this time the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* having Notice of the landing of 1500 *Iriſhmen*, ſent by the Earl of *Antrim*, under the Command of *Alexander Macdonald*, whereof he had Notice by a Letter from *Alexander*, directed to himſelf, recommended to the Care of *Inchbreckie*; whereupon the Marquiſs wrote to *Alexander* to march without Delay towards *Athole*, where the Marquiſs with his Couſin *Inchbreckie* (having dreſs'd themſelves like ordinary *Highlanders*) went and met him; and the Marquiſs having produc'd his Commiſſion to *Alexander Mackdonald*, he enter'd himſelf and his Party under his Command: And Orders were given to all the Men of *Athole* and *Badenoch*, to join in their Aſſiſtance, ſo that in a few Days the Marquiſs had an Army to the Number of 3000 Men; whereof when the Covenanters had Notice, they rais'd an Army throughout the *Lothians*, *Fife* and *Perthſhire*, whereof the Lord *Elcho* had the Command; and coming to a Rendezvouze at *Perth*,, they were near 6000 in Number; yet the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, without any Regard to their Number, march'd his Army towards them, and gave them Battle at *Tipper-moor*, where he obtain'd a compleat Victory, which very much encourag'd his ſmall Army; beſides thereby the *Iriſh* were provided with Arms and Cloths, both which they very much wanted at their coming over. This Battle was fought on *Sunday*, the 1ſt of *September*.

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe* gives the Covenanters Battle at *Tipper-moor*.

After this Victory at *Tipper-moor*, the Town of *Perth* ſurrender'd to the Marquiſs, who went from thence towards *Dundee*, which likewiſe ſurrender'd, and was there join'd by the Earl of *Airly*, with his two Sons, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *David Ogilvies*, with ſeveral Gentlemen of his Name and Relations; as alſo by the Earl of *Kinoule* and Collonel *Nathaniel Gordon*; after which the Marquiſs march'd through *Angus* towards *Aberdeen*. Whereupon the Committee of Eſtates gave a Commiſſion to the Marquiſs of *Argyle* and the Earl of *Lothian* to raiſe an Army with all Expedition; which they accordingly did, and coming to *Perth* on the 10th of *September*, they were join'd by great Numbers of People from *Fife*, as alſo by two Regiments of Horſe ſent from *Newcaſtle*; and ſo march'd forwards in purſuit of the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s Army.

He defeats the Lord *Burleigh* near *Aberdeen*.

When the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* came towards *Aberdeen*, he was encounter'd by the Lord *Burleigh*, who had rais'd the *Forbeſes* and *Fraſers*, and join'd by the Lord *Elcho*'s Regiments, then lying at *Aberdeen*; and upon the Marquiſs's Approach they drew out their Army, and gave him Battle, but were alſo routed with great Slaughter of their Army.

After

After this Victory the Marquiſs enter'd *Aberdeen*, where he reſted his Army Two Days, after which he march'd to *Kintore*, from thence to *Strathbogie*, and then to *Fyvie Caſtle*; at which Time he ſent *Alexander Macdonald* with a Party of 500 Men, to bring up ſeveral of the *Highlanders*, who were kept in by the Marquiſs of *Argyle*'s Party. Mean Time the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* return'd Southwards, and came as far as *Dunkell*, where he had Notice, that the Marquiſs of *Argyle* and Earl of *Lothian* were upon their March towards *Perth* with their Army; whereupon he again march'd Northwards to ſecure the Highlanders, which were then upon their March to joyn him, with whom having at laſt joyn'd, he return'd again towards *Athole*; upon which the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, and Earl of *Lothian*, returned to *Edinburgh*, and laid down their Commiſſions. *A. D.* 1644.

After which the Committee of Eſtates appointed Sir *John Urrey*, to take the Command of ſuch Forces as they had in Arms, to go againſt the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, who at this Time had march'd towards *Dumbarton*, whereof, when the Marquiſs of *Argyle* had Notice, he went to his Caſtle of *Inverary*, intending to defend himſelf, in caſe of an Attack from the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s Party; and having given Orders to raiſe his Highlanders, to joyn the Covenanters Army, then commanded by *Bailie* and *Urrey*; but the Marquiſs being inform'd of the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s ſudden Approach, he left *Inverary*, and went to *Dumbarton*, where having Notice, that *Montroſe* had march'd away towards *Glenco* and *Lochaber*, he ſent Notice to *Bailie* and *Urrey*, to have their Troops in Readineſs, that when they might have an Opportunity to encounter *Montroſe*, he would be ready with his Highlanders to fall upon him at the ſame Time. *Urrey* appointed to command the Covenanters Army.

In *January* this Year, the Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, and by Authority thereof the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* and Earl of *Airly* were forfeited, and degraded, their Eſtates ſeized upon, with ſtrict Orders that no other Title ſhould be given them, than *James Graham* and *James Ogilvy*. At the ſame Time the General Aſſembly met at *Edinburgh*, and took into their Conſideration a Book publiſh'd by Mr. *Samuel Rutherford*, Entituled *Lex Rex*, for which he at that Time was very much applauded by the Brethren; and as the Subject of his Book was adapted to the Work in Hand, it was generally approv'd. For altho' in the Beginning of theſe Broils, *George Buchannan*'s Treatiſe, Entituled, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, had been eſteem'd as good Authority for their Proceedings; yet upon the publiſhing of *Rutherford*'s Book, *Buchannan*'s was laid aſide, as not being plain enough to the immediate Purpoſe: For at that Time the Cauſes of King JESUS and King *Charles* was the common Subject of all the Preachers, who in their Doctrines prov'd it lawful to reſiſt King *Charles*, for the Intereſt of King JESUS. *A. D.* 1645. The Parliament meet at *Edinburgh*, *Montroſe* and *Airly* forfeited.

About this Time in *England*, *Oliver Cromwell*, who had ſerv'd as Lieutenant General under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, accuſed that Earl of having acted againſt the Intereſt of the Parliament and People of *England*, whereby *Cromwell* made himſelf very popular among the Commons, ſo that he had Power to model the Army; Sir *Thomas Fairfax* being made General by the Commons, (the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Mancheſter* being caſhier'd, as likewiſe ſeveral other Noblemen, who had Commiſſions in the Army) *Oliver Cromwell* was made Lieutenant General, who at that Time was ſo much reſpected by the independent Faction, that his Command in the Army was by far ſuperior to *Fairfax* tho' he had the ſuperior Title. *Oliver Cromwell* accuſes the Earl of *Mancheſter*.

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe* being now in the Shire of *Murray*, having *Bailie* and *Urrey* betwixt him and the North, and the Marquiſs of *Argyle* marching towards him, he therefore thought proper to give Battle to either of them to prevent being attack'd on both Sides; and having at laſt reſolv'd to turn upon the Marquiſs of *Argyle*; he marched all the Night, and in the Morning early he came up to *Argyle*'s Army, and engaged them ſo vigorouſly, that in a little Time they gave way; and the Marquiſs himſelf, to ſhun the Danger he ſuſpected, betook himſelf to a Boat, and made his Eſcape by the River *Neſs*. This Battle was fought near *Inverneſs* upon the 2d of *February*, being *Montroſe* engages *Argyle*'s Army, and defeats them.

A. D. 1645. being *Candlemass* Day; wherein, on the Marquiss of *Argyle*'s Side were about 500 Men kill'd, among whom were several Gentlemen of the Name of *Campbell*; of the Marquiss of *Montrose*'s Side few were slain of any Account, only Sir *Thomas Ogilvy*, Son to the Earl of *Airly*, being wounded, died in a few Days after; his Death was very much lamented by the Marquiss of *Montrose*, as he was a Gentleman of equal Courage, Conduct and Honour.

After this Victory the Marquiss of *Montrose* march'd his Army to *Elgin*, where he was joyn'd by the Lord *Gordon*, Son to the Marquiss of *Huntly*, and the Laird of *Grant*, who brought in several Gentlemen of their Names, with several Companies of well arm'd Men, the Marquiss's Army being strengthned by these Reinforcements, he march'd Southwards to *Aberdeen*, and from thence through the *Merns*; where, having a Letter from the Lord *Aboyne*, (who had, with Sixteen other Gentlemen on Horseback, come all the Way from *Carlisle*, notwithstanding of the Parties in Garrisons of the Covenanters) that he was then come to *Cardross*, whereupon the Marquiss went to meet him. There the Marquiss likewise met *Archibald* Master of *Napier* his Nephew, a young Man very much commended for his great Perfections of Body and Mind, he being from the Time *Montrose* first took the Field, confin'd in *Holy-rood-house*, with his Father the Lord *Napier*, and Sir *George Stirling* of *Keir* his Brother-in-law, from whence he made his Escape, and came to his Uncle, with whom he continued after, and behav'd himself with great Courage and Bravery; but upon his Escape the Committee sent his Father and Brother-in-law Prisoners to the Castle of *Edinburgh*; as also his Mother and eldest Sister; and another Sister confin'd to *Marchiestoun* by the Committee, for having kept correspondence with their Brother the Master.

The Master of *Napier* makes his Escape, and joyns *Montrose*.

In the Month of *May* this Year, one *James Small* Son to the Laird of *Fotherence*, who had serv'd at the Court of *England*; and being known to the King, he undertook to carry a Packet of Letters from his Majesty to the Marquiss of *Montrose*, which he accomplish'd, by disguising himself in a Beggar's Habit. And having deliver'd the Letters to the Marquiss, he receiv'd Answers, with which he was returning to the King; but passing the *Firth* at *Alloway*, he was known by a Man who followed him to *Elphingshon*, where he discover'd him to the Lord *Elphingston*, who sent him Prisoner to *Edinburgh*; and being brought before the Committee, he was examin'd and search'd; and the Letters being found upon, he was sentenc'd and hang'd the next Day at the Market-Cross.

Mr. *Small* taken with Answers from *Montrose* to the King's Letters.

By this Accident the Covenanters came to know in what a bad Condition the King's Affairs were in *England*, that since he could not encounter his Enemies there, it was agreed that his Majesty should come with his Army to *Scotland*, to joyn the Marquiss of *Montrose*, whereby they might bring that Kingdom into Obedience, and afterwards return upon the *English* Rebels with their Army.

Mean Time the Marquiss of *Montrose* having raised the *Athole-men*, went northward to seek an Encounter with *Urrey*, who was then in the Shire of *Murray*, with five Regiments of Foot; and so soon as the Marquiss could come up with him, they engaged at *Old Earn*, upon the Fourth Day of *May*, where the Marquiss obtain'd a complete Victory, with great Slaughter of the Enemy.

The Battle of *Old Earn*, *Urrey* defeated.

As this Victory gave great Hopes to the King's Party, it very much perplext the Committee of Estates, and General Assembly at *Edinburgh*, and prevail'd with many of that Party, to be more cautious in maintaining the Cause. And some Ministers having upon that Occasion, spoke favourably of the Marquiss of *Montrose*, they were deposed, which occasion'd great Mutinies; so that it is believed many had revolted from the Covenanters, and joyn'd the Marquiss of *Montrose*, were it not that they had Account of the fatal Overthrow his Majesty receiv'd at *Nasby*, where *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* obtain'd the Victory, with great Slaughter of the King's Friends.

Some Ministers speak favourably of *Montrose*, are deposed.

The King loses the Battle of *Nasby*.

Before

Before this Battle, it is said, that the King was upon his March towards *Scotland*, but some Persons about him, urg'd his Majesty to lay aside that Design, and to return towards *Northampton*-Shire, where, as they confidently affirm'd, that, that and the other Three adjoyning Counties had associated to joyn his Majesty; but when he came there, instead of those Friends he expected, he found *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* with their new modelled Army, waiting for his coming up, and oblig'd him to give Battle, wherein they obtain'd such a Victory, as quite ruin'd the King's Cause in *England*. This Battle was fought at *Nasby* the 14th of *June*; and Notice thereof being brought to *Edinburgh*, in 3 Days after, the Committee gave Orders for Bonfires, and all other Signs of Joy, and such as did not joyn in the Solemnity, were distinguish'd as Enemies to the Publick; and at the same Time sent Collonel *Baillie* with an Army against the Marquis of *Montrose*, who encounter'd him at *Alford*, upon the 2d of *July*, where they fought with great Courage on both Sides; but at last the Covenanters were defeated with great Slaughter.

A. D. 1645.

The Covenanters order Rejoycings.

The Battle of *Alford* gained by *Montrose*.

In this Battle on the Marquis's Side was kill'd the Lord *Gordon*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Huntly*, whose Death was very much lamented. His Body was carried to *Aberdeen*, where it was interr'd with great Solemnity.

At this Time the Pestilence, which then rag'd at *Newcastle*, was carried from thence to *Kelso*, and afterwards to *Haddington*, from whence it came to *Edinburgh*, where it rag'd so, that the Parliament which had been appointed to meet on the 2d Day of *July* at *Edinburgh*, was removed to *Stirling*, where it likewise broke out some Days after their Meeting; whereupon they removed to *Perth*, where some Days after they order'd by Proclamation, that all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Heritors whatsoever, themselves, their Tenants and Servants, should be at that Town in Ten Days after, all well mounted and accouter'd, to be in Readiness with an Army at least of 10000 Men.

The Pestilence rages at *Newcastle*.

And brought to *Edinburgh*.

When the Marquis of *Montrose* had Notice of this great Muster, he march'd his Army to *Methvenwood*, where he waited for some Time, till the Covenanters had their Army in Readiness, they being more than twice his Number, he retir'd to *Dunkell*, where he stay'd till he was joyn'd by a Body of the *Gordons*, who had been recruiting after the Battle of *Alford*; after which he return'd, and endeavour'd to draw the Covenanters Army to Battle, but they declined fighting, for they expected at that Time the Men of *Fife* to joyn them. Whereupon the Marquis of *Montrose* march'd towards *Stirling*, and having sent *Macdonald* with his *Irish*, and other Companies of *Highlanders*, towards the west he went himself, with the Earl of *Airly*, and some other Noblemen, to visit the Earl of *Mar* at his Castle of *Alloway*, where he was courteously entertain'd; and the next Day passing the *Forth*, he marched his Army towards *Kilsyth*, where he had Notice that the Covenanters were upon their March after him; therefore he encamped in the most advantageous Ground, until their coming up, which was on the 15th Day of *August*. So soon as the Marquis perceiv'd the Covenanters Army prepar'd to fight, he advanc'd towards them, and attack'd them with such Fury, that in a little Time great Numbers of them were slain, and the rest put to Flight in great Confusion, whereby the Marquis's Army obtain'd a compleat Victory. In this Battle the Earl of *Airly*, with several Gentlemen of his Name and Kindred, behaved themselves with such Courage and Bravery, that the Victory of the Day was in a great Measure attributed to their Valour.

The Covenanters give out a Proclamation for raising a great Army against *Montrose*.

Montrose gains the Battle of *Kilsyth*.

After this Battle the Marquis of *Montrose* stay'd Two Days at *Kilsyth* to refresh his Army, at which Time the City of *Glasgow* sent Sir *Robert Douglas* and Mr. *Archibald Fleming* as Commissioners, to congratulate the Marquis's Victory, and to invite him to honour their Town with a Visit; whereupon, next Day he went with his Army thither, and was receiv'd with all Testimonies of Respect; and the Magistrates having acknowledged their bypast Disloyalty, for which they beg'd the King's Pardon, and his Lordship's Mercy. At the same Time the Lairds of *Greenock* and *Bishopton*, came Commissioners from *Renfrew* and *Linlithgow*; as also did the Burgesses of *Irwine* and *Air*, who acknowledg'd their Disloyalty, laying the Blame of

The Magistrates of *Glasgow*, &c. congratulates *Montrose* on his Victory at *Kilsyth*.

A. D. 1645. what they had done on the Miniſters. The Marquiſs receiv'd all the Gentlemen favourably, and promis'd to protect them and their Conſtituents, upon their Promiſes of dutiful Behaviour for the Future.

At the ſame time the Marquiſs ſent *Macdonald* to the other Parts of the Country which had not ſubmitted, to bring them to due Obedience, and in all Places found the People expreſs their Submiſſion; and coming to *Lowdon* Caſtle, where the Chancellor's Lady then reſided, ſhe receiv'd him courteouſly, and treated him with great Reſpect; and at the ſame time ſent Mr. *Halden*, her Gentleman, to make her Complement to the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*.

Several Noblemen and others, Priſoners, under Sentence of Death, reliev'd by *Montroſe*'s Order.

After this the Marquiſs ſent his Nephew the Maſter of *Napier*, and *Nathaniel Gordon* with a ſtrong Party to *Edinburgh*, to take the City into Protection, and to releaſe the Priſoners in it (for *Lodowick* Earl of *Crawford*, the Lords *Rhae* and *Ogilvy*, the Lairds of *Drum*, *Powrie-Ogilvie* and Doctor *Wiſeheart* were then in the Tolbooth, having been ſentenc'd to die, ſome Time before the breaking out of the Peſtilence in the City) which having accompliſh'd, they next went to *Leith*, where the Maſter of *Napier* receiv'd the Lord his Father, and Sir *George Stirling* of *Ker*, his Brother-in-Law, with the utmoſt Teſtimony of Joy; for they both had been kept Priſoners there from the Time of the Maſter's Eſcape; they, with the noble Lords and Gentlemen, went ſtraight to the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s, who receiv'd them with all Demonſtration of Joy and Reſpect.

As at this Time the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Caſſils* (who had receiv'd Commiſſions from the Covenanters to levy Forces to their Aſſiſtances) fearing the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s Power and Revenge, they gave up their Commiſſions; and the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, with the Earls of *Lowdon* and *Lanerick*, and Lord *Lindſay*, having the ſame Apprehenſions, they went to *Berwick* to wait the Event of Matters. Mean time the Marquiſs of *Dowglaſs*, the Earls of *Annandale* and *Hartfield*, the Lords *Seaton*, *Drummond*, *Fleming*, *Johnſton*, *Madirtey*, Sir *John Hamilton* and Mr. *Archibald Primroſe*, came to the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, offering to join him themſelves, with ſuch as they could bring to his Aſſiſtance. The Marquiſs receiv'd them with all Teſtimonies of Reſpect; and, in a few Days after, he ſent the Marquiſs of *Dowglaſs* and the Lord *Ogilvy*, to levy all the Horſe they could in the Shires of *Annandale*, *Nidſdale* and *Galloway*, to join in his Service.

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe* receives a Commiſſion to ſummon Parliaments and make Knights.

At this Time the King ſent Sir *Robert Spotſwood* (who having been formerly Preſident of the Seſſion, was nominated Secretary of State for *Scotland*, after the Earl of *Lanerick*'s Eſcape from *Oxford*) with a Commiſſion to the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, wherein he was conſtituted his Majeſty's Captain-General and Deputy-Governor of *Scotland*; with ample Power to make Knights and ſummon Parliaments: Which Commiſſion being deliver'd to the Marquiſs, he caus'd the ſame to be proclaim'd at the Market Croſſes of *Edinburgh*, *Stirling*, *Glaſgow* and *Lithgow*: And, at the ſame time, he appointed, by Proclamation, a Parliament to to meet at *Glaſgow*, on the 20th Day of *October*: And, by Virtue of his Commiſſion, he Knighted *Alexander Mackdonald*, under his diſplay'd Banner.

The Noblemen of the Covenanters who had gone to *Berwick*, as beforemention'd, ſent Notice to General *Leſly* to come from *England* with the Strength of his Horſe againſt *Montroſe*; and at the ſame time ſent private Notice to all their Party, to uſe ſuch means as might prevent his Return to the *Highlands*: But having Account that all the Shires had ſubmitted to the Marquiſs, they likewiſe ſent to congratulate his Succeſs, and offer'd to join him with ſuch Forces as they could levy; provided he would come with his Army towards the South Country. The Perſons they ſent were the Earls of *Roxburgh* and *Hume*, whoſe Behaviour gain'd the greater Belief of their Sincerity with the Marquiſs; ſo that having Aſſurance of their Aſſiſtance, he ſent them Notice, that he would ſend the Marquiſs of *Dowglaſs* and Lord *Ogilvy*, with a Party to aſſiſt their Endeavours to levy Forces. Yet they ſtill inſiſted upon his coming in Perſon, which he at laſt conſented to do, altho'

He conſents to join the Covenanters.

many

many of his beſt Friends diſſuaded him from following their Advice, or joining with them; alledging, that by their ſo ſudden Change, and Importunities to draw him from the *Highlands*, they had ſome ſecret Plot to his Diſadvantage: And when the Marquiſs told the Chiftains of the Clans of his Deſign to march, Sir *Alexander Macdonald* declar'd to him, that he would go to *Argyleſhire*, to revenge the Injuries done by that Country-people to his Relations; and accordingly he went, with a ſtrong Party of the *Iriſh* and 500 *Scots* Highlanders; as alſo the Laird of *Macklane* went off with his Clan, pretending to repair their Houſes which had been demoliſh'd by the Covenanters. With theſe two the Marquiſs dealt earneſtly to accompany him to the South, but could not prevail with them; for neither of them would, by any means, be perſuaded to join with the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, or forgive the Injuries done by his People. *A. D.* 1645.

Several of his Party leave him upon that Account.

Beſides them, the Lord *Aboyne* likewiſe declar'd againſt the Marquiſs's going to join the Covenanters, and when he found he intended to march the Army, upon the 4th of *September*, he left him, and carry'd off with him all his Friends of the Name of *Gordon*, and alſo ſeveral North Country Horſe, pretending that they would defend their Part of the Country from the Covenanter's Army in the North, till the Marquiſs's Return from the South. Mean time the Marquiſs (who had not above 700 Foot, beſides the Noblemen and Gentlemen who attended him) march'd to *Bothwell*, upon the 6th of *September*.

At this time the Earl of *Tullibardin* having intercepted a Letter from General *Leſly* to the Noblemen at *Berwick* (wherein, by the Anſwer to their Letters, it diſcover'd their Deſignes, and his Readineſs to obey them) which Letter he ſent to the Lord *Erskine*, to be communicated to the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*; which when he ſaw, he could not be perſuaded to give any Credit to it, but imagin'd it to be contriv'd by ſuch as were againſt his joining the Lords at *Berwick*: But when he had Notice that General *Leſly* was within a few Miles of *Berwick*, he begun to ſuſpect their Deſigns, and immediately march'd weſtwards to *Selkirk*, where he arriv'd upon the 12th of *September*; and being join'd by the Marquiſs of *Dowglaſs* and Lord *Ogilvy*, with their new levy'd Troops; as alſo by the Lord *Linton* (who was ſent by the Earl of *Traquair* his Father, with a Troop of Horſe to join the Marquiſs) he intended, the next Day, to march towards the North.

The Marquiſs ſuſpects the Deſigns of General *Leſly*.

By this time *Leſly* being come to *Lothian*, he muſter'd his Army, which conſiſted moſt of Horſe, in *Gladſmoor*, where he held a Council of War, and reſolv'd to march to *Edinburgh*, and ſo to paſs the *Forth*, that he might interrupt *Montroſe*'s Retreat to the *Highlands*, and force him to fight before he was join'd by any other Forces; but after this Reſolution, the General having Notice that the Marquiſs had but a ſmall Army of Foot and ſome new levy'd Troops of Horſe, he immediately march'd his Army with great Expedition, within four Miles of the Marquiſs's Camp: And the next Day, the General with the beſt of his Horſe, fell in with the Marquiſs of *Dowglaſs*'s new levy'd Troops, whom they ſoon put to Confuſion; and afterwards coming upon the Foot, who were ſo few in Number againſt ſo ſtrong a Body of Horſe, they were ſoon routed. Thus General *Leſly* obtain'd a compleat Victory; and the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* receiv'd his firſt fatal Overthrow, where ſeeing his ſmall Army all put to Flight, he reſolv'd to make his Eſcape to the *Highlands*, to raiſe what Forces he could, expecting to revenge that Day's Overthrow. This Battle was fought at *Philliphaugh*, on the 13th Day of *September*, 1645.

General *Leſly* muſters his Army in *Gladſmoor*.

Montroſe routed at *Philliphaugh*.

General *Leſly* after this Victory brought his Army to *Edinburgh*, and from thence convoy'd the Committees of Eſtates and Church to *Glaſgow*, where they ſat ſeveral Days, adviſing what further Courſe they ſhould take againſt the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*. Mean time they concluded to make a Preſent to General *Leſly* of 50000 Merks *Scots* in ready Money, and 25000 Merks to *Middleton* his Lieutenant-General, as a Token of Gratitude for the good Service they had done the Kingdom.

A. D. 1645.

In this Battle were taken Priſoners the Earl of *Hartfield*, the Lords *Drummond* and *Ogilvy*, Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, Sir *Alexander Leſly*, Sir *William Rollo*, Sir *Philip Nisbet*, *William Murray*, Brother to the Earl of *Tullibardin*, *Alexander Ogilvy* of *Innerquharity*, *Nathaniel Gordon* and Mr. *Andrew Guthry*, who were ſent Priſoners to the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*, to be kept there until the Committee could reſolve upon the Time and Place of their Execution. Mean time ſeveral Common-People who had been taken Priſoners were put to the Sword, and two *Iriſh* Officers of great Eſteem were hang'd upon the Caſtle-hill of *Edinburgh*.

Noblemen and Gentleme taken Priſoners in the Battle.

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe* being accompanied by the Marquiſs of *Dowglaſs*, the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lords *Fleming* and *Napier*, whereupon he march'd towards *Athole*, where he was join'd by the Earl of *Airly* and Lord *Erskin*, with ſome new rais'd Troops, whereby he again had a ſmall Army, and was in Hopes to retrieve his Loſſes at *Philiphaugh*.

Fairfax and *Cromwell* obtain ſeveral Victories over the King's Army.

But by this Time *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* had obtain'd ſeveral Victories over the King's Army in *England*, whereby his Majeſty's Friends were very much diſcourag'd. And as ſeveral Treaties for Peace had been ſlighted by the Parliament, the Queen, by the King's Advice, retir'd to *France*; as alſo the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York*, ſome time after likewiſe went over, he being diſguis'd in Woman's Apparel; they were both receiv'd at the Court of *France*, where the Queen and they were Royally entertain'd.

Mean time the King having ſent ſeveral Meſſages to the Parliament of *England*, offering Terms of Peace, and ſeveral Treaties had been enter'd into; but the Parliament's Conditions being ſuch, as his Majeſty declar'd he could neither in Honour nor Conſcience comply with, Matters ſtill grew worſe; ſo that the King could have no Hopes of any Accommodation, nor of an Army to keep the Field in any Part of *England*.

At *Edinburgh* the Committee of Eſtates adjourn'd to *Dunce* in the *Merſs*, where they met the 3d of *October*, and ſent their Commiſſioners to *Berwick*, to meet with Commiſſioners ſent from the Parliament of *England*; at whoſe meeting it was propos'd by the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, That the Parliament deſir'd to be freed of the *Scots* Army, and to have the Towns of *Newcaſtle* and *Carliſle* deliver'd up to them; to which they deſir'd a poſitive Anſwer from the *Scots* by the 26th of *November*; at which time the Committee of Eſtates had order'd the Parliament to meet at St. *Andrew*'s. The Commiſſioners returning to the Committee at *Dundee*, they all went back to *Edinburgh*; and having notice that the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* had got a conſiderable Army of *Highlanders* and North-Country People together, and that he intended to march towards *Glaſgow* to hold his Parliament upon the 20th of *October*, as he had before proclaim'd: Therefore the Committee reſolv'd to go ſtraight to *Glaſgow*, and ſent their Orders to all the Weſtern Shires, to have all the Horſe and Foot they could raiſe to attend their Arrival: And taking along with them General *Leſly*, with one half of his Horſe for a Convoy, they order'd *Middleton* with the other half, to quarter upon the Earl of *Marr*'s Lands, and to plunder his Tenants, for their Lord's Adherence to the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*.

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe* gathers a new Army.

Sir *William Rollo*, Sir *Philip Nisbet*, and *Innerquharitie* executed at *Glaſgow*.

The Committee being come to *Glaſgow*, they caus'd execute, at the Market Croſs, Sir *William Rollo*, Sir *Philip Nisbet*, a Youth of ſcarce 18 Years of Age, and *Alexander Ogilvy* of *Innerquarity*, and order'd the Execution of the reſt of the Priſoners to be delay'd till the meeting of their Parliament at St. *Andrew*'s.

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe* by this time march'd his Army to *Lennox*, and hearing of the Executions at *Glaſgow*, he march'd up ſtraight to the Town, expecting to have drawn out the Covenanters to give him Battle, but having ſtaid ſeveral Days to no Purpoſe, he return'd with his Army to *Athole*, where he receiv'd the Account of the Death of *Archibald* Lord *Napier*, his Brother-in-Law and faithful Friend, whoſe Death the Marquiſs very much lamented; for tho' he was very old, and unable for Action, yet his great Wiſdom and Experience had been moſt uſeful in Councils.

The

The Marquiſs having interr'd him with the utmoſt Solemnity, in the Church of *Blair*, he return'd to his Army, and conſidering the Winter then approach'd, he enter'd into Conſultation with the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and determin'd that the Marquiſs of *Dowglaſs*, the Lords *Erskine*, *Fleming*, and the Gentlemen who join'd at *Bothwell*, ſhould be allow'd to capitulate with the Covenanters, for ſuch Terms as they might obtain, for Safety for themſelves and Friends; which they accordingly did. Mean time the Marquiſs, and his faithful Companion the Earl of *Airly*, with the reſt of the Forces, march'd towards the North, intending to reſt that Winter, and in the Spring to be in Readineſs to take the Field, expecting to have the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, with his Friends and Forces, to join with them by that time. But when the Earl of *Airly* went to ſollicite the Marquiſs of *Huntly* to engage, he found he had entred into other Meaſures: For he having the King's Commiſſion, ſince the Year 1643, he had aſſerted the King's Intereſt in that Part of the Country, without acknowledging the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s Power; of which, when the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* had Notice, he uſed all Means to engage the Marquiſs of *Huntly* to amicable Correſpondence in Conjunction with him, and reſolved to remain in his Neighbourhood all that Winter. *A. D.* 1645.

The Covenanters meeting in Parliament at St. *Andrew*'s, upon the 26th of *November*, the ſeveral Priſoners taken at, and after the Battle of *Philiphaugh*, were brought thither to be tried and ſentenc'd. The Earl of *Hartfield* and Lord *Ogilvy* being firſt order'd to Execution, the latter eſcaped out of the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, in his Siſter's Clothes, and the Earl was ſpared by the Intereſt of the Marquiſs of *Argyle*. So the firſt that ſuffer'd was Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, Son to the late Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, formerly Preſident of the Seſſion, and Secretary of State, whoſe Crime was, that he had lately brought down a Commiſſion from the King his Maſter, to the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*; and after him *William Murray*, Brother to the Earl of *Tullibardin*, Collonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, and Mr. *Andrew Guthery*, Son to the Biſhop of *Murray*, were alſo executed; and at the ſame Time the Committee appointed to meet at *Linlithgow* in *February* after, to proſecute the other Priſoners, who accordingly met, and impoſed great Fines on all the other Priſoners.

The Lord *Ogilvy* eſcapes and the Earl of *Hartfield* ſpared.

Sir *Robert Spotſwood* and Three more executed.

In the Beginning of this Year the Covenanters Commiſſioners at *London*, ſent Notice to the Committee at *Edinburgh*, that the Parliament of *England* deſired to be freed of the *Scots* Army; and at the ſame Time ſent a Copy of a Declaration, containing ſeveral Articles, wherein it appear'd, that the *Scots* Army had near receiv'd Satisfaction for the Sums contracted to them. As this Meſſage and Declaration vexed the Covenanters, they reſolv'd upon ſome Expedient to bring the Parliament of *England* to their Meaſures; and finding at that Time the King's Circumſtances, brought to ſuch an Extremity, that he would be oblig'd in little Time to propoſe Terms, either to the *Scots* or *Engliſh*, therefore concluded to uſe ſuch Means as might induce his Majeſty to truſt more to them than the Parliament of *England*; and to that End the Earl of *Loudon*, Lord *Balmerinoch*, and Laird of *Wariſton*, were diſpatch'd to *London*, to joyn the Earl of *Lauderdale* and reſt of the Commiſſioners, to carry on that Deſign. And at the ſame Time the Marquiſs of *Argyle* was ſent to *Ireland*, to bring over the *Scots* Army, that their Power might be the more formidable, in caſe of a Rupture with the Parliament of *England*: Theſe Matters being order'd, the Parliament upon the 4th of *February* was adjourn'd. *A. D.* 1646.

The Parliament of *England* deſires to be freed of the *Scots* Army.

The Marquiſs of *Argyle* ſent to *Ireland*, to bring over the *Scots* Army.

Towards the latter End of *February*, the Lord *Napier* finding his Tenants oppreſt by the Covenanters, he took with him the Laird of *Macknab*, and *John Drummond* of *Ballach*, with a Company of Foot, and came to *Kincardin*, the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s principal Houſe, which they fortified, intending it for a Retreat, after they had reliev'd the Lord *Napier*'s Tenants; but no ſooner had they completed their Fortification, then they were beſieged by General *Middleton*, with a formidable Body of Horſe and Foot, who brought

A. D. 1646. brought with them ſeveral Pieces of great Ordnance from *Stirling* Caſtle, yet the beſieged defended themſelves for Ten Days, till they had neither Water nor any other Proviſion, whereupon they were oblig'd to conſider of ſuch Terms as they could obtain. Mean Time the Lord *Napier*, *Macknab*, and *Balloch*, with *John Graham* the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s Chamberlain, having order'd a Servant to have Horſes in Readineſs, they made their Eſcape at a poſtern Gate, and rod through the Enemies Guards without Interruption, after which they went with all Speed and joyned the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*.

The next Day after their Eſcape, the Soldiers ſurrender'd, whereupon 35 of them were ſent Priſoners, and 12 were immediately ſhot at a Poſt, and at the ſame Time *Middleton* order'd the Caſtle of *Kincarin* to be burnt, which was done upon the 16th Day of *March*.

Twelve of the Lord *Napier*'s Men ſhot at *Edinburgh*, by Order of the Covenanters.

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe* having ſpent ſome Time, to engage the Marquiſs of *Huntly* to joyn with him, but in vain; he march'd his Army to the Shire of *Roſs*, where he was joyn'd by the Earl of *Seaforth*, who had prevailed with the Earl of *Sutherland*, Lord *Lovat*, and ſeveral Chiftians of *Clans* to joyn the Marquiſs; and being met, they agreed to ſubſcribe a Bond of Aſſociation, for preſerving Peace in the North, and to oppoſe with Arms all ſuch as ſhould moleſt them. The principal Perſons who ſign'd this Bond, were the Earls of *Sutherland* and *Seaforth*, the Lord *Lovat*, the Lairds of *Grant*, *Macintoſh*, *Fowlis*, *Macleod*, *Tarbet*, *Balnagown*, *Macronald*, *Innes*, and *Brodie*. A Copy of the Bond being brought to the Committee at *Edinburgh*, they, by Proclamation at the Market-Croſs, condemn'd it; of which Proclamation and Bond they ſent Copies to the ſeveral Presbyteries through the Kingdom, commanding all the Miniſters to read them in their Pulpits, and to comment upon them according to their Directions; which the Miniſters readily obeyed, and in all Parts pronounced ſuch Threatnings, that ſome of thoſe Aſſociators wrote penetential Letters to the Committee; and in a few Days after the Lairds of *Innes*, *Tarbet*, and *Brodie*, went to *Edinburgh*, and before the Committee offer'd to remove the Scandal by ſolemn Repentance: However the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, with the other Noblemen and Chiftians of Clans, continued to raiſe their Army; ſo that in a little Time they were in a tolerable Condition to have march'd without Fear of Oppoſition, to any Part of the Kingdom; but they continued in the North, where at that Time the Marquiſs expected daily Notice from the King, either to march into *England*, or receive his Majeſty with ſuch Forces as he could bring, to joyn with him in *Scotland*: The latter Reſolution the Marquiſs having great Hopes of, but as his Majeſty, with the few Forces and Friends, which then remain'd with him, were beſieg'd in the City of *Oxford*, by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*'s Army, he was depriv'd of any Opportunity to ſend Notice to *Montroſe*, or to receive Intelligence from him.

A Bond of Aſſociation ſubſcrib'd by *Montroſe* and others.

The King beſieg'd in *Oxford* by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*.

Upon the 2d of *May*, the Lord *Balmerinoch* arriv'd at *Edinburgh* from *London*, and reported to the Committee, that their Commiſſioners had managed Matters ſo dextrouſly, that he confidently affirmed, that they ſhould in few Days have an Account of the King's being with General *Leſly*'s Army, which Report prov'd very true: For thoſe Commiſſioners having by their Agents, at the Court of *France*, prevail'd with the Cardinal *Mazarin*, and Queen Regent, to ſend over Monſieur *Montrevil* as their Envoy, with Credentials to the King: His Majeſty, receiv'd him the more kindly, that he had particular Recommendations from his own Queen, with Advice to the King her Husband, wherein ſhe aſſured his Majeſty, that the Queen Regent and Cardinal *Mazarin*, would do their utmoſt to ſerve him; and as the Envoy by his Inſtructions urg'd the King to come to a good Underſtanding with his *Scots* Subjects, his Majeſty having found all reaſonable Terms of Accommodation, rejected by the *Engliſh* Army; he was the more eaſily perſwaded to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* Covenanters; and therefore employ'd *Montrevil* to treat with their Army, which then lay at *New-wark* upon *Trent*, and after receiving his Majeſty's Inſtructions, he went ſtraight to the Army, where, at his coming, he was receiv'd with all Reſpect, whereupon the General and principal

principal Perſons in the Army called a Council of War, wherein they propoſed, *That they would receive and protect the King as their natural Sovereign, and that he ſhould enjoy all Freedom of Conſcience and Honour among them; as alſo all ſuch of his Subjects and Servants, as ſhould accompany him would be protected; and that they would employ their Arms and Forces to aſſiſt his Majeſty in procuring a happy and well grounded Peace, for the good of the Subjects, and to recover his Majeſty's juſt Rights and Authority.* Of this the Envoy ſent Notice to the King, wherewith his Majeſty was extremely pleaſed. *A. D.* 1646.

The King enters into a Treaty with the *Scots* Covenanters.

But in a few Days after the Envoy finding great Debates among the Noblemen and Officers of the Army, about the Promiſes they had made to the King, eſpecially their denying to allow his Majeſty Liberty of Conſcience, or to protect his Attendance; he immediately wrote a Letter to advertiſe the King of their Diviſions, and to diſſwade him from coming to their Army; but the Meſſenger who carried the Letter being taken Priſoner, could not perform his Journey, yet kept the Letter, and return'd it again to the Envoy, who by that Time had been called again to a Conſultation, by the Noblemen and Officers, wherein they propos'd, that if the King would reſolve to come to them, they would ſend a Body of Horſe to meet his Majeſty at *Burton* upon *Trent*; and as the Party could not advance any further, they would ſend a few Horſes as far as *Boſworth*, where they ſaid his Majeſty's own Horſes would be able to convoy him ſafely. Mean Time they deſired his Majeſty to appoint the Day on which they ſhould certainly be there; and likewiſe, that when their Troops came to his Majeſty, that he might pretend he intended to go to *Scotland*, by which they would carry him to the Army, without diſcovering the Treaty; and likewiſe deſired to have the ſame kept as a Secret, from the Parliament of *England*.

When the King receiv'd this laſt Advice, which ſeem'd to be with more Caution than the former, he was very much perplex'd in Mind, whether he ſhould go to the *Scots* Army or not; for at that Time he had ſuch Aſſurance of the Loyalty of the City of *London*, that if he could find any Means to be brought ſafe thither, he would willingly have ventur'd among them; and it is reported, that his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to ſome Officers of the *Engliſh* Army, propoſing, *That if they would engage to conduct him immediately to the Parliament, he would truſt himſelf in their Hands.* But theſe Officers not only denied his Requeſt, but gave Intelligence to the chief Commanders of the Army, whereupon ſtrict Guards were placed about *London* and *Weſtminſter*, to prevent his Majeſty's coming thither; whereof when he had Notice, he reſolved to go to the *Scots* Army, but ſent no Notice to appoint any Time for their ſending Horſe to meet him; and after a private Conſultation with ſome of his Council, he appointed Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, and Doctor *Hudſon* a Divine, to accompany him, and diſguiſing himſelf as Mr. *Aſhburnham*'s Servant, upon the 27th of *April*, early in the Morning, his Majeſty left *Oxford*; and having travelled Seven Days in that Diſguiſe, he came the 8th Day to *Southam*, where Monſieur *Montrevil* then was, from whence he ſent Notice to General *Leſly*, who ſent a Troop of Horſe and convoy'd his Majeſty to the General's Quarters at *Kelham*, where he arriv'd the 5th Day of *May*, where he was receiv'd by the General, with the Nobility and principal Officers, with all outward Demonſtrations of Reſpect.

Guards placed about *London* and *Weſtminſter* to hinder the King's coming there.

The King comes to the *Scots* Army.

The firſt Thing that the General and his Committee propos'd to the King, was to command the Lord *Belaſſes* his Governor of *New-wark*, to ſurrender that Town, which his Majeſty complied with; whereupon the Army march'd with the King to *Newcaſtle*, where his Majeſty was receiv'd with all outward Appearance of Reſpect; and for a few Days after his coming, his Friends had Opportunity to ſpeak privately with him; at which Time it was propoſed to his Majeſty, that as ſeveral Noblemen and Officers of the Army favoured his Intereſt; if *David Leſly* the Lieutenant General could be gained, the whole Army would be his own; for old *Leſly* Earl of *Leven*, their General, had not been much reſpected among them, ſince his Flight at *Long Marſton*.

A. D. 1643.

By this Advice the King ſent to *David Leſly*, to give him Aſſurance of the Earldom of *Orkney*, and what more he could deſire, as a Reward to gain him; whereupon he took the Matter to Conſideration, promiſing in a few Days to give his Anſwer: But in the mean Time, the Lord *Balmerinoch* and other Commiſſioners from the Committee at *Edinburgh*, having kiſs'd the King's Hand, and been for ſome Time with his Majeſty in private, they prevail'd with him to ſend the Earl of *Callendar* to *Edinburgh*, with a Letter to the Committee of Eſtates, wherein he declared to comply with his Parliament, and to command the Marquiſſes of *Montroſe* and *Huntly*, and all ſuch Noblemen and others as were with them in Arms to disband; which Letter the Committee cauſed to be printed and publiſh'd, with ringing of Bells and Bonfires. The Lord *Balmerinoch* and his Aſſiſtants having obtain'd their Ends with the King's, they next prevail'd with *David Leſly* to delay conſenting to the King's Propoſals, until the Marquiſs of *Argyle*'s coming up. Mean Time the King, according to his Letter to the Committee, diſpatch'd *Robert Ker* to the Marquiſſes of *Montroſe* and *Huntly*, and *Macdonala* to lay down their Arms: The laſt Two abſolutely refuſed, but the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* declar'd his Readineſs to obey the King, ſo ſoon as reaſonable Conditions ſhould be agreed upon; and at the ſame Time wrote by a private Meſſenger to his Majeſty, that if the Command ſent him had been extorted from his Majeſty, he would keep up his Army, and hop'd to compel them in whoſe Hands he then was, to ſubmit to his Pleaſure; but if that Command was freely given by his Majeſty, out of any Conſideration of Advantage, that he would obey upon any Terms, tho' ever ſo diſadvantageous to himſelf. The Marquiſs of *Huntly* likewiſe wrote to the King, entreating his Majeſty not to command his Friends to lay down their Arms, while he was in the Hands of ſo powerful Enemies.

The King makes great Offers to General *Leſly*.

The King writes to *Montroſe* to disband his Army.

By this Time the Marquiſs of *Argyle* return'd from *Ireland*, and upon the 29th of *May* he went to the King, accompanied by the Earls of *Morton* and *Loudon*, and Lord *Lindſay*; and coming to *Newcaſtle*, and having kiſs'd the King's Hand, they, with the Lord *Balmerinoch*, enter'd into a Conſultation with Lieutenant General *Leſly*, wherein they obtain'd his Promiſe, that he ſhould by no Means engage with the King, in any Articles of Accommodation, until the Marquiſs of *Argyle* went to *London*, and returned there again; whereupon the Marquiſs took his Journey to *London*.

The Marquiſs of *Argyle* returns from *Ireland*, and meets with the King at *Newcaſtle*.

At this Time the General Aſſembly met at *Edinburgh*, and having excommunicated *George* Earl of *Seaforth*, and ſeveral others, for their Adherence to the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, they ſent thereof three Number, *viz.* Mr. *Robert Douglaſs*, Mr. *Robert Blair*, and Mr. *Andrew Cant*, to attend the King at *Newcaſtle*, to have their Proceedings approv'd by his Majeſty. Mean Time they appointed a Committee to ſit at *Edinburgh*, for the remaining Part of this Year, ſo the Aſſembly roſe the 11th of *June*.

By this Time *Robert Ker* returned again from the King, to the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, requiring him without more Delay to lay down his Arms; and beſides this ſecond Meſſage, the King, by a Secret Bearer, ſent a Letter, wherein he wrote to the Marquiſs, that in caſe he refuſed to lay down his Arms, it would be a ſufficient Pretence for his Enemies to ruin his Meaſures, therefore entreated him in a familiar, but earneſt Manner, to comply with his Requeſt. To which the Marquiſs (tho' with great Reluctancy) conſented; whereupon *Middleton*, who commanded the Covenanters Forces againſt him, agreed upon a Ceſſation of Arms with him; after which he intimated the Conditions, which were, *That the Marquiſs of* Montroſe, Lodowick *Earl of* Crawford, *and Sir* John Urrey, *ſhould be ſecluded from all Pardon or Favour, except ſafe Tranſportation beyond Sea; and that they ſhould embark before the laſt of* Auguſt, *the Eſtates finding them a Ship.* That *Graham* of *Inchbreakie*, ſhould be pardon'd for his Life, but that his Eſtate ſhould remain forfeited, as to the other Gentlemen, they ſhould be reſtored for their Lives and Eſtates in all Things as before they engaged: But the Committee of the Aſſembly meeting upon the 27th of *July*, they diſallow'd theſe Conditions, and petition'd

The King writes a Second Time to *Montroſe*.

The Terms agreed upon with the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*.

on'd the Committee of Eſtates to reverſe the ſame; and at the ſame Time they excommunicated the Earl of *Airly*, the Lairds of *Gorthy*, *Inchbreakie*, Collonel *Stewart*, the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s Adjutant, the Tutor of *Strowan*, and *John Stewart* of *Straglaſs*, yet General *Middleton* ſtood to the Treaty; and the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, upon the laſt Day of *July*, having brought his Army to a Rendezvouz at *Rattery*, in the Shire of *Mearns*, he made a very moving Speech to them, wherein he exhorted them to continue in Obedience and Duty to the King; and after taking Leave of them in a moſt affectionate Manner, he disbanded them. *A. D.* 1646.

Montroſe disbands his Army.

The *Iriſh* Companies which did remain till then, went with the Earl of *Crawford* to the Weſt Country, where they embarked for *Ireland*. The Earl of *Airly*, and all the *Scots* retired to their own Houſes; at the ſame Time the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, with Sir *John Urrey*, having ſtaid ſome Days at *Montroſe*, they took Ship and landed in *Norway*, from whence they travell'd to *Holland*, and afterwards to *France*, where the Marquiſs waited on the Queen of *England*.

By this Time the Commiſſioners from the Committee at *Edinburgh*, having conſulted matters with the Parliament of *England*, that Parliament appointed the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, Sir *John Earle*, Sir *John Hippſley*, *Robert Godwin* and *Luke Robinſon*, to repair to *Newcaſtle*, to preſent to the King ſuch Propoſitions as they had concluded. Upon the 17th of *July* the Duke of *Hamilton*, who had been releas'd from *Pendinnes* Caſtle, came to the King, and having kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand, gave an Account to the King of what he had learn'd concerning thoſe Propoſitions. The King receiv'd his Grace with all Teſtimonies of Reſpect, and expreſt the great Senſe he had of his long Sufferings; and told him, *That he had ever judg'd him innocent as to the Bulk of Things, tho' he confeſt there were ſome Particulars that he was not ſo well ſatisfy'd with; that his Reſtraint was extorted from him, and that he had withſtood his Enemies Importunities, till the very Morning he came to* Oxford. Upon the 24th of the ſame Month came the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, who alſo kiſs'd the King's Hand: And upon the 25th arriv'd the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, and preſented to his Majeſty their Propoſitions, intreating a ſpeedy Anſwer, as their Inſtructions allow'd them but ten Days to ſtay in that Place.

The Commiſſioners preſent Propoſitions to the King.

The King's Speech to Duke *Hamilton*.

The King having conſider'd the Propoſitions, at length anſwer'd, That to ſuch as were reaſonable of them he would readily agree for preſerving Peace, but to ſome of them he could not conſent, without depriving himſelf of all Royal Authority.

The Articles which his Majeſty objected againſt were theſe, as follows:

" I. It was deſir'd that the King ſhould ſign the *Solemn League and Covenant*,
" approve of the Aſſembly of Divines, and the whole Proceedings of both
" Parliaments. II. That for the Time to come the Parliaments ſhould
" chooſe the Officers of State, Lords of Council, chief Judges, and Barons
" of the Exchequer. III. That the Tower of *London* be in the City's
" Power. IV. That all Honours conferr'd by the King, from *May*, 1642.
" be declar'd void, and that none dignify'd hereafter ſhould ſit in Parliament
" without the Conſent of the Parliament in either Kingdoms. V. That in
" *England* ſhould be excepted from Pardon the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*,
" Earls of *Derby*, *Briſtol*, and *Newcaſtle*, Lords *Cottington*, *Digby*, *Hopton*,
" and *Jermin*; and in *Scotland*, the Marquiſſes of *Huntly* and *Montroſe*,
" the Earls of *Crawford*, *Nidſdale*, *Traquair*, *Carnwath*, and *Airly*, the
" Lords *Gordon*, *Ogilvie*, *Herries* and *Rhae*, General *Ruthven*, General *King*,
" Biſhop *Maxwell*, the Lairds of *Drum* and *Gight*, Sir *Alexander Leſly* of
" *Achintoul*, Collonel *Cochran*, Laird of *Gorthie* and *Macdonald*. VI. That
" the Reformation of Religion be ſettled by Act of Parliament, in ſuch man-
" ner as both Houſes ſhall agree upon, after conſulting an Aſſembly of Di-
" vines. VII. That the Militia ſhould be diſpos'd of by the Parliament for
" the Space of 20 Years, commencing from *July*, 1646. that the King nor
" his Succeſſors ſhould have no Power over them in any of the Kingdoms for

Articles that the King objected againſt.

A. D. 1642. "that Time. During which Time, the Parliament ſhould declare all Caſes "concerning the Safety of the Kingdom, and paſs Bills for raiſing Forces by "Sea and Land: That the King and his Succeſſors ſhould be oblig'd to ra- "tify the Bills, otherwiſe the ſame, wanting the Royal Aſſent, ſhould have "the Strength of Acts of Parliament, and be as valid to all Intents and Pur- "poſes, as with the Royal Aſſent."

Theſe being the Propoſitions offer'd, his Majeſty refus'd, and deſir'd the Commiſſioners to accept Satisfaction from him, by conſenting to ſuch of the Articles as he thought reaſonable: But they reply'd, *All or None*. Whereupon the King told them, That ſince they were ſo inſtructed, it was not his Fault that they parted without Accommodation, but theirs, who had order'd them to preſs Things that he could neither in Honour or Conſcience conſent to; therefore he was oblig'd to diſmiſs them with a Denial, and take his Hazard of what might follow.

The Treaty with the King breaks off.

Upon the 2d of *Auguſt* the Commiſſioners left *Newcaſtle*, and the next Day the Lord Chancellor, the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, and Earl of *Dumfermling* offer'd to the King, to go to *London* and treat with the Parliament for a Mitigation of the Articles, and taking Leave, they took their Journey thither. Some Days after, the Duke of *Hamilton* and Earl of *Lanerick*, having taken Leave of the King, came to *Edinburgh*, from whence the Duke retir'd to his own Houſe.

About this time it was reported, that *William Murray*, of the King's Bed-Chamber, had urg'd his Majeſty to make his Eſcape out of the Army, and had a Ship in Readineſs to tranſport him. Upon the Account or Pretence of which Report, the General planted Guards over the King's Lodgings, and debarr'd all his Friends, Attendance and Servants from Acceſs to him; whereupon *William Murray* fled to *London*, where the *Scots* Commiſſioners caus'd him to be apprehended and impriſon'd for ſome Time.

The Duke of *Hamilton*'s Promiſe to the King.

The Duke of *Hamilton* having at parting, promis'd to the King, to deal with the Committee of Eſtates at *Edinburgh*, to acknowledge his Majeſty's Authority, his Grace, after ſome Stay at *Kineil*, return'd (with ſeveral Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, and their ſeveral Retinues, to the Number of 400 Horſe) to *Edinburgh*, upon the 11th of *Auguſt*; and having call'd the Committee of Eſtates, and the Lords of the Privy Council to a meeting, ſeveral Debates aroſe between the King's Friends and the chief Covenanters; the latter being the ſtronger Party, urg'd to put it to a Vote, Whether or not to own the King, or call home the Army, and leave him to the *Engliſh*. After many Diſputes it was concluded, That before they came to a Reſolution in that Matter, Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to deal with the King to ſign the *Engliſh* Propoſitions. The Perſons nominated in that Commiſſion were the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Caſſils*, Lord *Lindſay*, Lairds of *Freeland*, *Garthland*, and *Brodie*, Sir *Alexander Wedderburn* Clerk of *Dundee*, *Edward Edgar* Bailie of *Edinburgh*, and *William Glendoning* Burges of *Kirkcudbright*, who went to the King on the 2d of *September*, and return'd the 16th; upon which Day they made Report to the Committee, That the King had refus'd to ſign thoſe Propoſitions, they being both unreaſonable and diſhonourable. Whereupon the Committee ſat ſeveral Days, and enter'd into a Debate, That ſince the Army had been ſent into *England* to carry on the Reformation of Religion, they could not withdraw when that End was not obtain'd.

Scots Commiſſioners ſent to the King.

They return and make their Report.

The Committee of the Church hearing of this Debate, they ſent ſeveral of the Brethren to the Committee of Eſtates, deſiring that they ſhould no longer defer their Reſolution to call home the Army, upon the Account of Reformation, becauſe they could not preſs Mens Conſciences. Upon which the Committee enter'd upon a new Debate, the Determination of which was ſuſpended till the meeting of the Parliament in *November*; whereof the Committee ſent Notice to the Commiſſioners then at *London*. Whereupon the *Engliſh* Parliament appointed a grand Committee to treat with the Commiſſioners, and being met, the *Engliſh* pleaded, That they ſhould have the ſole Power of diſpoſing of the King; that the *Scots* had no Intereſt in that Matter,

The *Engliſh* plead the ſole Power over the King.

Matter, further than that as their Army were call'd to *England* by the Parliament, they ſhould then have Leave to return home, they having no further Occaſion for their Service. To this the *Scots* Commiſſioners anſwer'd, That ſince he was King of both Nations, they ſhould have equal Power: And, at the ſame time, urg'd the *Solemn League and Covenant*, wherein they were ty'd to act conjunctly in all Things. Upon this Occaſion the Earl of *Loudon*, Chancellor, made ſeveral Speeches, repreſenting the Injuſtice of that Propoſition made by the *Engliſh*. Whereupon the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners propos'd, That if the *Scots* would order their Army to retire, and leave the King to them, they ſhould have the remaining Part of the 300000 Pounds before contracted. The *Scots* Commiſſioners gave no immediate Anſwer to this Propoſition, but after Conſultation, the Marquiſs of *Argyle* and Laird of *Wariſton* were haſten'd hence to attend the meeting of the Parliament; and in their Way they waited upon the King, at which time his Majeſty confer'd the Office of Lord Advocate (which was then vacant by Sir *Thomas Hope*'s Death) upon *Wariſton*: And, at the ſame time, his Majeſty gave the Rent of the Royal Chapel to Mr. *Robert Blair*, it being then vacant, by the Death of Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, who died about that time.

A. D. 1646.

The *Scots* Commiſſioner's Anſwer.

The Parliament met at *Edinburgh* on the 3d of *November*, and at their firſt meeting, having a Letter from General *Middleton*, to ſend more Forces to ſuppreſs the *Gordons*: Whereupon three Regiments were order'd to march North to him; and, at the ſame time, *Middleton*'s Capitulation with the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* was ratify'd. Mean time the Marquiſs of *Argyle* and *Wariſton* having made their Report of what had paſt at *London*, to the Grand Committee, they enter'd into Debate, being divided into two Parties; the one (whereof the Duke of *Hamilton* was the Chief) ſtanding ſtrenuouſly for the King's Authority and Intereſt; the other Party, being directed by the principal Covenanters, whereof the Marquiſs of *Argyle* was the Chief. While their Debates continu'd, the Committee of the Aſſembly publiſh'd a Pamphlet, under the Title of, *A Warning to keep in with the Parliament of* England, *and not to own the King*. At the ſame time the Committee propos'd to the Parliament, That once more two of every Eſtate ſhould be ſent to the King, to require him to ſign the Propoſitions, with Certification that if he refus'd, they would call home their Army, and leave him to the *Engliſh*. Againſt this the Duke of *Hamilton*, and his Brother the Earl of *Lanrick*, made all the Oppoſition they could, but by the Majority of the oppoſite Party, the Parliament conſented thereto, and appointed the Earl of *Lothian*, the Lord *Balcarras*, the Lairds of *Gartland* and *Freeland*, *Edward Edgar*, and *William Glendoning*, to carry this Commiſſion to the King, with which they left *Edinburgh* upon the 29th of *December*. Mean time the Earl of *Seaforth* and Lord *Ogilvy* were relax'd from the Sentence of Excommunication.

The *Scots* Parliament divide into Parties.

The Covenanting Party urge the King to ſign the *Engliſh* Propoſitions.

The Duke of *Hamilton* and others oppoſe it.

In *January*, 1647. the Commiſſioners at *London* ſent Notice to the Parliament, That they had come to an Agreement with the Parliament of *England* to withdraw their Army, and to leave the King in that Nation, upon Payment of what remain'd of the 300000 Pounds before-mention'd; concerning which Agreement they requir'd an immediate Anſwer from the Parliament of *Scotland*. Hereupon the Matter was again debated, and the Duke of *Hamilton* finding, that the Houſe, by a Majority, were inclin'd to deliver up the King to the *Engliſh* Parliament, he took Opportunity to declare his Opinion againſt it in theſe Words:

1547. The *Scots* Commiſſioners agree to withdraw their Army, and leave the King to the Diſpoſal of the *Engliſh*.

Will Scotland *now quit her Poſſeſſion of* 1500 *Years Date, which is, our Intereſt in our Sovereign; and do it to thoſe, whoſe Enmity againſt Him and Us doth viſibly appear! Is this the Effects of all your Proteſtations of Duty and Affection to his Majeſty? Is this the keeping of your* Covenant, *wherein you have ſworn to defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon and Authority? Is this a ſuitable Return for the King's Goodneſs, both in conſenting to all your Deſires in* 1641. *and in his late truſting his Perſon to you? What Cenſures will be paſt upon this Action through the whole World? What a Stain will it be to the*

Duke *Hamilton*'s Remonſtrance againſt it.

A. D. 1646.

whole reformed Religion; and in ſhort what Danger may be apprehendeded both to the King's Perſon and to Scotland, *from the Party that now prevails in* England.

Yet notwithſtanding of this Speech, and many other weighty Arguments uſed by the Duke, and the King's Friends, to diſſwade the Covenanters from giving up the King; yet they at laſt reſolv'd to agree to the Propoſitions of the Parliament of *England*.

The chief Perſons in this Parliament, who adher'd to the Duke of *Hamilton*, were his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick*, the Earls of *Kinghorn* and *Tullibardin*, the Lords *Spynie*, *Elibank*, the Lairds of *Halkerton*, *Inchpeffrey*, *Monorgan*, *Carden*, the Commiſſioners of *Forfar*, *Murray*, *Roſs*, *Sutherland*, *Caithneſs*, and *Orkney*. The Reaſon of their being ſo few of the King's Friends in this Parliament, was, that all ſuch as were at any Time in Arms for the King againſt the Covenanters, were not allow'd to ſit. And altho' moſt Part of all the Kingdom were againſt giving up the King, yet the Power of this Party prevail'd ſo far, that moſt People were obliged to give Way for the Safety of their Lives and Fortunes; and the Party having paſt their Conſent of withdrawing the Army into an Act, the ſame was ſent immediately to their Commiſſioners at *London*; whereupon the *Engliſh* Parliament, without Delay, paid the Sum of 200000 *l.* Pounds *Sterling* to the *Scots* Commiſſary General; and at the ſame Time gave ſolemn Aſſurance for the Safety of the King's Perſon, according to the Articles of the Covenant; which Bargain being concluded, the Earl of *Pembroke*, by the Parliament of *England*'s Commiſſion, receiv'd the King upon *Thurſday* the 28th of *January*, at Nine a Clock in the Morning, from the *Scots* Army; and immediately after they march from *Newcaſtle* towards *Scotland*; and when they came to *Edinburgh*, the Parliament concluded to disband them all, except 6000 Foot, and 1200 Horſe: And at the ſame Time *David Leſly*, with a Party, was ſent to the North, to joyn with *Middleton*, to ſuppreſs the *Gordons* and others, who were ſtill in Arms for the King in the Northern Shires; the reſt of that Army were order'd to ſtay in the midſt of the Kingdom to guard the Parliament, and ſilence the Multitudes, who at that Time exclaim'd againſt that infamous Action of delivering up the King.

The *Scots* Parliament conſents to withdraw their Army.

The King given up to the *Engliſh*.

Mean Time the King was carried by the Parliament of *England*'s Orders to *Holmby* Caſtle, where they intended he ſhould remain.

The King carried to, and confin'd in *Holmby* Caſtle.

The Earl of *Morton* obtain'd at this Time in Parliament, a Ratification of the hereditary Right that the King had formerly given of the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Zetland*.

Of the *Engliſh* Money the Parliament allow'd the Marquiſs of *Argyle* for himſelf 30000 *l.* Pounds *Sterling*, and for his Friends 15000 *l.* and at the ſame Time for his common People, the Committee of the Aſſembly appointed all the Miniſters throughout the Kingdom to make a voluntary Contribution, and deliver the ſame to a Receiver at *Edinburgh*, and another at *Glaſgow*. Some Days after the Parliament order'd 3000 Pounds *Sterling* to Sir *Archibald Johnſton* of *Warriſtoun*, as a Reward of his Service. The reſt of the Money was diſtributed among ſuch Perſons as the chief of the covenanting Party thought worthy of Rewards; and the Parliament having nominated a grand Committee of Twenty for each Eſtate, with ample Power to rule until the next Parliament, which was appointed to ſit in *March* 1648, ſo upon the 27th of *March* this firſt triennial Parliament broke up.

How the Money paid by the *Engliſh* was divided.

In the Beginning of *April* the Marquiſs of *Huntly*'s Forces were driven by *Leſly* to ſeek Shelter in the Highlands; and the Marquiſs and ſome other Gentlemen who adhered to him, having retired to the North, wrote to *David Leſly* to interceed for them to the Committee of the Eſtates, for Liberty to remove out of the Kingdom, but were refuſed. *Leſly* having taken the Caſtles of *Strathbogie*, and other Caſtles, and placed Garriſons in them; he march'd with his Army in Purſuit of Sir *Alexander Macdonald*, who had ſtill kept in Arms 1400 Foot, and Two Troops of Horſe; and being then in *Argyle* Shire when *Leſly* came up to him, upon the 25th of *May*, they had Skirmiſhes from Morning till Night, wherein ſeveral were kill'd on both Sides;

The Marquiſs of *Huntly*, oblige to disband his Forces.

Sides; but the next Day *Macdonald* disbanded the *Highlanders*, and taking with him the *Iriſh*, they tranſported themſelves in Boats from the Iſles to *Ireland*; after which *Leſly* march'd his Army to the Iſland of *Ila*, which he reduc'd, and having planted a Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Dunveig*, he returned his Army towards *Edinburgh*. *A. D.* 1647.

The King removed from *Holmby*.

Upon the 4th of *June*, *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* ſent one *Joyce* (a common Fellow, and a Taylor by Trade formerly, but then a Cornet of Horſe) with 50 Horſes to *Holmby* Caſtle, where the King was, and entring his Bed-chamber before Break of Day, with Piſtols in their Hands, forced the King out of Bed; and without any Reſpect to his Perſon, carried him to *New-market*, where he was receiv'd by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, at the Head of their Army. They at firſt pretended great Reſpect to his Majeſty, and permitted him the Attendance of his Chaplains and Servants, which they did, as it is ſaid, to leſſen the Parliament's Intereſt, and increaſe their own; as the Parliament at that Time contended for the ſupreme Power. Mean Time they carried the King from Place to Place, allowing him to be viſited by ſuch of his Friends as deſired to ſee his Majeſty; and ſeveral Officers who had ſerved him formerly, were treated with Civility by the Army; by which Behaviour *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* procured to themſelves great Reſpect, ſo that they and their Army were applauded, and the Parliament upbraided with Diſloyalty.

The King brought to *Hampton* Court.

After ſome Time the Army convoy'd the King to *Hampton* Court, where he had the Comfort of ſeeing his Two Children the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; but had Guards ſet over his Lodgings, and little more Liberty allow'd than he had at *Holmby*. Mean Time *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, having ſent Propoſals to the City of *London*, which diſguſted them; whereupon all the Apprentices and Watermen, and other People of the City, join'd in a Bond to ſupport the Covenant, and preſent the ſame to the Parliament. The firſt Day they appear'd, the Parliament condemn'd the Bond, and forbade them to own it on Pain of Treaſon; but coming the next Day in great Numbers, and more tumultouſly, the Parliament revocked their former Sentence, and approv'd what they had done; whereof when *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* had Notice, they drew their Army towards *London*; and after a ſhort Treaty, the City ſubmitted to the Army, ſo the Two Generals at the Head thereof, march'd through it, and had the City and Town Militia deliver'd to them.

The City of *London* ſubmits to *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*.

The Committee of Eſtates at *Edinburgh*, being inform'd from their Commiſſioners at *London* of the Parliament, and Armies Proceedings, they ſent the Lord Chancellor and Earl of *Lanerick* to joyn the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and the other Commiſſioners, to act for the Intereſt of their Party. And at the ſame time the Marquiſs of *Argyle* went home to ſettle the Affairs of his Country; and upon the 21ſt of *September*, cauſed Collonel *Mackgileſpick*, and *Alexander Mackdonald*, (Father to Sir *Alexander Mackdonald*) to be hanged; and in the Beginning of *October*, he return'd to *Edinburgh*, to attend the Sitting of the Committee, where he and his Adherents propos'd to keep up *David Leſly*'s Army, till the Meeting of the Parliament in *March* the next Year; which was ſtrongly oppoſed by the Duke of *Hamilton* and his Adherents, but carried againſt him. After which the Army were ſent to quarter upon ſuch as were known to favour the King's Cauſe, who were at that time diſtinguiſh'd, and called by the Covenanters, *Malignants*; the Army having Leave to quarter upon them, and harraſs them at their Pleaſure.

The Lord *Napier* ſentenc'd and forfeited after his being dead Two Years.

Archibald Lord *Napier*, who died in *Faſt Caſtle* in the King's Service two Years before, was by Order of the Committee taken out of his Grave; and after paſſing a formal Sentence of Forfeiture and Execution on the Bones, which was ordain'd to be hang'd up at the Pier of *Leith*; and his Son *Archibald* Lord *Napier*, who was then in Exile for his Adherence to the King, was ſummon'd to appear upon Six Days Warning.

His Friends being ſurprized, and having enquired into the Cauſe of theſe Proceedings, found, that it was done to draw Money from that Lord, therefore, by the Payment of 8000 Merks the Sentence and Forfeiture was diſcharged.

A. D. 1647.

Upon the 26th of *October*, the Lairds of *Hartfield* and *Newton-Gordon* who had been taken Prisoners by *Middleton*, and sent to the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, for serving under the Marquis of *Montrose*, and afterwards under the Marquis of *Huntly*, were sentenced to be executed, and accordingly were beheaded at the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh*.

Hartfield and *Newton Gordon* executed.

About the same Time the Marquis of *Huntly* having been taken Prisoner, by one Collonel *Menzies* in *Strathnaver*, where he had been concealed some Time with the Lord *Rhae*; and being brought to *Edinburgh*, the Committee met, and the Question was put, whether the Marquis should be immediately executed, or repriv'd till the Meeting of the Parliament. The Marquis of *Argyle* being his Brother-in-Law, upon that Occasion withdrew; so when the Question was put to a Vote, it was carried by one Voice, that he should be spared until the Meeting of the Parliament.

The Marquis of *Huntly* taken Prisoner.

In *England*, while the King remain'd at *Hampton* Court, it is said, that he receiv'd a Letter intimating, that the Independents intended to murder his Majesty, therefore advised him to make his Escape; whereupon his Majesty having left upon the Table two Letters written with his own Hand, one being directed to the Parliament, and the other to the Captain of his Guard, wherein he declar'd, that he was apprehensive of some desperate Persons having a Design to assassinate him; and that he was remov'd to conceal himself until the Parliament had agreed upon such Terms as should be fit for him to consent to, that he would then willingly appear, and consent to any Thing that could contribute to the Peace of the Nation, and the Happiness of the People. His Majesty taking with him Sir *John Berkley*, Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Captain *Leg*, he left *Hampton* Court, and went straight to *Titchfield*, to the Countess Dowager of *Northampton*, who receiv'd his Majesty with great Marks of Fidelity and Sincerity. From thence he sent Mr. *Ashburnham* to provide a Retreat; but as it is said, that his Orders was to provide a Ship; instead of which, (whether by Treachery or bad Conduct, still remains undetermin'd) he brought Collonel *Hammond* Governor of the Isle of *Wight*, without the King's Knowledge or Consent to *Titchfield*, whereat the King seem'd very much surprised; and after some faint Promises of Safety to his Majesty, he carried him to *Carisbrook* Castle, in the Isle of *Wight*, and immediately sent Notice to the two Generals of the Army, that he had the King in his Custody; whereupon they sent Commissioners to his Majesty to propose such Terms as they knew his Majesty would not consent to; and after having receiv'd his Majesty's Answer, which they term'd unsatisfactory, they order'd that none should any more Address the King, and so proceeded to settle the Government at their own Pleasure.

The King makes his Escape from *Hampton* Court,

But trapanned by one *Hammond*, and carried to the Isle of *Wight*.

The Covenanters in *Scotland* now seeing the bad Consequences of their having given up the King to the *English*, they protested against their Proceedings; declaring, that they had violated their Oaths and solemn Promises, according to the Articles of the Covenant; but finding their Protestations slighted, and as the Parliament of *England* had resolv'd to admit of a Treaty once more with the King, provided his Majesty would condescend to the following Articles, 1. To quit the Militia for ever. 2. That the Parliament should adjourn themselves as they pleased. 3. That no Nobleman created by him, since his withdrawing from the Parliament, should sit in the House of Peers, until rhe Parliament had ratified their Creation. And 4. That he should disclaim all Edicts, and Proclamations publish'd against the Parliament, when those few Articles were drawn up by the Parliament to be sent to the King, the *Scots* Commissioners protested against them before the Parliament, and publish'd a Declaration against the same; which Declaration they sent to the Committee of Estates at *Edinburgh*, where it being approved, it was re-printed and dispers't through the Nation; and at the same Time the Committee return'd a Letter of Thanks, wherein they desired them to continue constant in their Resolution, according to the Articles of the Covenant; and when the Parliament sent Commissioners to the Isle of *Wight*, to present those Propositions, which they desir'd his Majesty would be pleased

The Covenanters in *Scotland* seem now discontent for delivering up the King.

New unreasonable Propositions offered to the King.

sed to sign: The *Scots* Commissioners coming there also, they, in his Majesty's Presence, protested against those Propositions; which Protestation being sent to the Committee of Estates at *Edinburgh*, it was mightily approv'd, and the Commissioners applauded. *A. D.* 1647.

The *Scots* protest against the Propositions.

Mean time the Chancellor, Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Lanerick* having exclaim'd against the Unreasonableness of these Terms, propos'd, That if his Majesty would give Satisfaction in the Establishment of their Religion, they would engage, that the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* would engage for his Restoration. Whereupon the King and they enter'd into a Treaty, which lasted till the middle of *January*, 1648. at which time these Commissioners, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, having acknowledg'd to have receiv'd Satisfaction from his Majesty of such Articles as they had propos'd: Whereupon they undertook, That the Kingdom of *Scotland* should acknowledge his Majesty's Royal Authority, and to take Arms for his Re-establishment; promising to hazard their Lives and Fortunes for the Safety of his Royal Person. This Treaty being concluded, they sent an Express with an Account thereof to *Edinburgh*, by Mr. *John Cheisly*, who was then by the King Knighted, and made Master of the Requests instead of Sir *James Galloway*, who had lately been advanc'd to the Title of Lord *Dunkell*. 1648.

The *Scots* offer to take Arms for his Majesty's Defence and Restorrtion.

The King having thus concluded with the *Scots* Commissioners, he call'd for those from the *English* Parliament, and having deny'd to agree to their Propositions, he dismist them. With which Answer they return'd to *Westminster*, and made their Report to the Parliament: They thereupon past an Act, *That no Man thereafter should make any Application to his Majesty as King of* England, *under the Pain of Treason.* And at the same time sent Orders to *Hammond*, Governor of the Isle of *Wight*, to confine his Majesty close Prisoner, which he accordingly obey'd.

An Act, That no Person make any Application to his Majesty as King of *England.*

In the beginning of *February* the *Scots* Commissioners return'd from *England*; and upon the 10th Day of that Month the Committee of Estates met, and the Lord Chancellor, being attended with the other Commissioners, came before the Committee; and having reported their Proceedings in *England*, the Chancellor made a Speech, wherein he represented, how far the Parliament and People of *England* had acted contrary to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, enter'd into by both Nations: Which Speech was seconded by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, upon Account of the Lord Chancellor's Indisposition, he having excus'd himself upon that Occasion. So the Earl of *Lauderdale* having represented all the Proceedings of the *English* Parliament and Army, he entreated the Committee to consider of such means as might make it appear, that they intended to protect and defend the King's Person and Authority, according to the Articles of their *Covenant*.

The *Scots* Commissioners return from *England.*

The Lord Chancellor and Earl of *Lauderdale*'s Speeches to the Committee.

The Committee of Estates at this Time seem'd to be forward in performing the Engagement of the Commissioners in the Isle of *Wight*; but the Committee of the Assembly seem'd dissatisfy'd with what they had undertaken; and having engag'd the Marquiss of *Argyle* to represent their Sentiments to the Committee of Estates; and instead of approving the Transactions with his Majesty at the Isle of *Wight*, they voted those Conditions (which the Commissioners had then, in the Name of the whole Kingdom, accepted as satisfactory) not only unsatisfactory, but also destructive to the *Covenant*: And, at the same time, set forth a Declaration to that Purpose, which was carry'd in their Committee by a plurality of Voices, tho' several Ministers dissented, and requested that their Dissent might be recorded: With this Declaration the Committee of Estates seem'd very much displeas'd, yet did not shew their Resentment after any publick manner.

The Committee of the Assembly dissent from the Committee of Parliament.

At this time, in *England*, the Army having prevail'd over the Parliament, the House of Lords finding, that such of the Commons as favour'd the Army, intended to exclude most Part of the Peers, and such of their own House as would not comply with their Measures; whereupon they sent down the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Stamford*, to deal with the Committe of Estates at

A. D. 1648. *Edinburgh*, to favour their Cauſe: 'Tis ſaid they brought Money with them, but how it was diſpos'd of, remains ſtill a Secret.

The Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*.

Upon the 2d of *March* the Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, wherein the Chancellor was choſen Preſident; whereupon the Committee of the Aſſembly preſented their Declaration againſt the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*. The Parliament forbid the publiſhing of it, until they had conſider'd of it; but yet the Committee caus'd print it, and ſent Copies thereof to all the Kirks in the Kingdom, to be read by the Miniſters. Upon which Account the Duke of *Hamilton*, in Parliament, made the following Speech:

The Duke of *Hamilton*'s Speech in Parliament.

The Parliament of England *having, contrary to their Promiſes in their ſeveral Treaties, as well betwixt the Nations as with the King, deny'd his Majeſty's Authority, and encourag'd the Subjects to commit unheard of Inſolence againſt his Majeſty and his Friends; which bad and undutiful Conduct of theirs, with the like Behaviour of his Subjects of* Scotland, *had put his Majeſty in the Hands of an inſolent Army of Rebels, who had impriſon'd, and abſolutely depos'd him from performing the Office of a King; having debar'd his Subjects from Acceſs to his Majeſty: Wherefore, as the Kingdom of* Scotland *were intirely independent of the Parliament or People of* England, *who had depriv'd them of their King; which was ſuch a Preſumption and Violation of the Laws of Nations, and ſuch a perfidious Breach of the* Solemn League and Covenant *between the two Kingdoms, that they (the Subjects of* Scotland) *were bound by all Obligations, Human and Divine, to redeem the King's Liberty and their own Honour, with the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, and all that was dear to them: Wherefore he deſir'd, that they would immediately reſolve to get an Army together and enter* England; *where, he aſſur'd them, they would be immediately join'd by many of the King's Subjects; and doubted not but the Parliament of* England *(who, he believ'd, were then ſenſible of their paſt Diſobedience) would join with them againſt the Army, to ſet the King at Liberty, and eſtabliſh his Authority.*

This Speech was ſeconded by ſeveral Members; and as at that time Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, and Sir *Thomas Glenam* came to *Edinburgh*, and offer'd their Service to ſuch as would appear for the King; as alſo 100 *Engliſh* Gentlemen (moſt of them having been Officers formerly in the King's Service) came to *Kelſo*, and ſent two of their Number to *Edinburgh*, to repreſent the Cauſe of their coming, to the Parliament. The Appearance of thoſe Gentlemen gave great Hopes to the King's Friends; and at the ſame time, the Duke and his Brother mov'd in the Houſe, That the Declaration of the Committee of the Aſſembly ſhould be ſuppreſs'd by Proclamation; but that Motion was oppos'd by the Marquiſs of *Argyle* and his Adherents. Several other Motions being made by the Duke and his Friends, were alſo oppos'd by the Marquiſs of *Argyle*: And a Committee of the Aſſembly procur'd a Conference with a Committee of the Parliament, to whom they preſented ſeveral Articles, under the following Denomination:

Engliſh Gentlemen offer their Service in *Scotland*.

An Oath of Aſſociation for preſerving the Ends of the Covenant.

Articles propos'd by the Committee of the Aſſembly to the King.

" *Imprimis*, Concerning Reilgion and the *Covenant*, That except the " King firſt ſubſcribe and ſwear to both Covenants, it was not lawful for any " to endeavour his Reſtitution. II. That Popry and Prelacy be extirpated, " as alſo *Eraſtianiſm* and all other Sects. III. No Communication with " any Malignants in any of the three Kingdoms. IV. No negative Voice " to the King. V. That theſe Articles be added to his Majeſty's Corona- " tion Oath, and to all his Succeſſors. VI. And *Laſtly*, That ſuch as refuſe " this Oath, be incapable of any Charge, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, nor to en- " joy their own Fortunes."

Thoſe of the Parliament who treated with the Committee of the Aſſembly, having rejected thoſe Articles, as alſo having given in new Articles to the Parliament, which were conſider'd, but likewiſe rejected, they broke off their Treaty.

Upon

Upon the 26th of *March*, Sir *William Fleming* arriv'd at *Leith*, with Letters from the Queen and Prince of *Wales*, directed to the Lord Chancellor, Duke of *Hamilton*, and Earls *Lanerick* and *Lauderdale*. For the Commiſſioners who had treated with the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, having ſent to the Queen and Prince, to aſſure them of their Reſolution to engage the Nation for the King; they then ſent Sir *William Fleming*, to know what might be expected by that Promiſe: Whereupon the Lord Chancellor, the Duke, and the two Earls who receiv'd the Letters, ſent their Anſwers by Mr. *William Murray*, of the King's Bed-Chamber; who return'd with Sir *William Fleming* to the Prince, who, with the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, Lords *Hopton*, *Wilmot*, *Culpeper*, and ſeveral other Noblemen and Gentlemen, had ſail'd from *Holland* with the late revolted Fleet, conſiſting of 20 Men of War; and had come then into *Yarmouth* Road, expecting to have reliev'd the City of *Colcheſter*: But finding that Attempt impracticable, his Highneſs ſail'd to the Mouth of the River of *Thames*, where he took ſeveral Ships; and afterwards having endeavour'd to ſend ſome of the Forces he had on Board the Fleet, to relieve the Caſtles of *Deal*, *Walmer* and *Sandwich*; but they were beat back with Loſs to the Ships: Whereupon his Royal Highneſs return'd to *Holland*, and left the Command of the Fleet with Prince *Rupert*.

A. D. 1648.

The Prince of *Wales* comes to *Yarmouth* Road with 20 Ships of War.

The Duke of *Hamilton*, with the Lord Chancellor and others, having mov'd the Treaty at the Iſle of *Wight* in Parliament, which being debated for ſome Time, three Articles were concluded, *viz.*

I. *That they ſhould demand the King to be brought from his Confinement in the Iſle of* Wight, *to* London *or thereabouts, in Honour, Freedom and Safty.* II. *That they ſhould demand the* Engliſh *to disband their Sectarian Army.* III. *And that Religion be eſtabliſh'd there according to their Covenant and Treaties.*

Articles propos'd by the *Scots*.

Which three Articles were agreed to by moſt of the Members; But the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Caſſils*, and the Laird of *Wariſton* voted againſt them, yet could not prevail with ſeverals that had agreed with them in other Things, to vote with them upon this Occaſion. After this the Parliament proceeded to determine the Breaches of the *Covenant*, and mov'd, that Commiſſioners might be ſent to demand Reparation: Whereupon the Committee of the Aſſembly preſented a Supplication to the Parliament, requiring, That nothing might be done in the Parliament without the Knowledge and Concurrence of the General Aſſembly; which Supplication was preſented by the Earl of *Leven*, *David Leſly* his Lieutenant-General, and General *Holbrun*; againſt which many join'd, and ſupplicated the Parliament to go on with their Deſigns to relieve the King, to accompliſh which, they promis'd to venture their Lives and Fortunes. And after ſome Debate, the Parliament concluded to raiſe an Army.

Mean time the Parliament diſpatch'd Lieutenant-Collonel *Marſhal* to the Parliament of *England*, with a Remonſtrance of their Breaches, allowing him only ten Days to ſtay at *London*; after which he was to return, whether he receiv'd any Anſwer or not.

Upon the 3d of *May*, the Parliament voted a levy of 30000 Foot and 6000 Horſe; and, at the ſame time, ſent over the Lord *Cochrau* and the Laird of *Gartland* to *Ireland*, to bring over Major-General *George Monro*, with the Army which he commanded there, allowing them a Month's Pay in ready Money, one half before they embark'd, and the other at their landing in *Scotland*. The Parliament, at the ſame time, paſs'd an Act, That none ſhould ſpeak againſt their Proceedings; notwithſtanding of which, the Committee of the Aſſembly proteſted againſt all that was reſolv'd, and were countenanc'd by the Marquiſs of *Argyle* and his Adherents. For which it was mov'd, That the Marquiſs ſhould be publickly Cenſur'd; but as at that time it was thought more prudent rather to court than diſoblige Perſons in Power, the Motion was dropt. And upon the 10th of *May*, the Duke of *Hamilton* was elected General of the Army, the Earl of *Callender* Lieutenant-General, both of Horſe and Foot, and *Middleton* Major-General of the Horſe, and *Baillie* Major-General of the Foot. And altho', at that time, the Mar-

The Parliament at *Edinburgh* votes to raiſe an Army

The Duke of *Hamilton* made General of the Army.

A. D. 1648. quiſs of *Argyle* and his Adherents had us'd all poſſible means to retard the raiſing of the Army; yet he and others of his Friends, were made Collonels and Lieutenants of the Shires where they liv'd. The Parliament, at the ſame time, nominated a Committee of War in every Shire, for haſt'ning the Levies of Forces: And upon the 11th of *May* (having appointed a Grand Committee of 24 Perſons, as the Committee of Eſtates, to rule in the mean time) the Parliament was adjourn'd to the firſt of *June*, and the Noblemen and others that had Commiſſions, were order'd to raiſe Forces with all Expedition.

The Parliament adjourned.

Upon the 29th of *May* the Duke of *Hamilton* came to *Edinburgh*, and entring at the Weſt Port, rode through the City to *Holy-rood-Houſe*, accompany'd with betwixt 4 or 500 Horſe: And upon the 31ſt all the Members of Parliament return'd, except the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Eglington*, who, 'tis ſaid, were at that time very active amongſt their Friends in the Weſtern Shires, to oppoſe the Levies, which at that time was carry'd on with great Expedition. And as the Town of *Glaſgow* and ſome of the adjacent Shires had deny'd Obedience to the Parliament, General *Middleton* with a Party, was ſent to compel them to come into the Parliaments Meaſures. Mean time the Duke of *Hamilton*, upon the firſt of *June*, being attended by ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, went to the Parliament Houſe, where when they were aſſembled, ſeveral Miniſters and Gentlemen from *Fife* and the Weſtern Shires, preſented a Supplication againſt raiſing the Army, which was ſeconded by the Earl of *Lothian*, Lords *Balmirenoch*, *Burleigh*, and Laird of *Wariſton*; which Supplication was rejected, and a Declaration publiſh'd againſt the ſame.

The Parliament meets again.

By this time Collonel *Marſhall*, who was ſent (as before-mention'd) to the Parliament of *England*, being return'd, he reported to the Committee, That the Parliament of *England* ſaid, they would return their Anſwers to the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Stamford*, who were their Commiſſioners then reſiding at *Edinburgh*. There had been alſo two Commiſſioners from the Commons of *England*, but they had return'd home in *April*.

The Duke of *Hamilton* having ſent the Earl of *Callendar* to raiſe Forces in the Weſt, and having appointed a Rendezvous at *Paiſly*, upon the 12th of *June*, he had Notice that a great Multitude were in Arms againſt him at *Machlen*; whereupon he ſent General *Middleton* with ſix Troops of Horſe, to require them to diſmiſs, and give Obedience to the King and Parliament; which they deny'd, truſting to their Number, which was about 2000 Foot and 500 Horſe; whereupon *Middleton* ſent to the Earl of *Callendar* for more Forces, which being come up to him, he attack'd his Enemies, and having kill'd 80 of them upon the Spot, and taken ſeveral Priſoners, the reſt were put to Flight.

The Weſt Country Party defeated.

About this time Intelligence came to the Duke of *Hamilton*, that *Lambert* an *Engliſh* General, under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, had advanc'd as far as *Carliſle*, with a Body of 2000 Horſe, but hearing of the Defeat at *Mechlin*, he return'd back with great Speed. Upon the Occaſion of *Lambert*'s March towards *Scotland*, it was openly talk'd about *Edinburgh*, That when the Marquiſs of *Argyle* and his Adherents found that they could not oppoſe the Parliament in raiſing an Army, they had ſent Inſtructions by one Collonel *Strahan*, to *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, whom they intreated to ſend down a Party to *Scotland* to their Aſſiſtance; which Report was affirm'd by many probable Circumſtances.

Berwick ſurrenders, and *Carliſle* taken.

Mean time the Duke of *Hamilton* hearing that the Town of *Berwick* had ſurrender'd to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and that Sir *Philip Muſgrave* had ſurpriz'd *Carliſle*, his Grace ſent Notice to Major-General *Monro* to bring up the Forces which he had rais'd in the North, with thoſe he had brought from *Ireland*, to march towards *England*: And, at the ſame time, the Duke with his Army begun their March, upon the 8th of *July*; and coming to *Carliſle*, his Grace was join'd by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, and having plac'd Garriſons and Governors in *Carliſle*, they march'd forward with

The Duke of *Hamilton* marches into *England* with his Army.

with the Army towards *Lancaſhire*, leaving Orders at the ſame time for General *Monro* to bring up a Train of Artillery. The main Body of the Army being come to *Preſton*, they had Notice of the Approach of *Oliver Cromwell*, who, upon the 17th of *Auguſt*, fell in upon this Part of the Army, wherewith Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had advanc'd to *Wiggan*; and tho' he made a brave Reſiſtance, yet was ſoon overpower'd; and the next Day *Cromwell* and *Lambert* came to *Preſton*, where they attack'd the main Body of the Army, commanded by the Duke of *Hamilton*, who receiv'd them with the utmoſt Bravery, yet at laſt were broken and put to Flight, which was occaſion'd by being at too great a Diſtance one from the other; and ſome few Days after the Duke, with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and ſeveral others, having fled towards *Staffordſhire*, were taken at *Uxeter*, and carried Priſoners to *London:* The Earl of *Callendar* having eſcap'd in Diſguiſe, fled into *Holland*, the Generals *Middleton* and *Bailie*, after a ſtout Reſiſtance, were both taken Priſoners, and ſeveral Officers: Others that eſcap'd fled to General *Monro*, who having advanc'd no further than *Appleby*, after Notice of the Overthrow he return'd with his Army back to *Scotland*; where, when he enter'd, he was join'd by the Earl of *Lanerick*, who had by the Parliament's Orders kept three Regiments of Horſe for ſuppreſſing of a Party rais'd by the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, to join the Weſt Country People, who had oppoſed the Proceedings of the Parliament; and being then join'd with General *Monro*, he was acknowledged General of the Army.

A. D. 1648.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* defeated at *Wiggan*.

The Duke of *Hamilton* defeated at *Preſton*.

Mean Time Sir *James Tildſley*, a *Lancaſhire* Gentleman, having eſcap'd from *Preſton* with a conſiderable Body of Horſe, he offer'd to joyn the Earl of *Lanerick*, which he refuſed, alledging, that it would be a mean to draw *Cromwell*'s Army into *Scotland*; whereupon that Gentleman with his Party return'd to *England*, and the Earl and General *Monro*, with their Forces came to *Haddington*, and from thence to *Edinburgh*. There they had Notice, that the Earls of *Eglington* and *Caſſils*, were at the Head of a conſiderable Body of Weſt Country Men, who ſtill continued to oppoſe the Proceedings of the Parliament; whereupon General *Monro* deſir'd to fight them, but the Earl of *Lanerick* propos'd to march to *Stirling*, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Town and Bridge, whereby they might ſecure that Paſs, for the Forces they expected from the North. Whereupon they begun their March thither, and coming to *Linlithgow*, upon the 11th of *September*, he found that the Marquiſs of *Argyle* with his Country People, had taken Poſſeſſion of the ſeveral Poſts about the Bridge and Town; whereupon General *Monro* with a Body of Horſe march'd up to the Town, upon whoſe Approach the Marquiſs fled towards the *Queensferry*, and about 100 of his Men, who had made ſome Reſiſtance at the Bridge, and being put to flight, were moſt of them ſlain by General *Monro*'s Troops.

A Party of *Argyle*'s Men defeated by General *Monro*.

At this Time while the Earl of *Lanerick* continued in Conſultation with the Committee at *Edinburgh*, General *Monro* had ſeveral Skirmiſhes with the *Argyleſhire* and Weſt Country Men, wherein at all Times he worſted them, till about the latter End of Harveſt, that the General had News from *Ireland*, that the Gariſon which he had left in *Carrickfergus*, had been betray'd to Colonel *Monk*; whereupon General *Monro* called his Army to a Rendevouz at St. *Ninians* Kirk, and there made a Speech to them, giving an Account of the Intelligence he had from *Ireland*; and having permitted ſuch as were willing to disband, he offered to ſuch as would adhere to him to lead them over to *Ireland*, to try their Fortune there; after which he march'd with a good Body to *Glaſgow*, intending to go over to *Ireland*; but having Notice, that his Uncle Sir *George Monro*, who commanded a Regiment in *Ireland* in the King's Service, was at that Time taken and ſent over Priſoner to *London*, he thereupon disbanded the reſt, and coming privately to *Edinburgh*, he in a few Days after went over to *Holland*.

Major General *Monro* disbands his Army, and goes over to *Holland*.

At the ſame Time the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, the Earls of *Eglington*, *Caſſils*, and others, who had beheaded the Weſt Country People, having in a Treaty with the Committee of Eſtates, concluded to lay down their Arms, they ac-

A .D. 1648. cordingly, upon the 20th of *September* disbanded their Forces, and all the Priſoners taken on their Side from the Beginning of *July* this Year, were releaſed.

After this the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, with the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Eglington*, return'd to *Edinburgh*, where they, with a ſelect Number of their Adherents, continu'd to ſit by the Name of the Committee of Eſtates; and having eſtabliſhed the Power into their own Hands, they appointed a Meeting of the Parliament the 4th Day of *January* after.

Cromwell and *Lambert* come to the Border.

By this Time *Cromwell* and *Lambert* having ſuppreſſed Sir *James Tildſly*, came forward to the *Scots* Border; whereupon the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, with the Lord *Elcho*, and ſeveral of their Friends went to ſalute them, and the Marquiſs, in the Name of the Committee, cauſed *Lodowick Leſly* to deliver *Berwick* to them, and the Regiment of *Scots* which had been given to him by the Duke of *Hamilton*, (who had placed him Governor there) the Marquiſs gave to Collonel *Holburn*, and ſent him to *Stirling*, whereof he was made Governor.

They come to *Edinburgh*.

Then the Marquiſs conducted *Cromwell* and *Lambert* to *Edinburgh*, with their Army, and lodged them in the Counteſs of *Hume*'s Houſe in the *Cannongate*.

Upon their Arrival, the Committee of Eſtates was adjourn'd till their Departure, and a Proclamation was publiſh'd at the Croſs, commanding all that had been in the Engagement for the King, to depart the Town and Suburbs. Whereupon the Earl of *Lanerick* retir'd to his Houſe, and ſeveral other Noblemen and Gentlemen, likewiſe went home.

While *Cromwell* remain'd at *Edinburgh*, he was conſtantly attended by the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, and the chief Perſons of his Faction; and when he had Notice of a Treaty then propos'd by the Parliament with the King, he left *Edinburgh*, (where *Lambert* ſtill remain'd with a Party) and in his March had *Carliſle* ſurrender'd to him, by Sir *William Livingſton* the Governor.

Cromwell leaves *Edinburgh*.

Lambert returns to *England*.

After *Cromwell*'s Departure, *Lambert* with his Party having eſtabliſh'd the ſole Power of the Kingdom to *Argyle*'s Faction, he remov'd with his Army from *Edinburgh* to *Seaton*, and after to *Haddington*, where having ſtay'd ſome Days, he had the Marquiſs of *Argyle*'s Orders to return homewards.

In the Beginning of *November*, the Committee of the Aſſembly met at *Stirling*, where they gave Commiſſions for depoſing ſeveral Miniſters for their Adherence to the King; at the ſame Time there came Letters from Sir *John Chieſly* and Mr. *Robert Blair*, to the Committee of Eſtates and Aſſembly, ſhewing, that the Treaty betwixt the King and Parliament went on, wherefore they deſired Commiſſioners might be ſent from *Scotland* upon that Account; whereupon the Committee of Eſtates ſent the Earl of *Lothian*, and *William Glendoning*, Burgeſs of *Kirkcu bright*, to joyn Sir *John Chieſly* and Mr. *Robert Blair*, as their Commiſſioners, who went ſtraight to *London*; at which Time *Oliver Cromwell* declared againſt the Treaty; and having drawn the Army towards *London*, he ſent a Remonſtrance to the Parliament, wherein he declared againſt the Treaty, craving Juſtice to be done upon the King; and that the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York*, ſhould be ſummon'd to appear before the Parliament, to hear themſelves declar'd to be incapable of any Place or Government in *England*.

Oliver Cromwell's Remonſtrance to the Parliament.

Yet notwithſtanding of this Order, the Parliament of *England*, upon the 5th of *December*, concluded upon two Votes, *viz.* 1. *That the Parliament had no Hand in taking the King from* Hampton *Court, to make him Priſoner in the Iſle of* Wight. 2dly, *That the King's Conceſſions in the Treaty of the Iſle of* Wight, *were good Grounds for a ſafe and laſting Peace.* From which Votes only 46 Members diſſented; whereof, when *Cromwell* had Notice he immediately brought his Army to *Weſtminſter*, and apprehended all the Members, except ſome who made their Eſcape; ſo that none remain'd to make up the Parliament, but thoſe 46 Diſſenters.

The Members of the *Engliſh* Parliament, who were for the King turned out.

After this *Cromwell* ſent Collonel *Evers* to bring over the King from the Iſle of *Wight* to *Hurſt* Caſtle, from whence he was brought to *Wincheſter*, and

and after to *Windſor*, where at the ſame Time the Duke of *Hamilton* was Priſoner, but was not permitted to ſee the King. *A. D.* 1649.

In *January* 1649, the Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, wherein of *Scots* Nobility none appear'd but Fourteen; and having receiv'd Notice, that the King was brought as a Priſoner to St. *James*'s; and that a Committee was already appointed to proceed in his Trial; and that their Commiſſion was dated the 2d of *January*, impowering them to continue till the 2d of *February*; whereupon the Parliament ſent their Inſtructions to their Commiſſioners then at *London*, to plead for a Delay of the Trial; but at the ſame time not to ſay or do any thing that might occaſion a national Quarrel.

When the Commiſſioners receiv'd theſe Inſtructions, they communicated the ſame to the ſeveral Lords and Commons of *England*, who join'd with them to declare againſt the Illegality of thoſe Meaſures, whereby the *Junto* of the *Engliſh* Parliament then proceeded againſt the King, and uſed all poſſible Arguments both publickly and privately, to diſſwade them from the intended Trial; but all their Endeavours were in vain. For the Contrivers of the horrid Action by that Time had reſolv'd upon the King's Murder; and upon the 20th of *January*, his Majeſty was brought from St. *James*'s to *Weſtminſter-hall*, and in the painted Chamber was brought as a common Criminal, to take his Trial.

The King being brought before the pretended Court, who had aſſum'd the Denomination of the High Court of Juſtice, his Majeſty took the Seat prepar'd for him, where he ſat down, and look'd upon his pretended Judges with a Countenance full of Courage and Majeſty. But that Set of Miſcreants without ſhewing the leaſt Reſpect to the King, ſat cover'd; and fixing their Eyes upon his Majeſty: Whereupon their Preſident *Bradſhaw*, caus'd the Charge againſt him to be read with all the reproachful Terms of Tyrant, Traitor, and Murderer; which Charge they declar'd to be in the Name of all the People of *England*: Which laſt Words, when *Bradſhaw* had expreſt, General *Fairfax*'s Lady, cry'd aloud from the Gallery in the Court, *that not Half the People of* England *would be guilty of ſuch a baſe Crime, but what they did was by the Direction of that baſe Traitor* Oliver Cromwell, *and his Accomplices.* Some of the Judges cried to the Soldiers to fire at her, but by the Help of her Friends ſhe was ſafely convoy'd out of the Court.

The King brought before the Court.

General *Fairfax*'s Lady's Speech.

The King having denied the Authority of the Court, his Majeſty was return'd to St. *James*'s; and on the 22d, being again brought, he ſtill objected againſt the Authority of their Court; but upon the 27th he was brought again, and by the Name of *Charles Stewart* he was ſentenc'd to be put to Death, by ſevering his Head from his Body; after the unjuſt Sentence was pronounc'd, his Majeſty offer'd to ſpeak, but the Preſident *Bradſhaw*, with the utmoſt Impudence and Inſolence denied him Leave to ſpeak, and commanded the Guards to withdraw the Priſoner: Whereupon (while many appear'd in the utmoſt Grief and Concern for his Majeſty, but without Power to aſſiſt him) the inſolent Soldiers cried out for Juſtice; and when his Majeſty was paſſing from the Court, ſome of them with unheard of Impudence, ſpit in his Majeſty's Face, which he, with great Piety and Patience wipt off with his Hankerchief, and ſaid, *My Saviour ſuffer'd more than this for me, poor unhappy People, I pity you, for a ſmall Reward ye would do the ſame to thoſe who now command you.*

The King ſentenc'd.

The Rudeneſs of the Soldiers.

Upon *Sunday* the 28th, the King was guarded from St. *James*'s to *Whitehall*, where he heard Doctor *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, (who was permitted to attend his Majeſty) preach a Sermon; and upon the 29th the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*, were permitted to take their laſt Farewell of his Majeſty, after which he retir'd to his Devotion.

The King takes Leave of his Children.

It is ſaid, that the Ringleaders of the Faction ſent to his Majeſty in the Evening of that Day, to propoſe, that if he would reſign and confirm all the Power of Government, as well Civil as Military to the Army; his Majeſty's Life ſhould be ſpared, and he ſhould be allow'd the Name of King, which Propoſals they deliver'd in Writing: But when they were brought to the

A. D. 1649. King, his Majesty rejected them with Indignation, and said, *That he would rather fail a Sacrifice for his People, than betray their Laws, Liberties, Lives, and Estates with the Church, the Commonwealth and Honour of the Crown.*

The King brought to *Whitehall.*

Upon the 30th of *January*, about Ten a Clock in the Morning, the King was carried from St. *James*'s through the Park to *Whitehall*, (being accompanied by Doctor *Juxon* and Mr. *Herbert*) by Collonel *Hacket*, with other Officers, and a Regiment of Foot, who guarded him to the Banqueting-House of *Whitehall*, out of which at a Window his Majesty was brought upon a Scaffold, which was all hung with black, where he was receiv'd by Collonel *Tomlinson*, about one a Clock Afternoon; and after some Discourse with Doctor *Juxon*, who assisted him, he prepar'd himself for the fatal Stroke with most heroick Patience, Constancy, and fervent Devotion; and submitting his Head to the Block, after giving the Sign, it was cut off at one Blow by the Executioner, whose Face was mask'd: For it is said, that the common Executioner having refused to undertake the Execution, one of those who sat on the King's Trial, for a considerable Reward, undertook and performed the most barbarous and inhuman Office.

He is executed.

At the Execution the King's Blood was gather'd up by several Persons for different Ends, whereas some dipt their Hands and Staves in it, in Testimony of their Consent, and Approbation of the barbarous Fact; but others wipt it up with their Handkerchiefs, to preserve it as the Relicts of their Sovereign and Martyr.

His sacred Corps was embalm'd, and put into a Lead Coffin, cover'd with Velvet, and convoy'd to *Windsor*, where it lay in State, attended by his Majesty's Servants in Mourning, and on the 9th of *February* was interr'd in St. *George*'s Chapel by the Duke of *Lennox*, Marquis of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsay*, and the Bishop of *London*, who being denied the Use of the *English* Service at the Interment, perform'd the Funeral with many Tears, Sighs, and Groans, lamenting the unfortunate Fate of their Royal King and Master.

His Interment.

Thus fell *Charles* I. King of *Scotland*, a Prince endow'd with incomparable Piety, Magnanimity, and Patience; and even by the Confessions of his Enemies, was endow'd with all such Virtues as might qualify a Man a Christian or a King.

The King's Murder was describ'd in many doleful Elegies and Epitaphs, by several of his Majesty's loyal Subjects of both Nations, of which I shall trouble the Reader only with that compos'd by the noble and great Marquis of *Montrose*, upon the first Notice of his Majesty's Execution, which was in these Words.

Epitaph on the King by the Marquis of *Montrose*.

Great, good and just! could I but rate
My Griefs, and thy too rigid Fate,
I'd weep the World to such a Strain,
As it should Deluge once again:
But since thy loud-tongue'd Blood demands Supplies,
More from Briareus *Hands than* Argus *Eyes,*
I'll sing thy Obsequies with Trumpets Sounds,
And write thy Epitaph with Blood and Wounds.

King *Charles* II. proclaimed.

When the Parliament at *Edinburgh* had Notice by an Express from their Commissioners, that the King was executed, they immediately caus'd publish a Declaration, wherein they protested, that they never had consented to the late Proceedings of the *English* against the King; and since that his Majesty was put to Death, they resolv'd to proclaim his Son *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, King of *Scotland*, which accordingly was done upon the 3d Day of *February*.

CHARLES

CHARLES II. *The* 110*th King of* Scotland.

CHARLES Prince of *Wales*, the eldeſt Son of *Charles* the Firſt, King of *Scotland*, &c. (born upon the 29th of *May*, 1630.) was, upon the 3d of *February* 1649, proclaim'd at *Edinburgh*, King of *Scotland*; and, after a Committee of the Parliament had conſulted Matters, they ſent over Commiſſioners to the King, who was then in the Iſle of *Jerſey*, to treat with his Majeſty; and having produc'd a Copy of the Proclamation, they invited him to come over, and take Poſſeſſion of his Hereditary Kingdom of *Scotland*: Whereupon the King, after Conſultation with ſuch as were then about him, appointed theſe Commiſſioner to meet him at the *Hague*, where he was then invited by his Brother-in-law the Prince of *Orange*. *A. D.* 1649. The King invited to come over to *Scotland*.

At this time the Party who had murder'd the King in *England*, having taken to themſelves the Name of the *Common-wealths-men*, they by Proclamation commanded, *That no Perſon whatſoever ſhould preſume to declare or call* Charles Stewart, *Son to the late* Charles, *commonly call'd Prince of* Wales, *or any other Perſon, King, or chief Magiſtrate of* England *or* Ireland, *or any other Dominions belonging to them, by Pretence of Inheritance, Succeſſion, or any Right whatſoever, without the free Conſent of the People and Parliament, by a particular Act or Statute to that Purpoſe: And whoſoever ſhould, contrary to that Act, proclaim the ſaid* Charles Stewart, *ſhould be deem'd and judg'd a Traitor, and ſuffer accordingly.* The Proceedings of the *Engliſh* Rebels

Yet notwithſtanding of this Proclamation, a contrary Proclamation was printed and diſperſt about the Streets of *London*, wherein it was declar'd, *That the Illuſtrious* CHARLES, *Prince of* Wales, *being by hereditary Birth-right and lawful Succeſſion, Rightful and Undoubted King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland; *which Right all his Loyal Subjects would maintain with their Eſtates, Lives, and laſt Drops of their Blood: In Oppoſition to all Traitors*, &c.

After this the Regicides proceeded to moddel the Government according to their Pleaſure; and paſt an Act, diſcharging the Houſe of Peers from having any Power to ſit, or Share in the Government: They likewiſe aboliſh'd Kingly Government, as unneceſſary, burthenſome and dangerous to the Common-wealth: And having made a new Great-Seal, which they committed to three of their Number; they alſo coin'd Money, on which, inſtead of the King's Effigy, they plac'd the Croſs and Harp, with this Motto, *GOD for us.*

In the latter end of *February* they erected a High Court of Juſtice, before which *James* Duke of *Hamilton* was brought to his Trial, which continued for ſeveral Days; in which time he and his Council inſiſted upon the Privilege and Independency of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: That as he was a Peer of that Nation, he could not be tried nor condemn'd by the Laws of *England*. But his Judges having indicted him by the Title of the Earl of *Cambridge*, they rejected his Defences, and, according to their Indictment, found him guilty, and ſentenc'd him to be beheaded. The Duke of *Hamilton* brought to his Trial. He is ſentenc'd.

Here I beg Leave to obſerve, That as this great Man's Actions have been variouſly repreſented; and that ſome Authors, either from private Malice or Envy, or Miſinformation, have aſperſt his Character; and others reporting groundleſs Suppoſitions as Matters of Fact: Therefore, in Juſtice to his Memory, I think it neceſſary to inſert the Speech made by his Grace, to ſome of his Friends, the Day before his Execution; of which he ſent a Copy to his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick*, which he afterwards publiſh'd; it being as follows:

His Speech, the Day before his Execution.

" I know you that are here to be true and faithful to me, therefore will, " in your hearing, ſay ſomewhat concerning myſelf in my preſent Condi- " tion, and give you this Copy of it, which, after I am gone, may perhaps

A. D. 1649. " be thought neceſſary to be publiſh'd, as the laſt Teſtimony of my Loyalty " to the King, for which I now die; and of my Affection to my Country, " for the Purſuance of whoſe Loyal Commands I am now to ſuffer.

" THAT my Religion has been, and ſtill is Orthodox, I am confident " no Man doubts, therefore ſhall ſay little to that Particular, only, That I " am of the Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, profeſs'd in the Church of *Scot-* " *land*.

" I take GOD to witneſs, That I have been conſtantly a Loyal, Faith- " ful Subject and Servant to his late Majeſty; in Spight of all Malice and " Calumny. I have had the Honour, ſince my Childhood, to be near, and " attend him, till now of late; and during all that Time, I obſerv'd in him " as eminent Vertues, and as little Vice, as in any Man I ever knew: And " I dare ſay, he never harbour'd any Thought of countenancing Popery, in " any of his Dominions, otherwiſe than was allow'd by the Laws of *Eng-* " *land*; and that among all his Subjects there could not be found a better " Proteſtant than himſelf; and ſurely, alſo he was free from having any In- " tent to exerciſe the leaſt Tyranny or abſolute Power over his Subjects: " That he hath been unfortunate, I rather impute to the Cauſe of the Sins " of his People than to his own. For my own Part, I do proteſt never to " have ſwerv'd from that true Allegiance which was due to him, and that " hath conſtantly been paid (to my Comfort I ſpeak it) to his Progenitors " by my Anceſtors, for many Ages, without Stain or Diſhonour; and ſhall " (I hope) ever be paid by my Succeſſors to his POSTERITY.

" I do heartily wiſh well to, and pray for his Royal Iſſue, and ſhall die a " true and loyal Subject to his eldeſt Son *Charles* II. the unqueſtionable King " by Right, of all his Father's Kingdoms. I hope, tho' I do not live to ſee " it, that GOD's Juſtice and Goodneſs will, in His own Time, eſtabliſh " him on the Throne of his Father, which I doubt not ſome of you will ſee " come to paſs; and I am confident, till then, and ſo long as Men deeply " plung'd in Guilt and Self-intereſt, uſurp Power and Government, theſe " Kingdoms will fall ſhort either of Peace, or any other permanent Happi- " neſs. I ſpeak this from my juſt Affection to the Royal Race, and much " Compaſſion to his Majeſty's Subjects; but not from any Malice, Anger, " or Deſire of Revenge againſt any, for what I have or am to ſuffer, for I " freely forgive all Men.

" It is well known what Calumnies and Aſperſions have been thrown upon " me by Men of ſeveral Parties and Intereſts, not excepting thoſe who would " ſeem to bear much Affection to his late Majeſty, as if I had expreſs'd " Diſſervice or Diſloyalty to him; the which, how malicious and ground- " leſs they were, I appeal to GOD, Who, with my own Conſcience, clearly " beareth Witneſs of my Innocence therein; and I ſhall beg Mercy from " Him, to whom now I am to give an Account of all my Thoughts and " Actions, as I have ſtill had a faithful and loyal Heart to my Maſter.

" It hath been a general Complaint, that I perſuaded his Majeſty to paſs " the Act of continuing this Parliament. I diſpute not, whether the doing " of it at that Time, might have been reputed good or bad, but ſurely, it " was not I that perſuaded it; neither did I at all deal with his Majeſty for " his Conſent to the Bill of Attainder, for taking away the Life of the Earl " of *Strafford*, whoſe great Parts and Affection, 'tis known, I highly valu'd: " Yet ſome have been pleas'd to attribute to me the Cauſe of that Conceſſion, " but were his Majeſty now living, I am confident he would publickly clear " me in both theſe, as he hath been pleas'd many times in Private formerly " to do. And truly I am not conſcious to myſelf (tho' I have been for many " Years a Privy-Councellor to him) of ever giving him any Advice that ten- " ded to other Ends (as I conceive) than the Good and Peace of his Majeſty " and his Dominions.

" It hath been rumour'd ſince my laſt Impriſonment, That I ſhould con- " feſs my ſelf to have been the greateſt Inſtrument under his Majeſty (by " making uſe of the *Scots* Great Seal) for authorizing the War in *Ireland*;

" a

" a Report ſo falſe and ſimple in my Opinion, that judicious and honeſt " Men will not believe it. And truly, as I am free from having any Hand " in it, in any manner of way, ſo I am of nothing more confident, than " that his Majeſty was alſo abſolutely free thereof, and that he was not, in " any Caſe, a Countenancer of theſe *Iriſh* Troubles. *A. D.* 1649.

" I have been often examin'd touching Perſons of ſeveral Qualities within " this Kingdom, that, as is ſuppos'd, did invite into *England* the late Army " from *Scotland*, or promis'd Aſſiſtance after their coming; and of late much " Perſuaſion hath been us'd with me to that Purpoſe, as that upon the Diſ- " covery thereof, depended the only means of Preſervation. I will not ſay " that I had any thing to reveal which could have been ſatisfactory: But " this I deſire to atteſt to the World, that I have not accus'd, or ſaid any " thing that may reflect on any Man, of what Degree ſoever, within the " King's Dominions; and indeed it was ſo contrary to my Conſcience, and " ſo derogatory to my Honour, that if I had been able, yet ſhould I never have " prejudic'd any in that Nature, tho' it had been to ſave me an hundred " Lives.

" Touching that foul and ſenſeleſs Slander, that I betray'd the Army under " my Conduct; the Care and Pains I took to prevent the Loſs of it, and " the near Approach of ſuffering for it, will, I hope, abundantly contradict " this Aſperſion. I was ſatisfy'd with the Juſtneſs and Neceſſity of that En- " gagement, upon the Grounds of the Declaration of the Parliament of " *Scotland*, fearing then the ſad Confuſions which have ſince follow'd here, " both in Church and State, and particularly the fatal Fall of my Maſter: " To the Preſervation of whoſe Perſon, I was by Obligation and natural " Affection, as paſſionatly ty'd, as I could be by Duty and Allegiance.

" And now I confeſs I am void of all Rancour or Diſpleaſure againſt any " one, tho' I am within a few Hours to die, adjudg'd by a lawleſs and ar- " bitrary Court, of Purpoſe erected, as is ſaid, for deſtroying the Maſter " and ſome of his Servants; and for a great Part compos'd of Mechanicks, " unfit to be Judges; my Death being decreed, right or wrong, as I was " inform'd before the Trial begun. And tho' my Death is no leſs than " Murder, yet I forgive all, and pray to GOD to do it; and that my " Blood may not be laid to their Charge, or to ſome powerful and eminent " Mens, who, as 'tis thought, upon ſome ſiniſtrous Ends, have many " Months ſince contriv'd my Deſtruction, which is now ready to take Ef- " fect. And tho' I have anſwer'd to that Court in regard of the Juſtneſs of " my Defence, which I thought would have prevail'd with them: Yet I ne- " ver thought, nor do I acknowledge any Jurisdiction or lawful Authority " in the ſame; notwithſtanding I do, with all Chriſtian Humility, ſubmit " to the Puniſhment, which, for my other perſonal Sins, the LORD hath " juſtly brought upon me. I ſhould have ſpoken more, yet would not have " ſaid ſo much, but for fear either my Memory might ſlip it on the Scaffold, " or that the Rudneſs of ſome People, by Noiſe or otherwiſe, might have " interrupted me ſpeaking on the Subject. So I thank GOD I am well " prepar'd. GOD bleſs you, remember me to my Friends. I know I " have been a great Sinner, yet through Faith I have an Aſſurance, that " GOD will forgive me, through the Sufferiugs and Interceſſion of JESUS " CHRIST, my Saviour. *Amen.*

Of this Speech, Doctor *Sibbald* order'd ſeveral Copies to be tranſcrib'd and diſpers'd, which, in my humble Opinion, is a ſufficient Teſtimony of that great Man's Behaviour in ſuch Tranſactions as he has been moſt unjuſtly and falſly accus'd by his Enemies; and as I have peruſed ſeveral things wherein his Character has been differently repreſented, I find that ſuch as have ſpoke impartially of him make it appear, That no Man in his, or any other Age, could exceed him in Loyalty to his King, Love to his Country, or Fidelity and Affection to his Friends.

A. D. 1649. He having deliver'd this Speech to his Friends on the 8th of *March*, the next Day, about nine a-Clock, his Grace, with the Earl of *Norwich*, Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, were brought to *Weſtminſter* Hall, near which there was a Scaffold erected, and the Duke being carry'd to Sir *John Coton*'s Houſe, four Officers from *Oliver Cromwell* came to him, who earneſtly preſs'd him in their Maſter's Name, to make Diſcoveries for the Advantage of the Common-wealth; which if he did, he ſhould not only have his Life, but be prefer'd and made a great Man. To which his Grace anſwer'd, That as he had formerly told them, If he had as many Lives as Hairs on his Head, he would lay them all down, rather than redeem them by ſo baſe a Means. Some Hours after, as he was led to the Scaffold, the ſame Officers came to him on his Way, renewing the ſame Offers; but he took no Notice of them, only forbidding them, in a courteous Manner, not to trouble or interrupt him in his more weighty Conſiderations: And being come to the Scaffold, and finding the Crowd more ſilent than he expected, he addreſs'd himſelf to the Sheriff, to whom he repeated the Heads of the before-mention'd Speech; after which he call'd to his Servants, and commanded them to remember him kindly to ſeveral of his Friends in *England*, eſpecially his Mother-in-Law, the Counteſs of *Denbeigh*, and Counteſs Dowager of *Devonſhire*, deſiring they might tell thoſe Ladies, that they would no more queſtion his Loyalty (which they had done ſome Times in Railary) ſince he was then to ſeal it with his Blood; and was proud he had the Honour to be the next Sacrifice after his Royal Maſter. And having continu'd ſome Time in Prayer with Dr. *Sibbald*, he ſubmitted his Head to the Ax, which at one Blow was cut off, and receiv'd in a Crimſon Tafaty Scarf by two of his Relations, who kneel'd by him; which, with his Body, was immediately put in a rich Coffin on the Scaffold, and from thence convey'd to a Houſe in the *Meuſe*, from whence it was (according to the Orders he had given) ſent down by Sea to *Scotland*, and entomb'd in the Burial-place of his Noble Family at *Hamilton*.

The Duke executed.

Thus fell *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, in the 43d Year of his Age, having been born at *Hamilton* the 19th of *June*, 1606. He was the eldeſt Son of *James* Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, by the Lady *Anne Cuningham*, Daughter to the Earl of *Glencairn*, and was marry'd to Lady *Mary Fielding*, Daughter to *William* Earl of *Denbeigh*, by the Lady *Suſanna Villiers*, Siſter to the Great Duke of *Buckingham*.

After the Duke, the ſame Day, being the 9th of *March*, was brought to the Scaffold the Earl of *Norwich* and *Holland*, who was alſo beheaded, as likewiſe the Lord *Capel*, both which noble Lords laid down their Lives cheerfully, with the utmoſt Magnanimity: But Sir *John Owen* was repriv'd, tho' he had in a manner earneſtly deſir'd to ſuffer, with his noble Companions, in the ſame Cauſe.

Earl of *Holland* and Lord *Capel* beheaded.

Beſides theſe noble Lords, ſeveral Perſons of inferior Ranks were executed at the ſame Time, ſuch as Collonel *Morice*, Collonel *Blackburn*, were hang'd and quarter'd at *York*, and Mr. *Beaumont*, a Chaplain to the Garriſon at *Pomfret*, was alſo hang'd; and three valiant *Welchmen*, whoſe Names were *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powell*, being ſentenc'd to caſt Lots for their Lives, the Chance fell on *Poyer*, who was ſhot to Death in *Covent-Garden*. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Lewis Dives*, Collonel *Maſſey*, Mr. *Holden*, and Mr. *Lowborrough* were ſentenc'd to die, but found means to make their Eſcape.

Others make their Eſcape.

About this time *Oliver Cromwell* was appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and going over there with his Army, he ſuppreſt all ſuch as had appear'd for the King, and having brought the whole Kingdom into Subjection to the new erected Common-wealth of *England*, he return'd again with his Army, whereof he was then made Commander in Chief.

At this time the Earl of *Lanerick*, who ſucceeded his Brother as Duke of *Hamilton*, with the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, the Earls of *Seaforth*, *Lauderdale*, *Kinoul*, and ſeveral others of the Nobility of *Scotland*, reſided at the *Hague* in

in *Holland*, where the King had been for ſome Time, and had ſeveral Propoſals made to him, by Commiſſions ſent from the Parliament of *Scotland* to ſome of thoſe Lords: But at that Time came to no Concluſion; and the King leaving the *Hague* in the Month of *May*, attended by the Princeſs Royal his Siſter, and the Prince of *Orange* his Brother-in-Law, went through *Rotterdam*, *Dort*, and *Breda*, in all which Places his Majeſty was receiv'd with firing of Cannon, ringing of Bells, and all other Marks of Honour. From thence he went to *Antwerp*, where he was ſplendedly entertain'd, and preſented with a rich Coach, and Six fine Horſes, by the Archduke *Leopold*, then Governor of the low Countries. *A. D.* 1649.

The King preſented with a rich Coach.

After ſome Stay here his Majeſty went on his Way to *France*, where the *French* King accompanied by a great Train of his Nobility, receiv'd him with all Teſtimonies of Affection and Honour, and brought him to St. *Germans*, where the Queen his Mother then reſided. After ſome Stay there, he embark'd for his Iſland of *Jerſey*, which ſtill continu'd under his Obedience, under the Government of the loyal Sir *George Carteret*, here his Majeſty arrived in the Middle of *September*, with a Retinue of about 300 Perſons.

The Parliament of *Scotland* having Notice, that the King was come to the Iſle of *Jerſey*, they diſpatch'd Mr. *Windram* of *Liberton*, with a Meſſage to his Majeſty, which he preſented on the firſt Day of *October*: The Propoſals they made were, *That the King ſhould ſign the Covenant, and paſs an Act for all Perſons to take the ſame.* 2. *That he ſhould paſs the Acts of Parliament in* Scotland, *which were ratified by the laſt two Seſſions.* 3. *That he ſhould withdraw a Commiſſion he had lately given to the Marquiſs of* Montroſe. 4. *That he ſhould put away all Papiſts from about him.* 5. *That he ſhould appoint a Place to treat with the Commiſſioners from the Eſtates of* Scotland. Tho' theſe Propoſals were not well look'd upon by the King or his Council, yet ſome of the before mention'd Lords, who then reſided in *Holland*, advis'd his Majeſty to comply and go over to *Scotland*, where he was then invited, alledging, that theſe Terms might be afterwards mitigated: And even the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* himſelf advis'd the King, to yield to their Terms; at that Time offering to live in Exile upon Condition his Majeſty might obtain reaſonable Terms; but the King had too great a Senſe of his Courage, Conduct, and Loyalty, to make any Agreement ſo much to his Diſadvantage; ſo at that Time the Treaty was adjourn'd to *Breda*, the Beginning of the next Year.

Propoſa's by the *Scots* Parliament to the King.

Whereupon, in the Beginning of the Year 1650, the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Lothian*, the Lord *Berleigh*, and Laird of *Liberton*, Sir *John Smith*, and Mr. *Jeffries*, for the Eſtates, and Mr. *Brodie*, Mr. *Livingſton*, and Mr. *Wood*, for the Aſſembly, were ſent Commiſſioners to the King; and coming to *Breda* the latter End of *March*, they deliver'd their Meſſage to the King, wherein they ſtill inſiſted on the former Propoſitions, adding that his Majeſty ſhould conſent to have all Civil Matters determin'd by the preſent and ſubſequent Parliaments of *Scotland*, and all Matters Eccleſiaſtical determin'd by the General Aſſembly. At this the King ſeem'd very much ſurpris'd and offended, yet diſguiſed his Diſpleaſure ſo far as to tell the Commiſſioners, *That he would take theſe Matters into Conſideration, and doubted not but he could return ſuch an Anſwer, as would give full Satisfaction to his Kingdom of* Scotland: With which Anſwer he diſmiſt the Commiſſioners, and return'd to the *Hague*, to conſult with the Prince of *Orange*, who was propos'd as a Mediator to his Majeſty by the *Scots* Commiſſioners, they having viſited him in their Way to wait on the King. *A. D.* 1650.

Commiſſioners ſent to the King at *Breda*.

While the King reſided at the *Hague*, the Earl of *Carnwath*, and one Mr. *Murray* came from the Committee of Eſtates, with further Inſtructions and Propoſitions, wherein they requeſted his Majeſty to ratifie all that had been done in ſome late Seſſions of Parliament in *Scotland*; and that the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* and his Adherents ſhould be denied Acceſs to return to the Kingdom. To theſe new, and ſtill more unreaſonable Propoſitions, the King gave no immediate Anſwer, but entred into a Conſultation with the Duke

Commiſſioners come to the King at the *Hague*.

A. D. 1650. of *Hamilton*, and the other Noblemen who were in greateſt Friendſhip with the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*: They adviſ'd his Majeſty to comply as far as poſſible, and to tell thoſe Commiſſioners, that he deſir'd ſigning the Covenant, and other Things propos'd to him, might be deferred till he arriv'd in *Scotland*, at which Time he would give them full Satisfaction. This Advice was very much approved by the Prince of *Orange*; as alſo by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lords *Wilmot* and *Wentworth*, as all thoſe Noblemen who were truly loyal to his Majeſty, had Hopes that his Preſence in *Scotland* would eaſily prevail upon the Eſtates and Aſſembly, to deſiſt from thoſe unreaſonable Demands; ſo at laſt it was concluded, that ſo ſoon as the Prince of *Orange* could provide Ships for the King, he ſhould embark with ſuch of the *Scots* and *Engliſh* as were then with him, to go over to his Kingdom of *Scotland*:

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe* obtains Promiſes from ſeveral Foreign Princes.

But while Matters were in Conſultation in *Holland*, the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, who was always active for the King's Intereſt, having obtain'd Promiſes from ſeveral *German* Princes, to have a conſiderable Army wherewith he intended to go over to *Scotland*; not doubting but he could in a little Time reſtore the King to full and free Power and Authority over that Kingdom, without being oblig'd to comply with thoſe unreaſonable Terms propoſed by his diſaffected and ſtill rebelliouſly inclin'd Subjects; who propoſed to eſtabliſh themſelves in ſuch Power, that the King ſhould only enjoy the bare Title while they had the Power of Government.

The Marquiſs being thus encourag'd by fair Promiſes, he communicated the ſame to the King; and at the ſame Time inform'd his Majeſty, that ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen in *Scotland*, were weary of the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of that Faction who then rul'd: Therefore were ready to hazard their Lives and Fortunes, to aſſert his Majeſty's lawful Right; as alſo at the ſame Time he inform'd his Majeſty, that the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, who had a Commiſſion as his Majeſty's Lord Lieutenant in *Ireland*, was at that Time very ſucceſsful againſt the Rebels in that Kingdom.

After theſe Informations, the King conſulted ſome of his moſt intimate Friends, who approv'd of the Marquiſs's Advice to his Majeſty; and as at the ſame Time the King of *Denmark*'s Ambaſſador then at the *Hague*, had promis'd Aſſiſtance to his Majeſty; he reſolv'd to comply with the Marquiſs's Deſigns; and having concerted Meaſures with him, he took Leave of the King, in order to proſecute his intended Expedition to *Scotland*; but before parting with the King, he adviſ'd his Majeſty to ſend over Major General *Monro*, with Orders to the Marquiſs of *Ormond* to have his *Iriſh* Forces in Readineſs, in caſe there ſhould be Occaſion for his Aſſiſtance in *Scotland*. Mean Time the Marquiſs taking his Journey through *Germany*, ſolicited all ſuch as had promiſed Aſſiſtance; but was diſappointed by them all, except the Duke of *Holſtein*, who had Four well man'd Ships in Readineſs at *Hamburg*, and betwixt 6 and 700 Land Forces; ſo that notwithſtanding of this great Diſappointment, yet the Marquiſs reſolv'd to go over to *Scotland*, and try his Fortune, as he was in Hopes to be joyn'd by ſeveral of the King's Friends in that Kingdom; and alſo had Hopes the King of *Denmark*, Queen of *Sweden*, and other *German* Princes, would make good their Promiſes by contributing ſuch Numbers of Forces as would make up an Army, wherewith the King might come over to *Scotland*. With theſe Hopes the Marquiſs ſet out to Sea with the Four Ships, and in a few Days after arriv'd in the Iſles of *Orkney*, and from thence came over to the Continent of the Shire of *Caithneſs*, in both Places he was joyn'd by ſeveral of the Inhabitants; and with this ſmall Army he proceeded towards the Shire of *Sutherland*, intending to march Southwards. But the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, which was then ſway'd by the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, (*Montroſe*'s greateſt Enemy) and his Faction having Notice of his Landing and March, they immediately order'd *David Leſly* with all their ſtanding Forces, to rendevouz at *Brichen*; and at the ſame Time gave Commiſſion to Collonel *Strachan*, to march with all the Horſe, in all poſſible Haſte, to ſtop the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s March, and to hinder

Montroſe lands in *Orkney*, and comes over to the Continent.

hinder ſuch of the King's Friends as were in Readineſs to joyn him. According to which Orders, Collonel *Strachan* with the utmoſt Expedition, marched North, and encounter'd the Marquiſs's ſmall Army, who gave them Battle; but by the ſuperior Number and Strength of the Horſe, were ſoon overcome, and moſt of his ſmall Party being taken Priſoners, the Marquiſs diſguiſed himſelf in a common Highlander's Dreſs, whereby he eſcaped the Enemy at that Time, and fled for Shelter to the Laird of *Aſſyn*, in whoſe Houſe he remain'd ſome Days in that Diſguiſe. In the Engagement ſeveral Priſoners were taken, ſuch as the Lord *Frendraught*, Major General *Harry*, the Collonels *Stewart* and *Hay*, and ſeveral *Scots* and *Holſtein* Officers; as alſo were kill'd in the Field the Lairds of *Powrie* and *Pitfoddels:* The latter carried the Royal Standard, (wherein was pourtray'd the Effegie of the late King *Charles*, beheaded with the Motto, *Judge and revenge my Cauſe, O LORD*, which was taken by the Enemy) Mr. *John Douglaſs* Brother to the Earl of *Morton*, Captain *Stirling*, Captain *Powell*, Captain *Erskine*, Captain *Garioch*, Major *Biggar*, Major *Lillie*, with above Thirty inferior Officers, *Scots* and *Holſteiners*, beſides ſeveral other Gentlemen and common Soldiers. *A. L.* 1650.

Priſoners taken.

After this Victory, ſtrict Search was made in all Places for the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, and a great Reward offered to any who ſhould take him; and at the ſame Time all ſuch as would ſhelter or aſſiſt him, threatned with Loſs of Life and Fortune; whereupon the Laird *Aſſyn*, either out of Fear of being proſecuted, or baſe Covetouſneſs of the Reward, betray'd him, and deliver'd him up to Collonel *Strachan*, who carried him to General *Leſly*.

Macleod of *Aſſyn* delivers up *Montroſe*.

The Parliament at *Edinburgh* being inform'd, that the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* was taken Priſoner, conſidering that his Preſence and Behaviour might gain him Favour among the People, wherefore they thought fit to paſs their Sentence againſt him, before he ſhould come to *Edinburgh*; and upon the 17th Day of *May*, they appointed a Committee to draw up his Sentence: They in the ſame Forenoon gave in their Report in Writing, wherein they determin'd, *That ſo ſoon as he ſhould come to Town, he ſhould be met at the Water-Gate by the Magiſtrates and Hangman, that he ſhould be tied with Cords upon a Chair, bare headed, and the Hangman to ride upon the Horſe that drew the Cart, cover'd before him, and ſo be brought through the Town to the Tolbooth, from whence he ſhould be carried to the Croſs of* Edinburgh, *and hang'd on a Gibbet Thirty Foot high, with his Declaration about his Neck, and ſo hang Three Hours in publick View; after which he ſhou'd be beheaded and quarter'd, his Head to be fix'd upon the Tolbooth of* Edinburgh, *and his Legs and Arms over the Gates of* Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, *and* Glaſgow. *And in caſe he repented, and was abſolv'd of the Sentence of Excommunication, his Body ſhould be buried in the* Gray-Friars, *if not, to be buried in the* Borrow-moor.

The Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*.

They paſs Sentence on the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*.

Upon the 18th Day of *May*, he was brought to *Edinburgh*, and being met at the *Water-Gate*, by the Magiſtrates Guards and Hangman of the City, the reſt of the Priſoners being tied Two and Two together, walk'd bare headed before him; and he being placed in the Cart, and the Hangman riding before him, paſt through the Streets; at which Time he appear'd with moſt Heroick Courage and Modeſty, and with ſuch a pleaſant and chearful Countenance, that the common People, eſpecially the Women, who, it was thought, would have ſton'd him as he paſt, were ſo much concern'd at his barbarous Uſage, and noble Behaviour, that inſtead of abuſing or curſing him, they burſt out into Tears and Prayers for his Safety. When he came to the *Tolbooth*, and was taken from the Cart, he gave Gold to the Hangman, telling him, *That was a Reward for driving the Cart.* And being put in Priſon at Seven a Clock that Night, the Parliament immediately met, and ſent ſome of their Members, with ſeveral Miniſters to examine him, but he refuſed to anſwer to any Thing, until he knew upon what Terms they ſtood with the King; which being reported to the Parliament, they ſent Notice to him, that the King and they were agreed, but he deſired to be at reſt for that Night, ſaying, the Compliments they had made him that Day, had ſomewhat fatigu'd him. The next Day being *Sunday*, he was conſtantly atten-

The Marquiſs comes to *Edinburgh*.

His Behaviour.

The People concern'd for him.

A. D. 1650.

ded by Members of Parliament and Miniſters, who uſed many threatning Arguments to prevail with him, to acknowledge himſelf guilty of ſuch Crimes as they had ſumm'd up againſt him in a Charge; but his Lordſhip gave them no Satisfaction.

He is brought before the Parliament.

The Chancellor accuſes him.

On *Munday* in the Forenoon, he was brought before the Parliament, where the Earl of *Loudon* the Chancellor, charged him with his Miſcarriages againſt the firſt Covenant; as alſo his Behaviour againſt the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and his Invaſion, and joining with the *Iriſh* Rebels in Blood Guiltineſs, for which GOD had then brought him to juſt Puniſhment: Whereupon the Marquiſs deſir'd to know, if he might be allow'd to ſpeak for himſelf, which being granted, he ſaid, " Since you declare unto me,

His Anſwer to the Accuſation.

" that you have agreed with the King, I look upon you as if his Majeſty were " ſitting amongſt you, therefore I appear with becoming Reverence bare " headed: My Care hath been always to walk as became a good Chriſtian, " and a loyal Subject. I engaged in the firſt Covenant, and was faithful to " it, until I perceiv'd ſome private Perſons, under Colour of Religion, in- " tended to wring the Authority from the King: As for that called the *Solemn League and Covenant*, I thank GOD I never was in it, ſo could not " break it, but how far Religion hath been advanced by it, and the ſad " Conſequence that have follow'd on it; theſe poor diſtreſſed Kingdoms can " witneſs. For when his late Majeſty, by the Bleſſing of GOD, had almoſt " ſubdued his Enemies, that roſe againſt him in *England*, and a Faction of " this Kingdom went to their Aſſiſtance: His Majeſty gave me a Com- " miſſion to divert thoſe Forces from going againſt him. I acknowledg'd the " Command moſt juſt, and conſider'd my ſelf bound in Conſcience and " Duty to obey it. What my Carriage was upon that Occaſion many of you " can bear witneſs: No Man's Blood was ever ſpilt by me but in Battle, and " even then, many Thouſand Lives I have preſerv'd; and as I came in upon " his Majeſty's Warrant, ſo at his Command I laid aſide all Intereſt, and re- " treated.

" And as for my coming at this Time, it was by his Majeſty's Command, " in order to the accelerating of the Treaty betwixt him and you, his Maje- " ſty knowing, that whenever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire " at his Deſire. I may juſtly ſay, that never Subject acted upon more ho- " nourable Grounds, nor by a more lawful Power than I did in this Service; " and therefore I deſire you to lay aſide all Prejudice, and conſider me as a " Chriſtian in Relation to the Juſtice of the Quarrel, as a Subject in Relation " to my Royal Maſter's Commands, and as your Neighbour in Relation to " many of your Lives I have preſerved in Battle: Be not too raſh, but let " me be judg'd by the Laws of GOD, the Laws of Nature and Nations, " and the Laws of this Land: If you do otherwiſe, I appeal from you to the " righteous Judge of the World, who one Day muſt be both your Judge and " mine, and who always gives righteous Judgment."

His Sentence read.

After this Speech, the Chancellor commanded his Sentence to be read, which he heard with a ſettled and unmov'd Countenance, and deſir'd to be further heard; but was interrupted by the Chancellor, who commanded he ſhould be preſently carry'd back to Priſon; where being come, he was again attack'd by ſome Miniſters and Members of Parliament, who aggravated his Crimes and the Terror of his Sentence: But inſtead of being terrified, he, with a moſt chearful and undaunted Courage anſwer'd, that he was extreamly o-

His Speech after hearing his Sentence.

blig'd to his Judges, for the Honour they conferr'd on him, for (ſaid he) *I account it greater Honour to have my Head ſtand on the Priſon Gate for my Loyalty to my King, than to have my Picture placed in his Bed Chamber. And I wiſh, inſtead of having my Four Limbs put up in Four Cities, I had Limbs and Parts enough of my Body to ſend to every City in Chriſtendom, to teſtify my Loyalty to my lawful King, and Love to my native Country.*

After he was ſentenc'd, his Friends were not permitted to come near him, but a Guard was always kept in his Room, till the next Day, being the 21ſt of *May*, he was order'd to Execution: Whereupon he dreſs'd himſelf in rich

Apparel

Apparel, with a Gold lac'd Cloak, and walk'd along the Street as cheerfully, as if he were then going to review an Army, and coming to the Scaffold, he made a Speech, wherein he expreſs'd his great Love to his native Country, Loyalty to his King, and Fidelity and Affection to his Friends and Relations; and having forgiven all his Enemies, he gave Gold to the Executioner, who having his Declaration and Hiſtory ty'd in a Cord, he deſir'd it to be hang'd to his Neck, ſaying, *Though it hath pleas'd my preſent Gracious Soveraign the King, to make me one of the Knights of the moſt honourable Order of the Garter, yet I did not think my ſelf more honour'd by putting on that Badge, than by tying this Cord with my dutiful Declaration; which I hope will be made known to the World, and remain as a laſting Teſtimony of my Obedience to the beſt of Princes.* *A. D.* 1650.

After this was ty'd on, he deſir'd to know, *If they had more Honour of that Kind to confer on him*; and having no Anſwer, he enter'd into private Prayers; after which, with moſt Heroick Courage, he ſuffer'd according to his Sentence. His Execution.

Thus ended the moſt Noble, Magnanimous *James Graham*, Marquiſs of *Montroſe*; whoſe valiant Actions were nothing inferior to any of the greateſt Heros of any Age or Nation. He was Chief of the moſt ancient, noble Family and Sirname of *Graham*; of which Name many noble and worthy Men have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in all Ages, by their Courage, Conduct and Fidelity, in the Service of their King and Country.

When the King had Notice of the Marquiſs's Execution, he was very much afflicted, and at the ſame time ſent Mr. *Murray* with a Meſſage to *Scotland*, to expreſs his Reſentment of their Proceedings; wherein his Majeſty ſaid, *That it could not but grieve and perplex him, to hear that (notwithſtanding of the Overtures of Peace lately treated between him and them) they had ſhed the Blood of ſome of his beſt Subjects in* Scotland; *and that in ſuch a Manner, that they could not imagine, but it muſt extremly incenſe him: Therefore deſir'd an Account of that Matter from themſelves.*

In anſwer to this Meſſage they proteſted, That their Affections were real to him, and were glad to hear that he would concur with them in Peace and Agreement: That as for the Death of *Montroſe*, it would be no Hinderance; for as he had ſo long prevented their Agreement, his Death was the only way to promote his Majeſty's Intereſt. And, at the ſame time, intreated his Majeſty to come over and take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom.

After the King had this Return, he enter'd into Conſultation, and was at laſt perſuaded to go over to *Scotland*, and at the ſame time ſent to notify his Reſolution of coming, to the Parliament at *Edinburgh*. Whereupon ſeveral Debates happen'd; for thoſe who favour'd the Common-wealth of *England*, were in Hopes that the King would not accept of the Propoſals made to him: And finding his Majeſty determin'd to come over, they mov'd, that other Propoſals, more unreaſonable than the former, ſhould be made to him; but their Motion was ſuppreſs'd, and another Meſſage ſent, intreating his Majeſty to come over with all poſſible Speed: Whereupon his Majeſty ſail'd from the *Hague* on the 12th Day of *June*, and on the 23d of the ſame Month he landed in the River *Spey*, in the Shire of *Murray*. His Majeſty was receiv'd by ſeveral of his Subjects with the utmoſt Reſpect, Obedience and Affection: Yet the Marquiſs of *Argyle*'s Party (who, 'tis believ'd, were too much in the Intereſt of the King's Enemies in *England*) oblig'd the King to ſign the Covenant; after which they appointed a Committee to attend his Majeſty, and being brought to *Aberdeen*, Orders were given to raiſe an Army for the King's Service. The King lands in *Scotland*.

From *Aberdeen* the King went to the Univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s, where he was receiv'd by ſeveral of the Nobility with all Demonſtrations of Reſpect; and upon the 15th Day of *June* he was ſolemnly proclaim'd King at *Edinburgh*, but his Coronation was defer'd to a more proper Seaſon. Mean time the Committee of Eſtates paſt an Order, to raiſe every 4th Man of the Kingdom, to bear Arms for the King; whereby an Army being rais'd, the An Army rais'd for the King.

A. D. 1650. chief Command thereof was given to the Earl of *Leven*, and *David Leſly* Lieutenant-General, *Holburn* and *Mountgomry* Major-Generals. With this Army, it was given out, that the King intended to march into *England*, to take Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom; which being reported to thoſe who held the chief Government of that Nation, they ſent over for *Oliver Cromwell*, who at that Time was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; whereupon he appointed *Ireton* his Son-in-Law his Deputy, and came over to *England*; and after Conſultation, the *Juncto* of the Eſtates paſt an Act, conſtituting *Oliver Cromwell*, Eſq; Captain-General and Commander in Chief, of all the Forces rais'd, and to be rais'd, by Authority of Parliament, within the Commonwealth of *England*. After which *Cromwell* reſolv'd to march his Army into *Scotland*; and upon the 22d Day of *July*, he with his Army croſs'd the River *Tweed*.

Cromwell comes with an Army into *Scotland.*

After this Time, the *Scots* Army being muſter'd, they march'd towards *Edinburgh*; towards which *Cromwell*'s Army alſo came, and encamp'd near *Muſelburgh*: But ſome Parties of his Army having been attack'd, and worſted by the *Scots*, he remov'd his Camp towards Eaſt *Lothian*, and encamp'd near *Dunbar*, where he remain'd all the Month of *Auguſt* and beginning of *September*; during which Time the *Scots* Army were ſucceſsful, and *Cromwell* had ſo little Hopes of Succeſs, that he had ſhip'd a great Part of his Foot and Artillery on Board a Fleet ſent to attend his Occaſions; but ſeeing an advantagious Opportunity, he drew out all his Horſe, and attack'd the *Scots* Army ſo vigorouſly, that he routed them with great Slaughter, upon the 3d of *Sept.*

The King's Army defeat at *Dunbar.*

After this Victory, *Cromwell* reduc'd all Places of Strength in the South of *Scotland*, and laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which, notwithſtanding of all his Force, he could not take, till about the latter end of *December*, that the Governor's Wife being wounded by a Bomb Shell, the Husband ſurrender'd the Caſtle to *Cromwell* upon reaſonable Terms.

1651. Upon the firſt Day of *January*, 1651. the King was crown'd at *Scoon*, after the following manner:

The King crown'd at *Scoon.*

His Majeſty, in a Prince's Robe, was led from his Bed-chamber by the Lords High Conſtable, and Mariſhal of *Scotland*, to the Chamber of Preſence, where he was plac'd in a Chair, under a Cloth of State, by the Earl of *Angus* Lord Chamberlain; whereupon the Nobility, Barons, and Commiſſioners of Burghs enter'd the Room; and having ſhown themſelves to the King, the Earl of *Loudon*, Lord Chancellor, addreſs'd his Majeſty in theſe Words:

" SIR, your good Subjects deſire you may be crown'd, as lawful and " righteous Heir of the Crown of this Kingdom: That you would maintain " the preſent Proteſtant Religion, the National Covenant, and Solemn " League and Covenant: That you would graciouſly be pleas'd to receive " them under your Protection, to govern them according to Juſtice, to de- " fend them in their Rights and Privileges by your Royal Power; they of- " fering themſelves in humble manner to your Majeſty, with their Vows to " beſtow Land, Life, and what elſe is in their Power, for the Maintenance " of Religion, for the Safety of your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, and Support " of your Crown, which they entreat your Majeſty to accept, and pray " GOD Almighty, that for many Years you may enjoy the ſame."

To which the King made Anſwer: *I do eſteem the Affections of my good People more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms, and ſhall be ready, by GOD's Aſſiſtance, to hazard my Life in their Defence; wiſhing to live no longer than I may ſee Religion and the Kingdom flouriſh in all Happineſs.*

Officers of State who ſerv'd at the Coronation.

After this the Nobles, Barons and Commiſſioners, accompany'd his Majeſty to the Chapel, the Spurs being carry'd by the Earl of *Eglington*, the Sword by the Earl of *Rothes*, the Scepter by the Earl of *Crawford*, and the Crown by the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, who walk'd before the King; his Majeſty being ſupported by the Conſtable and Mariſhal, and his Train born up by the Lords, *Erskine*, *Montgomry*, *Newbottle*, and *Mechlin*, under a Canopy of Crimſon Velvet, ſupported by the Lords *Drummond*, *Carnagie*, *Ramſay*, *Johnſton*,

Johnſton, *Brechen*, and *Yeſter*; which ſix were alſo ſupported by ſix Noblemens Sons; and being come to the Chapel, and the Honours laid upon a Table provided for them: The King aſcended a Stage 24 Foot ſquare, and was plac'd in a Chair; upon which there was another leſſer Stage erected, whereon the Throne ſtood: And a Sermon being preach'd by Mr. *Robert Douglaſs*, Moderator of the General Aſſembly, afterwards the National, and Solemn League and Covenant, were diſtinctly read, and an Oath adminſtred to the King; wherein, beſides the uſual Coronation Oath, they added another, to ſupport the Presbyterian Government, which the King having ſubſcrib'd, his Majeſty aſcended the upper Stage, and ſat down in the Royal Throne: Whereupon the Conſtable and Mariſhal went to the four Corners of the Stage, and the Lyon King at Arms going before them, ſaid to the People, *I do preſent unto you King* Charles, *the Rightful and Undoubted Heir of the Crown and Dignity of this Realm: This Day is by the Parliament of this Kingdom appointed for his Coronation; and are you not willing to have him for your King, and become ſubject to his Authority?* At which Words the King ſtood up and ſhew'd himſelf on all Sides to the People, who expreſs'd their Conſent by joyful Acclamations, *GOD ſave King* CHARLES II. Then the King deſcended to the firſt Chair, where the Miniſters tender'd to him the Coronation Oath, as it was appointed in the firſt Parliament of King *James* VI. which being read, the King upon his Knees, holding up his Right-hand, ſaid, *By the Eternal and Almighty GOD, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I ſhall obſerve and keep all that is contain'd in this Oath.*

A. D. 1651.

The Ceremony of the King's Coronation in *Scotland.*

Then was the King diſrob'd, by the Lord Chamberlain, of the Prince's Robe, and inveſted with his Royal Robes, and ſo ſupported as before, he remov'd to the Chair on the North Side of the Chapel, where the Sword, by Sir *William Cockburn* Gentleman Uſher, was deliver'd to the Great Chamberlain, who making a ſhort Speech, deliver'd it to the King, who gave it into the great Conſtable's Hands, by whom it was girt on the King's Side: Then his Majeſty ſitting down in the Chair, the Spurs were put on him by the Earl *Mariſhall*, and the Marquiſs of *Argyle* taking the Crown into his Hands, put it on the King's Head; whereupon the Lyon King at Arms ſtanding by the Lord Conſtable, call'd the Nobility one by one, who kneeling down, and touching the Crown upon the King's Head with their Right Hands, ſaid, *By the Eternal and Almighty GOD, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I ſhall ſupport thee to my utmoſt.* This Oath was likewiſe read to the People, who, by holding up their Hands, teſtify'd their Conſent. And after the Earl of *Crawford* had delivered the Scepter to the King, he return'd again to the Stage, where he was inſtall'd in the Royal Throne by the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, and the Preacher made a new Exhortation. The Ceremony being thus ended, the King and Nobility were entertain'd with the utmoſt Magnificence and Splendor, in the great Gallery of *Scoon*; which being done, the King and all the Court return'd to *Perth*; the Army being drawn up in two Lines, all the Way betwixt *Scoon* and *Perth*.

The King nobly treated at *Scoon.*

After the Kings Coronation, Preparations were made to raiſe Men and Money; and the King went over ſeveral Parts of the Nation, viewing his Garriſons, and his new levy'd Forces; after which Manner his Majeſty ſpent his Time till the Month of *May*; at which time the Forces were drawing together, and the King ſet up his Royal Standard at *Aberdeen*; to which flock'd from all Places great Numbers of all Ranks of People, and enter'd themſelves as Volunteers. From thence the King remov'd to *Stirling*, where having review'd his Army, he appointed the Duke of *Hamilton* his Lieutenant-General, *David Leſly* Major-General, and General *Middleton* Major-General of the Horſe, and Collonel *Maſſey* had the Command of ſuch *Engliſh* Troops as came in to the King's Aſſiſtance; and one Collonel *Wyems* was appointed Commander of the Artillery.

The King's Standard ſet up at *Aberdeen.*

The Duke of *Hamilton* made Lieutenant General.

At this Time moſt of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, were very forward in contributing their Aſſiſtance to the King's Service, and appear'd

A. D. 1651. to shew his Majesty the utmost Respect upon all Occasions: And upon the 29th of *May*, being his Majesty's Birth-day, when he enter'd the 21st Year of his Age, the same was observ'd with all publick Demonstrations of Joy: At which time most of the Cities and Towns in the Nation sent congratulatory Addresses and Presents to the King; among whom none exceeded the Town of *Dundee*, who presented his Majesty with a most excellent large Pavilion, and six Brass Field Pieces with Carriages, and a large Quantity of Ammunition; with which Present they sent a compleat well arm'd Regiment of Horse; whereupon the King thank'd them in a most affectionate manner, for so great a Testimony of their Loyalty.

Congratulatory Addresses and Presents sent to the King.

The Town of *Dundee*'s Present to the King.

At this time *Cromwell* having Notice of the King's Preparations, he drew his Army westward towards *Hamilton*, intending to attack the King's Camp; but finding them so well fortify'd, he sent *Lambert* and *Okey* with two Regiments of Foot and two of Horse, over the River *Forth*, at the *Queen's-Ferry*, where they were encounter'd by a Party of the King's Forces, commanded by Collonel *Brown* and Collonel *Hollron* at *Ennerkeithing*; but were defeated and put to Flight by *Lambert*; who, after that Victory, made a safe Passage for the rest of *Cromwell*'s Army: And *Cromwell* coming to *Brunt-island* with his Army, sent Parties, who took all the small Garrisons upon the Coast of *Fife*. After this he went to *Perth*, where the King had left the Lord *Duffus* with 1200 Men, but *Cromwell* attack'd it with such Vigor, that the Lord *Duffus* was oblig'd to surrender the 2d Day.

The Battle of *Ennerkeithing*

The King being at this Time apprehensive of the Success of his Enemies in *Scotland*, he call'd a Council of War; wherein, after long Consultation, it was determin'd, That the King with his Army should march straight into *England*; and accordingly on the 31st Day of *July*, the King having review'd his Army, which were about 16000 in Number, he march'd from *Stirling*, and on the 16th of *August* he enter'd *England*, and coming to *Carlisle*, General *Massey*, with the Party of *English* under his Command, was order'd to march towards *Lancashire*, and that he should continue about a Day's Journey before the King's Army, to acquaint the People of the several Counties of the King's March. Mean time, in every Town through which the King past, his Majesty was publickly proclaim'd.

The King marches with his Army to *England*.

At this Time the Rulers of the Common-wealth of *England* (commonly call'd the *Rump Parliament*) hearing of the King's March with such a formidable Army, they begun to reflect on *Cromwell*'s Conduct; of which when he had Notice in *Scotland*, by an Express from some of his Friends in *England*; he march'd with all Expedition thither; and at the same Time dispatch'd *Lambert* with a strong Party of Horse, to use all possible means to molest the King's Army in their March. The first Attempt that he could make on the King's Army was at *Warrington* in *Cheshire*, where *Lambert* kept the Pass of a Bridge; but being attack'd by a Party of the *Scots* Horse, he was put to Flight; so the King's Army continu'd on their March without any Interruption, and came to *Worcester* upon the 22d of *August*; where being publickly proclaim'd by the Mayor and Sheriff of the City, his Majesty publish'd a Declaration, which concluded with an Invitation of all his loyal Subjects to repair to the Royal Standard upon the 26th Day of that Month. Upon this Declaration there came in to the King, *Francis* Lord *Talbot* with about 60 Horse, Mr. *Mervin Touchet*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Walter Blount*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Rowland Berkley*, Mr. *Washburn* of *Winchford*, Mr. *Hornyold* of *Blackmoor-park*, and several other Gentlemen of that County; each of which brought several Horse and Foot to the King's Assistance: Besides this Assistance, the King was in daily Expectation of several Reinforcements from *Wales*, and many other Parts, especially from the Earl of *Derby*, who having brought about 300 Horse and Foot over out of the Isle of *Man* to *Lancashire*, where he was join'd by several Noblemen and Gentlemen; but being in his March, he was encounter'd at *Wiggan*, by a Party of *Cromwell*'s Army, commanded by *Lilburn*, who soon overcame and put to Flight the Earl's new-rais'd Forces. That

Lambert routed by a Party of *Scots* Horse.

The King with his Army comes to *Worcester*.

The Earl of *Derby* defeated at *Wiggan*

That loyal and truly noble Lord being himſelf wounded in the Action, with great Difficulty made his Eſcape. In the Action were ſlain the Lord *Witherington*, Sir *Thomas Tilaſley*, Collonel *Trolop*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen; among the Priſoners were Sir *William Throgmorton*, Sir *Timothy Fetherſton*, Collonel *Boynton*, Collonel *Leg*, Collonel *Robinſon*, Collonel *Gerrard*, and Maior *Chieſlie*, beſides ſeveral other Officers, and 400 private Soldiers. *A. D.* 1651.

This Defeat being made known to the King, his Majeſty was very much afflicted for the Loſs of ſo many loyal Subjects; as alſo that thereby ſeveral other Noblemen and Gentlemen were depriv'd of an Opportunity to joyn his Army, and it was with great Difficulty the Earl of *Derby*, with Two of his Officers, could get into *Worceſter* to the King.

Cromwell's Army comes to *Worceſter*.

By this Time *Cromwell* himſelf with an Army of about 17000 Horſe and Foot, came up before *Worceſter*, and in a few Days after was join'd by the Party under the Lord *Gray*, of *Groby*, *Lambert*, and *Harriſon*, which in all made up an Army of above 30000.

Upton Bridge loſt.

The firſt Encounter betwixt the King's and *Cromwell's* Forces, was at *Upton Bridge*, about Seven Miles from *Worceſter*, which was defended by General *Maſſy*, with a Party of *Scots* and *Engliſh*; but being attack'd by a ſtrong Body of Horſe, commanded by *Lambert*, he was ſoon over power'd and put to Flight; yet not without making a brave Defence, for he having diſputed every Paſs till he was beat into *Worceſter*.

The Number of the King's Army at *Worceſter*.

At this Time the King's Army in *Worceſter*, conſiſted of about 10000 *Scots* and 2000 *Engliſh*, when at the ſame Time they were ſurrounded by an Army of Three Times their Number, within a City, but very indifferently fortified; yet his Majeſty's Army were ſo far from being diſcourag'd, that upon the 30th of *Auguſt*, they made a Sally, which gave the Enemy great Proof of their Bravery; after which they remain'd without Action till the 3d of *September*, when in the Morning the King having view'd the Situation from the Cathedral Church Steeple, he perceiv'd a Skirmiſh at *Powick Bridge*, whereupon all were commanded to their Arms; and the King march'd thither in Perſon, where he gave Orders for the Security of the Paſs, to prevent the Enemies paſſing *Severn*: But immediately after the King had return'd to the City the Enemy attack'd the Bridge moſt furiouſly, and were bravely repulſed, by the Lords *Montgomery* and *Keith*, till the former being dangerouſly wounded, and his Ammunition ſpent, was forced to retire to the City, and the latter was taken Priſoner by the Enemy. The King having call'd a Council of War, upon Notice of the Bridge being taken; it was immediately determin'd, that the Army, Horſe and Foot, ſhould march out of the City, and attack the Body of *Cromwell's* Army, who lay at *Perrywood*, within a Mile of the City. The King himſelf led on the *Scots* Army, and in the firſt Charge they made a moſt gallant Attack, and broke through ſome of *Cromwell's* beſt Troops, who were compell'd to give Ground; and the Engagement continued for the Space of Three Hours, with great Fury on both Sides, in which Time the King had Two Horſes ſhot under him, and continu'd the Battle with great Bravery: But at laſt, by the ſuperior Number, and conſtant freſh Supplies the Enemy had to attack the King's fatigued Forces, the Royal Army were put to Flight, and purſued into the City, where, when the King enter'd, (being among the laſt that left the Field) he mounted a freſh Horſe, and rode up and down the Streets, entreating his Army to ſtand to their Arms, and ſell their Lives as dear as they could; whereupon they rallied what Forces they could, and gave a ſtout Repulſe to the Enemy, as they enter'd *Sudburry* Gate; but were ſoon overpower'd and beat back. Mean Time, the King (who, it is ſaid, declar'd, that he had rather been ſhot to Death, than to live to ſee the ſad Effects of that unhappy Day) with the Earl of *Cleveland*, Sir *James Hamilton*, and Collonel *Carleſs*, made their Eſcape out at St. *Martin's* Gate, for by this Time *Cromwell* had made his Way through the City, having kill'd great Numbers in the Streets as he enter'd; yet the Fort Royal was ſtill defended by Collonel *Drummond*, with ſuch Bravery, that above 300 of the Enemy were ſlain in the Attack: But at laſt

Powick Bridge taken.

The King marches out of *Worceſter* to fight the Rebels.

The fatal Battle of *Worceſter* loſt.

A. D. 1651. *Cromwell*, with a ſuperior Force attack'd it, and put all the Defendants, to the Number of 1500 immediately to the Sword. At the ſame time all the Streets of the City were fill'd with dead Bodies, and the Houſes broke open and plunder'd by the Rebels, who ſpared neither Age nor Sex in their Fury.

The Duke of *Hamilton* and many others kill'd, and taken Priſoners.

This Battle was fought the 3d Day of *September*, wherein, on the King's Side were ſlain many Perſons of great Birth and Valour, eſpecially the noble Duke of *Hamilton*, who being taken Priſoner, died in a few Hours after of his Wounds: In that Action his Grace had behav'd himſelf with the utmoſt Courage and Bravery. The King was exceedingly afflicted at his Death, and declar'd, that he had obſerv'd him in that Action to have fought with moſt undaunted Reſolution. The chief of the Priſoners taken of the King's Army were the Earls of *Rothes*, *Carnwath* and *Kelly*, Lord *Sinclair* Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Major General *Montgomery*, Sir *John Douglaſs*, and Sir *Alexander Forbes*, with ſeveral others of inferior Rank of the *Scots*; of the *Engliſh* Sir *John Packington*, Mr. *Richard Fanſhaw* the King's Secretary, and near 7000 common Soldiers, about 58 Colours, the King's Royal Standard, his Coach and Horſes, and ſeveral other Things of great Value.

The King makes his Eſcape from *Worceſter*.

Mean Time the King having no Expectation of any Body of Forces to rally, or make any Reſiſtance to the Enemy, he reſolv'd to ſecure himſelf by Flight; and having left the Town, with a ſmall Retinue, yet fearing their Number might diſcover him, ſome of them were ordered to ſhift for themſelves, and his Majeſty accompanied by Fifty Horſe, march'd towards *Kiderminſter*; and being come to *Kinverheath*, they made a Stand, where the King, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Derby*, *Clevland*, Lords *Wilmot* and *Talot*, and ſeveral others, enter'd into a Conſultation, whether or not his Majeſty ſhould return to *Scotland*, or go to ſome Sea-port to be tranſported abroad; but as all the Roads at that Time were infeſted by Parties of the Rebels, they did not think it ſafe for his Majeſty to hazard a long Journey; whereupon the Earl of *Derby* told the King, that in his Flight from *Wiggan* to *Worceſter*, he had been lodg'd with a very honeſt Man at *Boſcobel* Houſe; and letting his Majeſty know at the ſame Time, as that Man and his Neighbours were Roman Catholicks, and being accuſtom'd to Perſecution and Searches, they had Places of Concealment more than ordinary. The King ſeeming pleaſed with this Information, the Lord *Talbot* told his Majeſty, that there was one Mr. *Charles Giffard* in Company, who would be a fit Guide to that Place; whereupon the King with his Retinue, were conducted by Mr. *Giffard* to a Seat belonging to the ancient Family of his Name, call'd *White Lady*'s (which Denomination it had from being formerly a Monaſtry of *Ciſtertian* Nuns, whoſe Habits were white, at which Place the King was receiv'd by Mrs. *Giffard*, with all the Marks of Loyalty and Reſpect. Mean Time Mr. *Charles Giffard* (who was of the ancient Family of *Chillington*) ſent for *Richard Pendrell*, who lived at *Hobbal Grange*, and *William Pendrell* from *Boſcobel* Houſe; and *Richard* coming firſt, he was ſent to bring a Suit of his own Clothes, wherewith they intended to diſguiſe the King; and being return'd with them, and his Brother *William* with him; the Earl of *Derby* brought them both into the Parlour where the King was; and Mr. *Giffard* having told them upon what Account they had been ſent for; the Earl of *Derby* pointing to the King, ſaid, *William* this is the King, (*thou muſt have a Care of him, and preſerve him as thou didſt me*) Mr. *Giffard* alſo conjur'd *William* and *Richard* to have a ſpecial Care of his Majeſty; to which both the Brothers anſwer'd, *They would loſe their Lives before any Hurt came to his Majeſty.*

The King comes to *White Ladies*.

He is put in Diſguiſe.

The King having conferr'd with the Nobility, he put off his own Clothes, and giving his Royal Ornaments and Watch to the Cuſtody of the Lord *Wilmot* and Collonel *Blagu*, he diſtributed Gold among his Servants, and put on *Richard Pendrell*'s Suit, which conſiſted of a green Coat, Leather Doublet and Breeches; and conſidering that the King's own Shirt in that Dreſs might make a Diſcovery, they borrow'd a coarſe Shirt of *Edward Martin*, Servant to

to Mr. *Giffard*, with which, and *Richard*'s Clothes, his Majeſty was dreſt; and to diſguiſe him the better, they cut off his Hair, and rubb'd his Face and Hands with Soot from the Chimney. Mean Time there came Notice that a Troop of the Rebels Horſe were then come to quarter at *Cotſal*, about three Miles Diſtance; whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earls of *Derby* and *Lauderdale*, the Lords *Wilmot* and *Talbot*, Collonel *Blague*, Collolel *Roſecarrack*, Mr. *Marmaduke Darey*, Mr. *Richard Lane*, Mr. *William Armorer*, Mr. *Charles Giffard*, Mr. *Hugh May*, and Mr. *Peter Street*, taking Leave of the King, march'd from *White Lady*'s towards *Newport*, expecting to overtake General *Leſly*, who, they had Account was upon his March towards *Scotland* with a Body of Horſe; but when they were come near *Newport*, they were overtaken by the Lord *Livingſton*, (who commanded the King's Life Guard) with a ſmall Party, being purſu'd by a Party of Rebels, under the Command of Collonel *Blundel*. The Lord *Livingſton* being join'd by the Noblemen and their Followers, turn'd upon the Rebels, and after a ſharp Encounter, beat them back; after which they continu'd on their Journey Northwards; but before they were gone about Three Miles beyond *Newport*, they were encounter'd by Collonel *Lilburn* with a Party of Horſe; and at the ſame Time were overtaken in the Rear by another Party of the Rebels from *Worceſter*, againſt both which Parties they made ſtout Reſiſtance, but were overcome at laſt.

A. D. 1649.

The King's Attendance take Leave of him.

Collonel *Lilburn* routs them.

The Earls of *Derby* and *Lauderdale*, and Mr. *Charles Giffard*, being taken Priſoners, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lords *Livingſton* and *Talbot*, with ſeveral other Gentlemen, having made their Eſcape, ſeparated, and went to different Places of Safety. Mean Time the Priſoners were carried to *White Church*, and from thence to *Bunbury* in *Cheſhire*, where Mr. *Giffard* made his Eſcape; but the Earl of *Derby* was carried to *Cheſter*, and tried by a Court Martial of *Cromwell*'s Officers, who ſentenc'd him to be beheaded at the Town of *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*; which Sentence was executed upon that truly loyal and noble Lord, with all the Circumſtances of Inſolence and Barbarity. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was carried to *Windſor Caſtle*, where he continu'd Priſoner for ſeveral Years.

The Earl of *Derby* beheaded.

Before the Nobility had left *White-Ladies*, the King was conducted by *Richard* and *William Pendrells*, out at a back Door, and carry'd to *Boſcobel Wood*; at which Time there fell ſuch heavy Rain, that in ſome few Hours Time they could find no Place to keep his Majeſty dry; whereupon *Richard Pendrell* went to *Francis Yates*'s Houſe, from whence he brought a Blanket, in which the King wrapt himſelf, and lay down to reſt under a Tree; at the ſame Time *Richard Pendrell* had order'd *Francis Yates*'s Wife, who was his own Siſter, to provide ſome Food for the King, and bring it into the Wood; which ſhe having done according to her Brother's Orders, came ſtraight where the King was. The King ſeeing a Woman was ſurpris'd, but being inform'd by *Richard* who ſhe was, and the Cauſe of her coming, the King ſaid to her, *Good Woman, can you be faithful to a diſtreſs'd Cavalier?* To which ſhe anſwer'd, *Yes, Sir, I'll die rather than diſcover you.* Whereupon the King accepted of her Proviſion, which was a Meſs of Milk boyl'd with Eggs and Butter. There the King reſted till Night, and then went to *Hobal Grange* to *William Pendrell*'s Houſe, where his Majeſty was receiv'd by their Mother, who, after condolling his hard Fate, aſſur'd him, that ſhe and all her Children, would ſacrifice their Lives for his Majeſty's Safety. Mean Time the King took upon him the Name of *William Jones*, pretending to be a Wood Cutter, come there to Work, which he did to conceal himſelf from the reſt of the Family, and ſuch Perſons as reſorted to the Houſe. But the King having Thoughts of croſſing the *Severn*, and going into *Wales*, about Nine a Clock at Night, his Majeſty and *Richard Pendrel*, came to *Madley*, a Village about Five Miles from *White-Ladies*, where one Mr. *Francis Wolff*, an honeſt Roman Catholick Gentleman of *Richard*'s Acquaintance lived; where, coming about Midnight, and the Family being in Bed, *Richard* awak'd Mr. *Wolff*'s Daughter, and told her of the King's being there; whereupon ſhe awak'd her Father, who receiv'd the King with all Aſſurance

The brought to *Baſcobel Wood*.

The King takes the Name of *William Jones*.

A. D. 1651. of Fidelity; but as at that Time there were ſeveral Parties of the Rebels guarding the Paſſes of the *Severn*, the King reſolved to return again to *Boſcobel* Wood, and being lodg'd in a Barn on a Mow of Hay, as being a more proper Place of Concealment than the Houſe, his Majeſty reſted there all the next Day, being attended by Mr. *Wolff* and *Richard Pendrell*. At Night, the King was brought into the Houſe, where having refreſh'd himſelf, Mrs. *Wolff* provided a Decoction of Walnut-tree Leaves, wherewith ſhe anointed the King's Hands and Face, for the better Diſguiſe, and about Eleven a-Clock that Night, a Horſe being provided for the King, His Majeſty, with his faithful Guide, *Richard Pendrell*, return'd to *Boſcobel* Wood: There *Richard* left the King, and went to ſee if there was any Soldiers, or other Danger about his Brother's Houſe, where being come, he found Collonel *William Carlis*, who having eſcap'd from *Worceſter*, came to *Boſcobel* Wood, and knowing the *Pendrells*, he came that Morning to *William Pendrell*'s Houſe, to get ſome Food, and *Richard* coming there at the ſame Time, acquainted him, that the King was in the Wood; whereupon the Colonel, with *William* and *Richard*, went ſtrait to the King, who was extreamly pleas'd to ſee the Collonel, and his Majeſty immediately went with them to the Houſe of *William Pendrell*, where he refreſh'd himſelf, and had his Feet waſh'd and bath'd in warm Water, they being extreamly ſore with his Travel: But as the Collonel thought the Wood ſafer than the Houſe, he conducted his Majeſty back again, and finding out a thick Leav'd Oak Tree, he, with the King, were help'd up by *William* and *Richard Pendrell*, who had brought a Cuſhion for his Majeſty to ſit on: And being conveniently placed in the Tree, the King told the Collonel how little Reſt he had the Two preceeding Nights; wherefore the Collonel entreated his Majeſty to reſt his Head on his Lap, he promiſing to be watchful that his Majeſty ſhould not fall. In this Tree (which, from his Majeſty being lodg'd therein in this manner, was call'd the ROYAL OAK) his Majeſty ſlumber'd away Part of the Day, and paſs'd the Time with incomparable Patience and Cheerfulneſs, conſidering the Extremity of Danger and Hardſhips he was then expoſed to.

The King lodg'd in the Royal Oak.

William and *Richard Pendrells*, all that Day, having given their Attendance by watching at ſome Diſtance to obſerve all People that paſs'd thro' the Wood, *William* came in the Evening to the King, and told his Majeſty, that in his Houſe there was a ſecret Place where the Earl of *Derby* had been conceal'd, whereupon the King, with the Collonel, left the Tree, and ſeeing the Conveniency of the ſecret Place, his Majeſty lik'd it ſo well, that he reſolved rather to be hid there than return to the Tree.

His Majeſty thinking himſelf now pretty ſecure in the Houſe, he reſolved to be in every Thing like to one of the Family, therefore deſired *William Pendrell* to cut the Hair off his Head, and to cut it cloſs over his Head, but to leave ſome ſhort about his Ears, it being then the Cuſtom of the Country. The King deſired *William* to burn the Hair which he cut off; but in that Command *William* was only diſobedient, for he kept moſt off the Hair, which afterwards was moſt acceptable Preſents to many Perſons of Honour. This Night the King had a Bed provided in the ſecret Place, where he ſlept very ſound; and next Day, being *Saturday*, *William* and *Richard Pendrells* ſent their Three Brethren, *Humphry*, *John*, and *George*, to watch at proper Diſtances, to obſerve any Danger that might approach the Houſe; and that Evening *Humphry Pendrell* being ſent to pay ſome Taxes to one Captain *Broadway*, in an adjacent Village, call'd *Shefnal*, he met a Collonel of the Rebels, newly come there from *Worceſter*, in Purſuit of the King; and being inform'd that the King had been at *White-Lady*'s, and that *Humphry* lived in the Neighbourhood, he examin'd him ſtrictly, and at the ſame Time laid before him, that the Penalty for concealing the King was Death without Mercy, and that if he could diſcover him he ſhould immediately have 1000 *l.* Reward: But neither Fear of Puniſhment, nor Temptation of Money could prevail with *Humphry* to betray the King; and being diſmiſs'd, he came at Night to the

He is lodg'd in a ſecret Place at *Boſcobell* Houſe.

Humphry Pendrell examin'd and threaten'd on the King's Account.

King,

King, and told his Majeſty what had paſs'd between him and the Collonel at *Shefnal*, wherewith his Majeſty was extreamly pleas'd; and having ſome Chickens provided by Mrs. *Pendrell*, his Majeſty ſupp'd with as much Cheerfulneſs, as if he had been in the greateſt Proſperity and Safety. *A. D.* 1651.

After Supper, the Collonel ask'd his Majeſty what he would have provided for him the next Day, being *Sunday*, to which the King anſwer'd, he could eat ſome Mutton, if it was to be had; But as the Collonel thought it would be dangerous for *William* to go to any Market Town to buy it; he therefore himſelf, the next Morning very early, went to a Gentleman of his Acquaintance's Sheep-Cote, and having choſen One of the beſt, he ſtuck it with his Dagger, and carry'd it home betwixt him and *William*. When the King had got up, and ſpent ſome Time in the Gallery in his private Devotion, he came down to the Parlour, where the Collonel told him of the Proviſion he had made; whereupon his Majeſty call'd for a Knife, Trencher, and Frying-pan, with ſome Butter, and taking the Leg of Mutton (which *William* had brought into the Parlour) he cut ſome of it into Collops, which he prick'd with the Point of the Knife, and threw Salt upon it: The Collonel put it in the Pan, with ſome Butter, and applied it to the Fire, which being done, his Majeſty eat plentifully thereof, and often remember'd it afterwards; and when the Collonel attending his Majeſty in *France*, he merrily propos'd it as a Queſtion, whether or not, upon this Occaſion, the Collonel or himſelf was the Maſter Cook, and the Circumſtances of the Paſſage being laid before thoſe in Attendance, the Superiority of the Office was adjudg'd to his Majeſty.

The King and Collonel *Carelis* dreſs their own Dinner.

All this Time, *Richard*, *Humphry*, *John*, and *George Pendrells* being upon the Watch, *John* had Notice, that the Lord *Wilmott* was at Mr. *Whitegrave* of *Moſly*'s Houſe, whereupon he return'd and told the King, who ſent *John* to *Moſely*, to acquaint the Lord *Wilmott* of his being there, but by that Time the Lord *Wilmott* was moved to *Bently*, the Houſe of Collonel *Lane*, who kept his Lordſhip ſecure, and having procur'd a Paſs from one of the Rebel Officers, for Mrs. *Jane Lane* to go ſome Miles beyond *Briſtol*, to viſit her Relation, Mrs. *Norton*; the Collonel propoſed, by that Means, to convoy the Lord *Wilmott* ſafe to *Briſtol*, or ſome other Sea-port: But when my Lord had Intelligence of the King's being at *Boſcobel*, he deſired Mrs. *Jane Lane*'s Journey to *Briſtol* might be delay'd 'till he had ſeen the King; whereupon *John Pendrell* return'd to the King, to acquaint him where the Lord *Wilmott* was; and at the ſame Time told his Majeſty, that Mr. *Whitegrave* deſired his Majeſty might come to his Houſe at *Moſely*, where he would appoint the Lord *Wilmott* to meet his Majeſty: Whereupon, the King took his Leave of his faithful Friend, Collonel *Carelis*, (who being well known in the Neighbourhood, thought it not ſafe to attend the King) and being mounted upon a mean Horſe, which *Humphry Pendrell*, the Miller of *White-Lady*'s, brought him, he took his Journey at Night, in Company with the Five loyal Brothers, *William*, *Richard*, *Humphry*, *George*, and *John Pendrells*, and *Francis Yates*, their Brother-in-law, they being each of them arm'd with a Wood Bill, and ſome of them had Piſtols in their Pockets; but as the Time of their Journey was about Midnight, they met no Danger; and being come near Mr. *Whitegrave*'s Houſe, the King alighted from his Horſe, and was conducted into a private Grove of Trees, where he was met by one Mr. *Huddleſtone*, a diſcreet Roman Catholick Clergy-man; whereupon his Majeſty took Leave of the *Pendrells*, who having kiſs'd his Hand, his Majeſty return'd them Thanks, and promis'd to reward their Fidelity, if ever it ſhould be in his Power.

The King removes from *Boſcobel* to Mr. *Whitegrave*'s Houſe.

It being then about the Hour which my Lord *Wilmott* had appointed, his Lordſhip came to the Houſe; whereupon Mr. *Whitegrave* went to the Grove to acquaint the King, who came immediately into the Houſe, and received the Lord *Wilmott* with great Pleaſure, Mr. *Whitegrave* and Mr. *Huddleſton* obſerving the meanneſs of the King's Dreſs, they expreſs'd great Concern for his Condition, as they then took him to be ſome Nobleman, as my Lord *Wilmott* had call'd him his Friend, whereupon my Lord ſaid to Mr. *Whitegrave*

The King and Lord *Wilmott* meet.

A.D. 1651. *grave* and Mr. *Huddleſtone*, *Gentlemen, tho' I have conceal'd my Friend's Name all this Time, yet now I freely tell you, This is my Maſter, your Maſter, and the Maſter of us all:* Whereupon they both kneel'd, and kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand, and declar'd to ſerve his Majeſty with their Lives, or what they could command; to which the King anſwer'd, that he had received ſuch Aſſurance of their Fidelity from my Lord *Wilmot*, that he would truſt to their Conduct and ſhould be always mindful of their Friendſhip. Mean time Mr. *Huddleſton* intreated the King to accept of clean Linnen, Stockings and Shoes, which he willingly did. And Mr. *Huddleſton* having pull'd off his Shoes and Stockings, he found that his Landlord of *Boſcobel* had innocently put white Paper within the Stockings, thinking thereby to keep the King's Feet clean; which being wet, was roll'd betwixt his Stockings and Feet, and had rais'd Bliſters.

Mr. *Whitgrave* having brought a Bottle of Sack and ſome Biskets, the King eat of the one, and drank a Glaſs cheerfully of the other, and being refreſh'd, he preſently ſaid, *I am now ready for another March; and if it ſhall pleaſe GOD once more to place me at the Head of but eight or ten thouſand good Men, of one Mind, and reſolv'd to fight, I ſhould not doubt to drive theſe Rogues out of my Kingdoms.*

The King conſults with my Lord *Wilmot*.

It being now about Break of Day, on *Munday* the 8th of *September*, the King was convey'd to a private Place, where he ſlept ſome Hours; after which he enter'd into a Conſultation with my Lord *Wilmot*, Mr. *Whitgrave*, and Mr. *Huddleſton*, to conſider how he might remove towards ſome Sea-Port, as all Parts of the Kingdom were judg'd unſafe at that Time: Whereupon the Lord *Wilmot* acquainted the King with what Collonel *Lane* had told him concerning his Siſter's Journey to the Weſt: With which Opportunity the King ſeem'd pleas'd, and reſolv'd to act the Part of her Servant in that Journey. Upon this Reſolution, the Lord *Wilmot* ſent *John Pendrell* to *Bently*, with Directions to Collonel *Lane* to ſend his Horſes to him, and that he would be with him at the uſual Place, about the middle of that Night, which he accordingly did.

The Soldiers ſearch Mr. *Whitegrave*'s Houſe, where the King then was.

That Night the King went to Bed in Mr. *Huddleſton*'s Appartment, but there coming an Information to Mr. *Whitgrave*, that a Party of Soldiers was then coming to ſearch the Houſe, he immediately convey'd the King into the private Hole, and laying open all his Doors, when the Soldiers enter'd the Houſe he came down Stairs, and boldly ask'd them what they wanted; which when they told him, he anſwer'd, They might Search all the Rooms of his Houſe, for he had no Body there, nor had been no ways from his Houſe for a Fortnight paſt. With this Anſwer the Soldiers were ſatisfy'd, and went away.

All the Day *(Tueſday)* Mr. *Whitgrave* and Mr. *Huddleſton* were upon the Watch, and Mr. *Whitgrave*'s Mother, an old Gentlewoman entertain'd the King, who ſat moſt of the Time at a Cloſet Window, he ſaw ſeveral Soldiers paſs by, one of which he knew to be a *Highlander*, of his own Life-Guard, and was very much inclin'd to have ſpoken to him; but was diſſuaded by Mr. *Huddleſton*. The ſame Day his Majeſty ſaw the Copy of a Proclamation, wherein the Rebels promis'd a Reward of 1000 Pounds, to any one who ſhould apprehend the Perſon of *Charles Stewart*; at the ſame time forbidding all Perſons whatſoever, upon Pain of Death, to receive or conceal him or any of his Adherents: Which when the King read, and ſeem'd to be under ſome Concern, theſe two loyal Gentlemen aſſur'd his Majeſty, *That neither the Threats nor Rewards of the Rebels would prevail with them or any of their Friends, but would venture their Lives for his Safety.*

The King ſees a Proclamation offering 1000 lib. to apprehend him.

This Night, between Twelve and One a-Clock, Collonel *Lane* came from my Lord *Wilmot*, to convoy the King to his Houſe at *Bently*; whereupon the King took Leave of Mrs. *Whitgrave*, and being convey'd ſome part of the Way by Mr. *Whitgrave* and Mr. *Huddleſton*, his Majeſty took Leave of them, and at parting expreſt his Thankfulneſs for their Friendſhip and Fidelity; and at the ſame time told them, That in caſe they ſhould be in any

The King leaves Mr. *Whitegrave*'s Houſe.

Danger

Danger upon Account of the Service they had done him, he gave them a Direction to repair to a Merchant in *London*, who had Orders to furniſh his Friends with Money, and Means to go abroad, in caſe they had need. Mr. *Whitgrave* and Mr. *Huddleſton* told his Majeſty, all the Service they could do then, was to pray for his Safety and happy Reſtoration; whereupon they kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand, and return'd home. *A. D.* 1651.

This Mr. *Whitgrave* was of the ancient Family of the *Whitgraves* of *Burton*, in the County of *Stafford*, and had ſerv'd as a Lieutenant to Captain *Thomas Giffard*, in the late Wars of King *Charles* I. Mr. *John Huddleſton* was a younger Brother of the renown'd Family of *Hutton-John*, in the County of *Cumberland*; and alſo had ſerv'd as a Gentleman Volunteer under Sir *John Preſton*, in his late Majeſty's Service; after which he had taken Orders, and was then Tutor to three young Gentlemen, at Mr. *Whitegrave*'s Houſe.

The King being convoy'd by Collonel *Lane* to his Houſe at *Bently*, they prepar'd a Suit of Livery for his Majeſty, and being equipt in riding Footman's Dreſs, his Name was chang'd from that of *Will. Jones*, and call'd *Will. Jackſon*; and the 2d Day after Mrs. *Lane* took her Journey, with the King riding before her as her Servant, being accompany'd with a Gentleman and his Wife, who were included in the Paſs, and the Lord *Wilmot* attending at ſome Diſtance. In which Journey Mrs. *Lane* perform'd the part of a prudent Servant to his Majeſty. The two that accompany'd them were Mr. *John Petre* of *Horton* in *Buckinghamſhire*, and his Wife, who was Collonel *Lane*'s Siſter; but neither of them knew of the King's being in Company, it being told them that he was a Tenant's Son made uſe of upon that Occaſion.

The King takes Journey with Mrs. *Lane* as her Footman.

The firſt Night of their Journey they came to Mr. *Tomb*'s Houſe at *Long-Marſton*, where Mrs. *Lane* was very well acquainted: Here the King went into the Kitchen, according to his Diſguiſe, and being there about the Time that Supper was dreſſing, the Cook-maid being buſy, haſtily deſir'd her Neighbour Servant to wind up the Jack, which *Will. Jackſon* readily attempted, but going wrong to Work, the Cook in a Paſſion ſaid, *What the Devil for a Servant are you, that cannot wind up a Jack? what Country was you bred in? Will. Jackſon* anſwer'd very ſubmiſſively, *I am but a poor Tenant's Son of Collonel* Lane's *in* Staffordſhire, *we ſeldom have roſt Meat, and when we have, we never uſe a Jack.* Which ſimple Anſwer aſſwag'd the Cook-maid's Indignation; after which he had a good Supper and Bed.

A Cook-maid banters the King for wrong winding up the Jack.

The next Morning early, they ſet out from thence, and after 24 Miles Travel they came to *Cirenceſter* in *Gloceſterſhire*, where they lodg'd in an Inn; next Day they perform'd their Journey, and came to Mr. *Norton*'s Houſe at *Leigh*, within 3 Miles of *Briſtol*, where Mrs. *Lane* was receiv'd with great Reſpect and Affection. Mean time Mrs. *Lane* told Mrs. *Norton* and her Husband, that her Brother's Servants being employ'd, ſhe had taken a very creditable Tenant's Son to ride before her, and that he was fallen a little ſick on the Journey, wherefore ſhe deſir'd to ſend him ſuch Food from their Table, as ſhe thought would be moſt proper to her Royal Footman: And, at the ſame time, Mr. *Norton* order'd his Servants to attend the young Man, and let him have all things neceſſary in that Condition. Mr. *Norton*, at that time, had for his Butler one *John Pope*, who had formerly ſerv'd Sir *Thomas Jermyn*, and had been often at Court, before the Civil Wars fell out, who coming to ſee *Will. Jackſon*, knew the King, notwithſtanding of all his Diſguiſe; and falling upon his Knees, he pray'd to GOD to bleſs his Majeſty, and in a Paſſion of Grief and Tears, expreſs'd his Sorrow to ſee him in that Condition. Tho' the King was very much ſurpriz'd at the Accident, yet he was reſolv'd to banter the Butler out of his Fancy, and in a ſimple way ask'd him, why he mock'd him: But the Butler being too well acquainted with the King's Voice and Perſon, entreated his Majeſty to lay aſide all concern upon his Account, for he would ſacrifice his Life to do him Service: And having put the King in mind of ſome Paſſages that hap-

The King and Mrs. *Lane* comes to Mr. *Norton*'s Houſe near *Briſtol*.

Norton's Butler knows the King tho' in Diſguiſe.

A. D. 1650. pen'd when his former Maſter attended his Majeſty as Prince of *Wales*, which the King remembring, deſir'd he might not make any Diſcovery of what he knew to any one, not even to his Maſter and Miſtreſs, tho' he was ſure of their Fidelity; and giving his Hand to the Butler, he kiſs'd it, and ſwore to obey his Majeſty's Orders in all things; which he accordingly perform'd, and attended him with Faithfulneſs and Diligence whilſt he remain'd there.

Doctor *Gorges* viſits Mrs. *Lane*'s Servant, not knowing him to be the King.

The 2d Night after the King had been at Mr. *Norton's*, one Doctor *Gorges*, (formerly one of the King's Chaplains, but being turn'd out by the Rebels, declin'd the Profeſſion of a Divine, and endeavour'd to practiſe Phyſick) being that Night at Supper in Mr. *Norton*'s, hearing Mrs. *Lane* ſay, that her Servant *William* had an Ague lately, which occaſion'd his immediate Sickneſs; after Supper the good natur'd Doctor went to viſit *William*; and going to his Chamber without telling any one, the King at firſt Sight knew him, whereupon he turn'd to the Back-ſide of the Bed, to keep himſelf from the Light of the Candle. The Doctor ſat down by the Bed-ſide, and having felt his Pulſe, ask'd him ſeveral Queſtions concerning his Condition of Body, which the King anſwer'd very ſilently, and in few Words: So that the Doctor leaving him, return'd to the Company, and told Mrs. *Lane* that he had been with her Servant, who, he ſaid, was in a fair way of Recovery; and at the ſame time preſcrib'd ſome Things to be given him, to carry off the remaining Symptoms of his Ague. Next Day the King told Mrs. *Lane* who his Doctor was, and that he knew him to be a Man of great Prudence and Fidelity; but he being then gone, he heard him no more.

Collonel *Wyndham* goes to hire a Ship to tranſport the King

On *Saturday* Night the 13th of *September*, the Lord *Wilmot* came to a little Village near Mr. *Norton*'s Houſe; from whence he came every Day, and convers'd with Mrs. *Lane* and her Servant, as Perſons of his Acquaintance; by which means he had Opportunity to conſult with the King unſuſpected. Mean time it was reſolv'd that the King ſhould go to *Trent*, to the Houſe of Collonel *Francis Wyndham*, which might be more convenient to procure a Ship to convoy his Majeſty to *France*: So upon the 16th Day, the King, with Mrs. *Lane*, and one of Mr. *Norton*'s Servants as a Guide, rode through *Somerſetſhire* to Mr. *Edward Kirton*'s Houſe at *Caſtle-Cary* near *Burton*, where they lodg'd that Night; and next Day arriv'd at Collonel *Wyndham*'s: Whereupon the Collonel with a Servant went to *Lime*, being about 20 Miles from *Trent*; where, by the Aſſiſtance of Captain *William Elſden*, a loyal Subject, he hir'd a Bark to tranſport the King to *France*; and order'd, that the Maſter attend further Orders at *Charmouth*, a little Maritime Village near *Lime*.

The Ship Maſter's Wife diſappoints them.

With this News Collonel *Wyndham* return'd to the King, and the next Day, his Majeſty having taken Leave of Mrs. *Jane Lane*, to whom he expreſt the utmoſt Gratitude and Affection, ſhe return'd with her Relation, Mr. *Laſſels*, towards *Staffordſhire*; and the King taking behind him Mrs. *Julian Conningsby*, he, with the Lord *Wilmot*, the Collonel, and *Henry Petre* went that Night to *Charmouth*, where they expected to find the Maſter of the Ship, but were diſappointed: For, it ſeems, the ſimple Skipper having an unruly Wife, to whom he told, that he had got a good Fraught, to carry over ſome Caveliers to *France*: Whereupon the Termagant in a Paſſion ſwore ſhe would diſcover him if he offer'd to move: So the poor Man, for Quietneſs Sake, yielded to be confin'd at his Houſe during his Wife's Pleaſure: Which when Collonel *Wyndham* had Notice, he reſolv'd to carry the King back to his Houſe at *Trent*, where being arriv'd, they held a Conſultation, wherein it was reſolv'd, that his Majeſty ſhould ſend to Mr. *John Coventry*, Son to the Lord *Coventry*, who liv'd near *Salisbury*, to procure a Ship for his Majeſty's Paſſage, as alſo ſome Money for his immediate Occaſions; with which Meſſage they diſpatch'd *Henry Petre*, who ſpeedily return'd with an Anſwer, that Mr. *Coventry* cheerfully offer'd to furniſh the King with Money, and uſe his utmoſt Endeavours for his Safety: And, at the ſame time, Mr. *Coventry* and Doctor *Humphry Hinchman* (who, after the Reſtoration,

Other Means us'd for a Ship to the King.

tion, was made Biſhop of *Salisbury*) advis'd Collonel *Wyndham* to carry the King to *Hele*, the Dwelling-houſe of Mrs. *Mary Hide*: With this Meſſage, Mr. *Coventry* diſpatch'd his Chaplain to *Trent*; which Advice his Majeſty follow'd, and with his Company was conducted by Collonel *Robert Philips*, he having taken Leave of Collonel *Wyndham*. *A. D.* 1651.

Next Day after the King came to *Hele*, the Lord *Wilmot*, ſent Notice by a ſecret Meſſage to the loyal Earl of *Southampton*, who was then at his Houſe at *Titchfield*, to uſe his Endeavours to procure a Ship for ſome of the King's Friends, in which Deſign the Earl was very diligent.

In the mean time the Lord *Wilmot*, who went by the Name of Mr. *Barlow*, having found one Collonel *George Gunter*, to whom they communicated their Deſign; he undertook the Office, and by the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Francis Manſel*, a Merchant of *Chicheſter*, they agreed with the Maſter of a Ship at *Brighthamſton* in *Suſſex*, who oblig'd himſelf to be ready upon the next *Wedneſday*, being the 15th of *October*, with which acceptable News Collonel *Gunter* and Mr. *Manſel*, return'd to the Lord *Wilmot* and Collonel *Philips*; whereupon Collonel *Philips* was diſpatch'd to *Hele*, with the News to the King; and next Day being *Munday*, the King was convey'd to *Hambalon* in *Hampſhire*, to the Houſe of Mr. *Thomas Symmons*, who was then from home; yet Mrs. *Symmons* receiv'd the King and his Retinue with all the Marks of Loyalty and Civility: And being inform'd that they were Cavaliers, entertain'd them with the greater Reſpect, ſhe being the Siſter of Collonel *Gunter*, who, with the Lord *Wilmot* and Mr. *Manſel*, ſoon came there after the King. At the ſame time Mr. *Symmons* coming home, welcom'd his Gueſts with great Chearfulneſs; and taking Notice of the King, (who was then dreſt like an ordinary Country Gentleman) with his Hair cut, as before mention'd by *William Pendrell*, he ſuſpected him to be a Round-head; but being told by his Brother Collonel *Gunter*, that Mr. *Jackſon* was a very honeſt young Gentleman, Mr. *Symmons* took him by the Hand, and drunk to him, ſaying, *Here's to you Brother Round-head, here's a good Health to all honeſt Gentlemen.* The King gets a Ship.

Next Day being *Tueſday*, the King with his Company took Leave of Mr. *Symmons*, as alſo of Collonel *Philips*, and went on his Journey to *Brighthamſton*, having only with him the Lord *Wilmot*, Collonel *Gunter*, and Mr. *Thomas Gunter*, where being arriv'd, they were met at an Inn by Mr. *Manſel*, and the Ship Maſter Mr. *Nicholas Tetterſal*; and having ſpent that Night, the next Day being *Wedneſday*, *October* the 15th (the ſame Day on which the noble Earl of *Derby* ſuffer'd at *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*) his Majeſty, with the Lord *Wilmot*, and one Servant, went on Board, and having a favourable Wind; they landed ſafe at *Fecam*, near *Haver de Grace* in *Normandy*; where, having rewarded Captain *Tetterſal* with a Preſent of Gold, for his Tranſportation, his Majeſty went the next Day to *Roan*, where he, with his faithful Subject the Lord *Wilmot*, continu'd in Diſguiſe in the Houſe of Mr. *Scot*, a *Scots* Merchant, for ſome Days: From thence he ſent an Expreſs to the Queen his Mother, who intimated his ſafe Arrival to the Court of *France*; whereupon the Duke of *York* taking Coach with the Lord *Gerrard*, and ſeveral of his Majeſty's Servants, went ſtraight to *Roan*, and receiv'd his Majeſty with all Demonſtrations of Duty and Affection; and having laid aſide his diſguis'd Dreſs, he put on Apparel befitting his Dignity; and upon the 29th of *October*, he was receiv'd near *Paris* by the Queen his Mother, and her Brother the Duke of *Orleance*, being attended by ſeveral Nobility of *France*, beſides many of his Majeſty's Subjects of *Scotland* and *England*, and was ſaluted with all Demonſtrations of Joy, for his ſafe Delivery from his Enemies. The King lands in *Normandy*.

Here I have thought neceſſary to mention the Particulars of his Majeſty's miraculous Eſcape, out of ſo many imminent Dangers, which I hope will be acceptable to the Reader, eſpecially to ſuch as have not formerly had any particular Account of it, as I am ſatisfied that in this Narration the Perſons and Places are mention'd according to the beſt Inſtructions.

A. D. 1651. After the Battle of *Worceſter*, *Oliver Cromwell* return'd triumphantly to *London*, where he was receiv'd by the Parliament and City, with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Thanks and Applauſe, for his great Actions; and having order'd Matters to his Satisfaction in *England*, he ſent Major General *Monk* to *Scotland* with 6000 Men, who ſoon after his coming attack'd the Caſtle of *Stirling*, which, after a ſhort Siege was ſurrender'd to him, by Collonel *Cunningham* the Governor; and having gain'd that advantageous Place, he planted a Gariſon therein, and march'd to *Dundee*, where Major *Lumſden* was Governor; and having a Garriſon of 800 good Men, beſides ſome well arm'd Inhabitants of the Town, he reſolv'd to defend himſelf; whereupon General *Monk* having laid formal Siege to the Town, and ſummon'd the Major to ſurrender; but he ſlighted the Charge, becauſe at that time he had Notice, that General *Leſly* and ſeveral other Noblemen were raiſing Forces in *Merns* and *Angus*, intending to raiſe the Siege; which Deſign being made known to General *Monk*, he ſent General *Morgan* with 1000 Horſe, to diſturb their Levies; and *Morgan* underſtanding, that the Noblemen with a ſmall Party were in a little Town call'd *Ellet*, he march'd quietly thither, and coming to the Town before Break of Day, he ſurpris'd the Noblemen, and took about 300 Priſoners, the chief of which were General *Leſly*, the Earls of *Marſhal*, *Crawford*, Lords *Keith*, *Ogilvie*, *Bargeny*, and *Hume*, which, with ſeveral other Noblemen of Note, were put on Board a Ship, and ſent Priſoners to *London*.

The Caſtle of *Stirling* ſurrenders to *Monk*.

Several Noblemen ſurpris'd by Collonel *Morgan*.

After the Surpriſe of *Ellet*, the *Engliſh* Army attack'd the Town more vigorouſly; and altho' it was valiantly defended by the Beſieg'd, they took it by Storm, and the Soldiers had Leave for the Space of Four Hours to plunder and burn the Town, and kill the Inhabitants; and as at the taking of *Stirling*, the Merchants of *Edinburgh*, and ſeveral other Towns, as alſo ſeveral Country Gentlemen, had ſent the beſt Part of their moveable Goods for Safety to *Dundee*; the *Engliſh* Army found the greater Booty. It is ſaid, that beſides what the Soldiers kept and made Uſe of, they loaded Sixty Ships which they took in the Harbour, and ſent with the Spoil of the Town to *England*.

The Town of *Dundee* ſtorm'd and taken.

After *Dundee* was taken, in this manner the Garriſons of *Aberdeen*, *Dunbarton*, St. *Andrew*'s, and *Dunnoter Caſtle*, with ſeveral other Towns, Caſtles, and ſtrong Places ſoon after ſurrender'd; and the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, the Earl of *Glencairn*, General *Middleton*, with ſome Chieftains of the Clans, having endeavour'd to raiſe an Army to defend the Northern Parts of the Nation, but were ſo watch'd and purſu'd by General *Morgan*, that they were oblig'd to give over their Endeavours to that Purpoſe: And at the ſame Time Four ſtrong Garriſons of *Engliſh* being planted in *Edinburgh*, *Stirling*, *Perth*, and *Inverneſs*, they diſperſt Parties over all the Northern Shires, where they diſarm'd all the Gentlemen; and at the ſame Time took all ſuch Horſes from them as were fit for their Service; they likewiſe erected new Courts of Juſtice, as alſo a Council of State made up for the moſt Part of *Engliſh* Officers, and in every Shire they appointed a Meeting, before which the Inhabitants were ſummon'd to ſubſcribe a Renunciation of the King, and Submiſſion to the Common-wealth of *England*. At the ſame Time the Nation was allow'd to ſend Thirty Commiſſioners to the Parliament of *England*, but the moſt of them ſhould be *Engliſh*: Beſides theſe Hardſhips, ſcarce any Ship was permitted to trade to foreign Countries, leſt they ſhould keep Correſpondence with the King and his Adherents. To this miſerable Condition was *Scotland* reduc'd, and continu'd ſo during the Uſurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*, who having at that Time the Command of the *Engliſh* Army, was ſoon after declar'd Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*; and in the Year 1654, he paſt a pretended Act, indemnifying the People of *Scotland*, but this general Act was ſo full of particular Exceptions, that no Perſon who had at any time been in Arms for the King or his Father, could with Safety plead any Benefit thereof: And at the ſame time, all the Nobility and Gentry who had given any Teſtimony of Loyalty or Friendſhip to the King or his Father,

The *Engliſh* plant ſeveral Garriſons in *Scotland*.

A Renunciation of the King, and a Submiſſion to the Common-wealth of *England* obliged to be taken.

A. D. 1654. *Cromwell* made Lord Protector.

Father, were fin'd in ſuch great Sums of Money, that their Eſtates could not bear; many of which noble and worthy Perſons were impriſon'd and proſecuted, with the utmoſt Severity of their unjuſt Laws. *A. D.* 1654.

At which time ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, to avoid Perſecution, fled beyond Seas, and lived in Exile till the Reſtoration. Mean Time *Cromwell*, with the Conſent of his Council, ordain'd that all the People of *Scotland*, and all the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, ſhould be incorporated into one Common-wealth with *England*; and in every Parliament to be held for the future in *Weſtminſter*, or any Part of *England*, in the Name of the Common-wealth, thirty Perſons ſhould be call'd to ſerve for *Scotland*; and much about the ſame time another was made, ordaining the like Privileges for the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

A. D. 1657. *Cromwell* adviſed to take the the Title of King.

In the Year 1657, ſome of *Cromwell*'s Flatterers mov'd in their Parliament to give him the Title of King; which Motion *Cromwell*, with pretended Modeſty objected againſt; however it was warmly debated in the Houſe, but by a Majority it was voted, that his Higneſs *Oliver Cromwell* ſhould only continue the Title of Protector, execute the Office of chief Magiſtrate of the three Kingdoms; and upon the 26th Day of *June* that Year, he was enaugurated with all the Marks of Royalty, except being crown'd.

Cromwell falls ſick, and dies.

In this great Power and Pomp he commanded the Nations, while the lawful Sovereign and Royal Family, with many of the Loyal Subjects, continu'd in Exile, being often oblig'd to remove by the prevailing Power of the Uſurper, and his Agents: But when this Uſurper was mounted to the higheſt Pinacle of Power and Fortune; he was cut off in the midſt of his Pleaſures, on the 3d of *September* being the ſame Day, he had obtain'd two great Victories at *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*. The Rebels kept his Body in State at *Whitehall* Six Weeks; after which it was buried in a moſt ſolemn Manner in *Weſtminſter* Abbey. After his Death his Son *Richard Cromwell* ſucceeded as Protector, a Perſon as much noted for his Folly and Simplicity, as his Father had been for his Courage, Cunning, and deceitful Policy. And *Lambert*, one of his Father's chief Confederates, having a conſiderable Party at that Time, he began to form Deſigns againſt *Richard*, as having Hopes to turn him out, and get himſelf made Protector. To which End he uſed all Endeavours to have the long Parliament which had been by *Oliver* again reſtor'd. This Revolution was follow'd by another, for ſoon after ſeveral Gentlemen in *Cheſhire*, and the adjacent Parts, armed themſelves in Defence of their Privileges, but were defeated by *Lambert*; after which Victory he had the Command of the Army, and having conſulted with his Council of Officers, they agreed, that a ſelect Number of Men, under the Denomination of a Committee of Safety, ſhould take upon them the ſole Government of the Nation; which Number conſiſted only of 23, whereof the Generals *Lambert* and *Fleetwood* were the chief Perſons: At theſe Proceedings the Members of the Rump Parliament were highly offended, but wanted immediate Power to oppoſe the Army.

A. D. 1658. *Richard Cromwell* ſucceeds his Father.

General *Monk* marches with his Army from *Scotland* to *England*.

Mean Time General *Monk*, who was in *Scotland*, where he had given great Teſtimonies of Favour to the King's Friends; and hearing at that time how Matters went in *England*, he left *Scotland*, and march'd with his Army thither; and having an Invitation from the Members of the long Parliament, to come to *London* with his Army; he accordingly went upon the 3d of *February*; and after ſeveral Conſultations with certain Perſons, the Rump Parliament was diſſolv'd. Mean time *Lambert* thinking to raiſe a new War, he was routed and taken Priſoner by Collonel *Richard Ingoldsby*.

Monk's reſolves to reſtore the King.

By this time General *Monk* finding the general Diſpoſitions of the Kingdom, he at laſt determin'd with himſelf, to uſe ſuch Means as might at laſt reſtore the King; yet with incomparable Prudence retain'd the great Secret in his own Breaſt, till he had wrought up Matters to his Purpoſe; and at laſt only communicated his Deſign to one Mr. *Morice*, a Gentleman of *Devonſhire*, and Sir *John Granvill*, who were both his near Relations, and

A. D. 1661. Persons of great Prudence and Integrity; and after having secretly corresponded with the King by Letters, he at last prevailed in his Design so far, that upon the 25th of *April* 1660, a free Parliament was call'd at *Westminster*, wherein it was voted, that the King should be call'd home from Exile to his hereditary Kingdoms; and accordingly the 8th of *May*, by Order of Parliament he was proclaim'd at *London*; and the 13th of the same his Majesty was again proclaim'd at *Edinburgh*, by the Name and Titles of *Charles* II. by the Grace of GOD, King of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. and some Days after the like Proclamation was made in all the Cities and Market Towns over the Kingdom.

The King restor'd.

May the 22d, General *Monk* went from *London* to meet the King, who landed the 26th at *Dover*, with his Two Brothers the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*: And upon the 29th, being His Majesty's Birth-Day, he, with a most splendid Retinue, enter'd the City of *London*, where he was received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy and Gladness by his Subjects of all Ranks.

He arrives at *Dover*.

He comes to *London*.

Thus was King *Charles* II. restor'd to his Father's Throne in the 30th Year of his Age, and in the 12th Year of his Exile, during which Time no Prince on Earth endur'd greater Hardships, or was reduced to such mean Circumstances, or liable to greater Dangers; yet, at last, it pleased the Almighty GOD to bring him back to his Kingdoms with the general Consent of his Subjects: And it is observed by those who were Witnesses to his Return, that no Prince on Earth ever enter'd a City in a more triumphant and splendid Manner.

The King, at his first landing, honour'd General Monk with the Garter. As also the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, and Admiral *Mountague*, who was afterwards made Earl of *Sandwich*; and at the same Time admitted General *Monk* and Mr. *Morrice* of his Privy-Council. This Mr. *Morrice* was the first and chief Instrument of promoting the King's Restoration, with General *Monk*, for which his Majesty Knighted him, and made him Secretary of State.

Some Days after, the King arrived at *London*, he went in State, with his Two Brothers to the House of Lords, where he pass'd an Act of Indemnity to all his Subjects, excepting only such as had been accessary to the late King's Murder, whose Names were therein mention'd.

An Act of Indemnity in *England*.

Concerning the Affairs of *Scotland*, at the Restoration; the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who then attended the King, seeing an Act of Indemnity pass'd for the Subjects in *England*, he advised his Majesty to grant an Indemnity to his Subjects of *Scotland* after the same Manner; but it being observ'd by some of the *Scots* Nobility about the King, that an Act of Indemnity had been pass'd in the Parliament at *Stirling*, when the King was in *Scotland*, in the Year 1651, and that a Ratification of that Act would be sufficient for the Subjects of *Scotland*; but when Search was made for the Records of that Parliament, it could not be found, for it seems, the Act, with several other Records, were lost or destroy'd by General *Monk*'s Army, when they took the Castle of *Stirling*, by which Means, the Indemnity was, at that Time, laid aside: But General *Middleton*, (who was by the King created Earl of *Middleton*, and made Commander in chief of all His Majesty's Forces in *Scotland*, as also Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle; and a Privy Councellor) having charged the Marquis of *Argyle* with a Multitude of Crimes, especially with having been accessary to the late King's Murder, he urg'd, that the Marquis, with some others, should be excepted from any Indemnity: And as the Marquis, upon the first News of the Restoration, having retir'd to the Highlands, he wrote to his Son, the Lord *Lorn*, (who had always continued faithful and loyal to the King, and was then in great Favour with his Majesty at Court) to procure Leave for him to wait on the King; but as his Father, the Marquis, had used him with great Severity, and threaten'd to disinherit him for his Loyalty to the King, he was not forward in the Matter: However, the Marquis, without any Encouragement, came to Court; whereupon, his Enemies having Notice of his coming, prevail'd with the King, not only to deny him Access,

The Marquis of *Argyle* accus'd.

He goes secretly to *London*;

Acceſs, but likewiſe had him committed to the Tower. At the ſame Time, Orders were ſent down to apprehend the Lairds of *Wariſton* and *Swinton*, whereof *Wariſton* having Notice, made his Eſcape to *Hamburg*, but *Swinton* was committed to Priſon. *A. D.* 1660. *Swinton* is put in the Tower.

The next Thing reſolv'd upon, was to reſtore the King's Authority, in the ſame Manner as it had been before the Wars: And at the ſame Time, Orders were given to demoliſh the Citadels and Garriſons made during the Uſurpation of *Oliver Cromwell* in *Scotland*, which was at firſt oppos'd by ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility; but the Earl of *Lauderdale* having repreſented how offenſive it would be to the Nation to continue *Engliſh* Garriſons in *Scotland*, thoſe Garriſons were evacuated, and ſome of them demoliſh'd.

The Church Government, at this Time, being in the Hands of the Presbyterians, it was moved to the King to reſtore Epiſcopacy, which Motion being at firſt oppoſed by ſeveral of the Nobility, the Conſideration of it was referr'd to the Meeting of a Parliament, which was appointed to meet in the Beginning of the next Year. Mean Time, his Majeſty ſettled the Miniſtry in *Scotland* as follows. The Earl of *Middleton* was appointed his Majeſty's Commiſſioner for holding the Parliament, and continued Commander in chief of all the Forces rais'd, or to be rais'd, in *Scotland*: The Earl of *Glencairn* was made Chancellor, the Earl of *Lauderdale* Secretary of State, the Earl of *Rothes* Preſident of the Council, the Earl of *Crawford* continued Treaſurer, and Sir *Archibald Primroſe* Clerk Regiſter. At the ſame Time it was appointed, that a regular Council ſhould be conſtituted at *Whitehall*, to manage the Affairs of *Scotland*, and every one of the Members of the *Scots* Privy-Council, while at Court, ſhould be admitted to ſit in this Council. At the ſame Time it was propos'd by ſome *Engliſh* Lords, that Two of the *Scots* Lords ſhould ſit in the *Engliſh* Council, and Six of the *Engliſh* ſhould ſit in that *Scots* Council; but that was oppos'd by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and laid aſide. The King is moved to reſtore Epiſcopacy. The Earl of *Middleton* appointed Commiſſioner to the Parliament, and other Officers of State appointed.

The Clerk-Regiſter, Sir *Archibald Primroſe*, having procured an Order from the King, to have all the *Scots* Records (which had been taken away by *Oliver Cromwell* from *Stirling* Caſtle, and brought to the Tower of *London*) return'd to *Scotland*; whereupon they were put on Board a Ship to be tranſported, but that Ship in its Paſſage being caſt away near *Berwick*, thoſe Records, and ſeveral things of great Value belonging the Crown, were loſt. The Records of *Scotland* loſt.

Matters being conſulted at Court, the Earl of *Glencairn* was ſent down to *Scotland* to call a Committee of Eſtates (which was a Cuſtom begun in the late Troubles, being ſome Perſons of each Eſtate, who met at ſuch Times as the Parliament did not ſit) to order Affairs for the meeting of the Parliament: And ſoon after the Earl of *Middleton* went down, and order'd the meeting of Parliament by Proclamation.

Upon the 1ſt Day of *January*, 1661. the Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, wherein the Earl of *Middleton*, as High Commiſſioner, made a Speech; wherein he demonſtrated the great Happineſs of the Nation in having the King reſtor'd after ſo peaceable a manner: And having declar'd the great Affection which his Majeſty bore to his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, he exhorted the People to make a ſuitable Return of Loyalty and Zeal for his Majeſty's Service. 1661. The Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*.

In this Parliament, the firſt Act was concerning Oaths of Obedience and Allegiance, which being paſt, was ſworn by all the Subjects. After which was paſt the following Acts, *viz.*

" An Act aſſerting his Majeſty's Royal Prerogative in calling and diſol-
" ving Parliaments, and Conventions of the Subjects, and making Laws.
" An Act aſſerting his Majeſty's Royal Prerogative in the Militia, and ma-
" king Peace and War. An Act, diſcharging the League and Covenant to
" be renew'd without his Majeſty's Approbation. With ſeveral other Acts,
" condemning the Acts and Proceedings of the ſeveral Parliaments, againſt
" the late, or his preſent Majeſty, ſince the Year 1633. And, at the ſame

Acts made in this Parliament.

A. D. 1661. " time, paſt an Act, allowing his Majeſty 40000 Pound Sterling (more " than what formerly belong'd to the Crown) of yearly Revenue, during " his Life; to be rais'd by Exciſe on Beer and Ale. And, at the ſame time, " two Troops of Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot, were rais'd, and appoin- " ted for his Majeſty's Guards.

After the Death of the late *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, who died without Iſſue of his own Body, the Eſtate and Honours of that moſt noble Family devolv'd on the Lady *Anne*, eldeſt Daughter of *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, the elder Brother of *William*; which Lady *Anne* was marry'd to the Lord *William Dowglaſs*, Earl of *Selkirk*, the eldeſt Son, by a ſecond Marriage, of *William* firſt Marquiſs of *Dowglaſs*, and *Mary*, Daughter to *George* Marquiſs of *Huntly*. The Earl of *Selkirk*, by his Marriage Articles with the Dutcheſs, Heireſs of *Hamilton*, agreed to change his Sirname, as alſo for his Poſterity, from *Dowglaſs* to *Hamilton*: And, upon the King's Reſtoration, with the Conſent of the Dutcheſs his Wife, he was, by Letters Patent, dated the 20th of *September*, 1660. rais'd to the Dignity of Duke of *Hamilton*, for his own Life-time. And as this noble Peer, like his Great Anceſtors, had upon all Occaſions given great Proof of his Loyalty and Fidelity; and being a Perſon of great Abilities, he appear'd in this Parliament according to his Rank and Dignity; and when a Motion was made to reſtore Epiſcopacy, his Grace appear'd very much for it, but the Motion was laid aſide at that time.

The Dutcheſs Heireſs of *Hamilton* married to *William Dowglaſs* Earl of *Selkirk*.

His Name chang'd to *Hamilton*, and created Duke.

Upon the 30th of *January*, this Year, the Bodies of *Oliver Cromwell*, *Henry Ireton*, and *John Bradſhaw*, who had been dead for ſome time, were taken out of their Graves, and hang'd up at *Tyburn*; after which the Bodies were buried under the Gallows, and their Heads put up on *Weſtminſter* Hall. And, about the ſame time, the Army who had ſerv'd before the King's Reſtoration were disbanded.

Oliver Cromwell, *Ireton*, and *Bradſhaw* taken up, and hang'd at *Tyburn*.

In the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, a Bill of Attainder was brought againſt the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, wherein he was indicted, *of being chiefly concern'd in delivering up the King at* Newcaſtle; *his oppoſing the Engagement in* 1648. *by heading the Inſurrection in the Weſt*; *and that he had receiv'd and introduc'd* Cromwell *into* Scotland, *after the Duke of* Hamilton's *Defeat at* Preſton; *as alſo of having forbid the Commiſſioners at* London *to oppoſe the Trial and Murder of the late King*; *and keeping Correſpondence*, *and giving Obedience to* Oliver Cromwell. And being brought to his Trial the 13th of *February*, he prepar'd his Defences, and obtain'd a Delay of his Trial till the 24th of *May*; during which Time his Son, the Lord *Lorn*, made all poſſible Intereſt at Court to obtain his Pardon, but to no Purpoſe.

The Marquiſs of *Argyle*'s Indictment.

Upon the 11th of *May* this Year, the Body, Limbs, and Head of the moſt Noble *James* Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, were remov'd from the Places where they had been diſpos'd at his Execution, and brought to the Abby Church of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, where it was put in a rich Coffin; from whence it was carry'd by ſeveral Noblemen and Genlemen (among whom were the chief Perſons of his Kindred and Relations) in a moſt ſplendid and magnificent Funeral Proceſſion to St. *Giles*'s Church in *Edinburgh*, where it was entomb'd with the utmoſt Solemnity. As alſo the Corps of Sir *William Hay* of *Delgety* (the Marquiſs's faithful Friend and Companion, who had ſacrific'd his Life for the ſame Cauſe) having been likewiſe taken up and depoſited in the Abbey Church, was at the ſame Time carried in a moſt ſolemn Manner after the Corps of the Marquiſs, and entomb'd by his Side in the ſame Church.

The Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s Head and Quarters gather'd together, and put into a rich Coffin.

At theſe Funerals the High Commiſſioner, with all the Nobility and Members of Parliament, appear'd in the utmoſt Splendor; as alſo the Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Edinburgh*; and during the Proceſſion the Guns of the Caſtle, and Soldiers of the King's and Town Guards continu'd firing, by which, and all other Marks of Solemnity, nothing could exceed the Grandeur of the Funeral.

Not-

Notwithſtanding all the Interceſſion the Lorn *Lorn* had made at Court for his Father the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, he was brought to his Trial; and upon the 24th Day of *May*, was found guilty of High Treaſon, and ſentenc'd to be beheaded at the Market Croſs of *Edinburgh*, and his Head to be put up on the Tolbooth Gate, in the ſame Place from whence the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*'s Head had been taken down; which Sentence was accordingly executed upon the 27th of the ſame Month. *A. D.* 1661.

The Marquiſs of *Argyle* beheaded.

After the Marquiſs's Execution, a Miniſter nam'd *Guthry* was indicted for printing a ſeditious Book, intitled, *The Cauſe of GOD's Wrath upon the Nation*: Wherein he had charg'd the King with ſeveral Crimes; and having declin'd the Authority of Law, and us'd ſeveral treaſonable Speeches and Practices, for which he was ſentenc'd and hang'd. At the ſame time the Laird of *Aſſyn* was try'd, for betraying the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*; but either by Intereſt, or Want of Proof of his Crime, he was acquitted. The Laird of *Wariſton*, being abſent, was found guilty of High Treaſon, and attainted. The Laird of *Swinton*, who had been attainted in the Parliament of *Stirling*, was brought before this Parliament, to hear what he had to ſay againſt the Execution of the Sentence; but he being then turn'd Quaker, confeſs'd that the Evil Spirit mov'd him to commit many Errors, of which he had heartily repented, and expreſs'd his Repentance in ſuch moving Language, that he found means to have his Caſe ſo repreſented to the King, that he was admitted into the Indemnity.

Mr. *Guthry*, a Miniſter, executed.

Swinton's Appology.

The Parliament being adjourn'd, the Earl of *Middleton* the Commiſſioner, went to *London*, to give the King an Account of the Proceedings. After his coming to Court, the King call'd a Council of the *Scots* Nobility, wherein he acquainted them of his Deſigns to reſtore the Lord *Lorn* to his Father's Eſtate and Dignity; which was oppos'd by ſome, who expected to have ſhar'd in that Eſtate; yet in Conſideration of his Loyalty, the King perſiſted in his Reſolution.

Lord *Lorn* reſtor'd to his Father's Eſtate.

At this time Mr. *James Sharp*, an eminent Miniſter, who had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by contributing his ſecret Endeavours to ſerve the King during his Exile, tho' he had been very much truſted by the Presbyterians all that time; and finding at this time ſeveral of the Nobility, and moſt of the Nation, inclin'd to have Epiſcopacy reſtor'd, he took Opportunity to have their Inclinations ſo repreſented at Court, that it was mov'd in the Council; and as the King was no great Friend to Presbytery, ſeveral of the Nobility of *England* ſeconded the Motion, which had been ſeveral Times made: So that, at laſt, a Letter was wrote to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, acquainting them, That as the King intended to eſtabliſh Epiſcopacy, he deſir'd their Advice in that matter.

Motions for reſtoring Epiſcopacy.

The Earl of *Glencairn*, the Chancellor, who was very forward in that Deſign, having receiv'd the Letter, order'd it to be read, and ſeveral Debates happening, the King's Deſign was approv'd by the Majority of the Council: Whereupon a Letter was return'd to the King, aſſuring his Majeſty, that the Alteration would be of general Satisfacton to the Nation: So at laſt that matter was determin'd.

At this time the *Engliſh* Clergy having repreſented to the King, the Danger of filling the Epiſcopal Sees with any ſuch as had join'd in the Covenant, they entreated that ſuch of the Biſhops and Clergymen as had been turn'd out before the Beginning of the Troubles, ſhould only be admitted to be Biſhops. But at this time all the old Biſhops being dead, except one Biſhop *Sydſerff*, they upon that Occaſion propos'd, That he ſhould ordain ſuch *Engliſh* Clergymen as they would appoint to be admitted, to ſupply their Places in *Scotland*. But this motion was rejected by the Council, and Mr. *James Sharp* was made Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s and Primate of *Scotland*; and Biſhop *Sydſerff*, who had been formerly Biſhip of *Galloway*, was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Orkney*; Mr. *Hamilton*, Brother to the Lord *Belhaven*, was made Biſhop of *Galloway*; and Mr. *Fairfowl* was made Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*: And, at

Mr. *James Sharp* made Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and other Biſhops appointed by the King.

A. D. 1661. at the ſame time, Archbiſhop *Sharp* was impower'd to find out, and ordain ſuch Perſons as were qualify'd to ſupply the other Sees.

1662. The Archbiſhop having receiv'd theſe Inſtructions, he came down to *Scotland* in the Month of *February*, 1662. and having Notice that ſeveral Preſbyteries then ſitting, were preparing Proteſtations againſt Epiſcopacy; and that ſome of them had propos'd to enter into new Engagements to withſtand the Biſhops: He thereupon went immediately to the Council, and mov'd to them, to publiſh a Proclamation, Forbiding Clergymen to meet, either in Presbyteries or any other Aſſembly, without the ſpecial Permiſſion, Conſent, and Advice of the Biſhops: Whereupon a Proclamation was immediately publiſh'd to that Effect; to which the Miniſters, for the moſt Part, gave Obedience; yet ſome of them met and enter'd a Proteſtation againſt the Proclamation; but at the ſame time ſaid, they would give Obedience for the Sake of Peace.

The Presbyterians prepare to proteſt againſt Epiſcopacy.

A Proclamation againſt them.

The Reſtoration of Epiſcopacy being brought this Length, the Parliament met at *Edinburgh* upon the 8th Day of *May*; at the meeting whereof, an Act was paſt for re-eſtabliſhing the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops; and another, for regulating the Benefices and Livings of Biſhops and inferior Clergymen; and at the ſame time an Act was paſt, ordaining all Perſons in publick Truſt, within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to ſubſcribe a Declaration againſt the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and all Leagues and Covenants, Meetings and Convocations, or any Engagements, or taking Arms without the King's ſpecial Licence and Authority; which Declaration they oblig'd themſelves to adhere to, under the higheſt Penality.

The Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*, and ſettles Epiſcopacy.

Mean time it was mov'd in Parliament, to conſider of the Act of Indemnity, before propos'd; about which there happen'd ſeveral Debates, but at laſt they came to a Reſolution to draw two Draughts, the one being a general Indemnity, but in the other there were to be ſuch Exceptions, as certain of the chief Offenders ſhould be fin'd, or Puniſhments, not extending to their Lives, inflicted on them, at the King's Pleaſure; and that they ſhould be incapacitated to hold any publick Truſt. With theſe two Draughts Sir *George Mackenzie* (who was afterwards created Lord *Tarbat* and Earl of *Cromerty*, being a young Gentleman of great Capacity) was ſent to *London*; and having repreſented thoſe Draughts to the King, he return'd him, with Inſtructions impowering the Earl of *Middleton*, the High Commiſſioner, to paſs an Act of Indemnity, with ſuch a Clauſe as the Parliament and Privy Council might approve of: Which when it came to be conſider'd before the Parliament, there happen'd ſeveral Debates, which occaſion'd ſome private Animoſities betwixt ſeveral Noblemen who were divided in Parties; of which the Lord Commiſſioner had one Faction, and the Earl of *Lauderdale* the other: But as the Earl of *Lauderdale* had the greateſt Intereſt at the Court of *England*, he generally prevail'd in whatever Matters his Faction eſpous'd; ſo the Perſons excepted in the Indemnity were few or none at all.

Debates about an Act of Indemnity.

1663. Next Year, 1663. the Earl of *Middleton* went to Court; but as his coming was not receiv'd as he expected, the Cauſe of which he found to be an Accuſation given in againſt him by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, which was aggravated by ſeveral of his Party and Friends amongſt the *Engliſh* Nobility: And after ſeveral Conſultations and Anſwers given in by the Earl of *Middleton*, which ſtill were objected againſt by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, the Earl of *Middleton* at laſt was turn'd out of his Offices.

Earl of *Middleton* loſes his Offices.

Mean time the Earl of *Rothes* being appointed his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, and the Parliament meeting at *Edinburgh* the 18th of *June*, among other things, the Laird of *Warriſton*, who had return'd ſome time before to *Scotland*, being brought before the Parliament, he was convicted and ſentenc'd to be executed at *Edinburgh*, and ſuffer'd accordingly.

Warriſton ſentenc'd, and executed.

In this Parliament an Act was paſt againſt Conventicles and Aſſembles, and all other meetings of Congregations whatſoever, contrary to the Epiſcopal

copal Government; and at the ſame Time an Act was paſt, wherein the Nation obliged themſelves to raiſe an Army of 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, to be ready with 40 Days Proviſion, to march upon a proper Summons to any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions, to oppoſe Invaſions, to ſuppreſs Inſurrections, or for any other Uſe, wherein his Majeſty's Power and Authority was concern'd. And about the laſt of this Seſſion of Parliament, the King reſtored the Lord *Lorn* to his Grandfather's Title of being Earl of *Argyle*, and gave him Poſſeſſion of his Father's Eſtate; but there being great Debts thereon, a certain Part of it was ſold by the Conſent of Parliament, for the Payment of his Debts. *A. D.* 1663.

Lord *Lorn* reſtored to be Earl of *Argyle*.

In the Year 1664, the Earl of *Glencairn*, then Chancellor, departed this Life, whereupon great Intereſt was made to have the Earl of *Tweddale* advanced to that Office; but by the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s Intereſt at Court, the Earl of *Rothes* was preferred. *A. D.* 1664.

In 1665, ſeveral Miniſters who had uſed Conventicles and other Meetings being taken Notice of, and Orders given to proſecute them, many of the Inhabitants of the Weſtern Shires, who frequented thoſe Conventicles, begun to appear in a tumultuous Manner; whereupon Sir *James Turner*, with a Party of the Guards was ſent to ſuppreſs them. And when he appear'd in thoſe Parts, they all diſperſt and return'd to their Homes; but ſome of their Ringleaders fearing Proſecution, fled to *Holland*; and having reſided ſome Time in *Rotterdam*, they took Opportunity to ſend over Money and Arms to their Party, to be in Readineſs in caſe of any further Occaſion. Mean Time the Government having Notice of their Preparations, Orders were given to raiſe more Forces, and to have an Army in Readineſs in caſe of Neceſſity, of which Troops the King appointed General *Dalziel* the chief Commander, and Collonel *Drummond* as his Lieutenant, both which Officers had ſerv'd in the Wars under the King, and afterwards by the King's Recommendation in *Muſcovy*; where, by their Courage and Bravery, they were advanc'd to be General Officers: But before theſe Forces could be raiſed, new Inſurrections begun in the Weſt, and they continu'd their Meetings; and in *September* 1666, they met together in ſuch a ſtrong Party, that they ſurpris'd Sir *James Turner* in *Dumfries*, and having defeated his Party, they took himſelf and ſeveral of his Soldiers Priſoners; after which Victory their Number daily increas'd, and having a formidable Army they march'd ſtraight towards *Edinburgh*, but by that Time General *Dalziel* having got a Party of Horſe in Readineſs, he attack'd the Rebels at *Pentlandhills*, who ſeeing him approach, the Fanatick Preachers who were their Ringleaders, fell to Prayers and ſinging of Pſalms; after which they exhorted their Party to engage the King's Forces with Courage, and aſſur'd them of Victory; and coming to a cloſe Engagement, they receiv'd the firſt Charge of the King's Troops, but were ſoon put to Confuſion, ſo that about Fifty or Sixty of them were ſlain on the Spot, and about 130 taken Priſoners, the reſt fled in great Confuſion. Of the Priſoners taken Ten were hang'd on Gibbets at *Edinburgh*, and ſeveral others were hang'd at the Places where they lived, in the Weſt Country: All thoſe who were executed at this Time, were offer'd to have their Lives ſaved, provided they would acknowledge the King's Authority, the Epiſcopal Church Government, and renounce the Covenant; but they were ſo inſtructed by their Preachers, that they were reſolv'd to die rather than condeſcend to either. *A. D.* 1665.

Inſurrections in the Weſt.

General *Dalziel* gets the Command of the Forces. *A. D.* 1666.

The Whigs defeat at *Pentlandhills*.

Several Weſt Country Peop e executed.

After theſe Executions the Nation continu'd in Peace, and in the Year 1669, *John* Earl of *Lauderdale* came down to *Scotland* his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, and called a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, which met the 9th of *October*. In which Parliament ſeveral Acts were paſt for the Security of the Peace of the Kingdom; and tho' in this Parliament ſeveral of the Ringleaders of the Weſt Country Tumults, had been forfeited by Act of Parliament; yet the King out of Regard to the Peace of the Kingdom, remitted moſt of their Forfeitures; which Indulgence was attributed to the Mediation of ſome of the Biſhops, who favour'd the Presbyterian Party; but as the Archbiſhop *Sharp* *A. D.* 1669.

The King remits the Weſt Country Forfeitures.

A. D. 1669. had oppos'd the Indulgence, and appear'd forward in profecuting the factious Party, ſeveral of them vow'd and ſtudied Revenge upon him; nor did they fail to execute their Deſigns. The firſt Inſtance of their Hatred of the Archbiſhop was in *July* this Year, as the Archbiſhop was going into his Coach, with the Biſhop of *Orkney* at *Edinburgh*, a Man came up to the Coach, and diſcharg'd a Piſtol at him, with a Brace of Bullets; but having ſhot the Piſtol from under his Cloak, he miſt the Archbiſhop, and ſhot the Biſhop of *Orkney* through the Arm, which was ſhatter'd by the Shot, but was ſoon cured.

A Man attempts to ſhoot Archbiſhop *Sharp.*

The Aſſaſin made his Eſcape, by ſhifting of his Apparel, and tho' diligent Search was made, and a Reward by Proclamation, for apprehending him, yet he could not be found at that Time.

While this Parliament continu'd, an Act was paſt aſſerting his Majeſty's Supremacy, over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical and Civil: At which Act ſeveral of the Subjects ſeem'd to be offended, but as the Privy Council had order'd and carried that Act, no publick Oppoſition was made; and at the ſame Time there was another Act paſt, eſtabliſhing the Militia and ſtanding Forces of the Nation, to be in Readineſs to march at any Time into any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions, by the Direction of the King and Privy Council; which Acts being mov'd and paſt by the Earl of *Lauderdale* then Commiſſioner, and his Party, it raiſed many Enemies to him in the Nation, yet his great Intereſt at Court ſecured him, and his Friends from the Malice of their Enemies.

An Act of Supremacy, &c.

A. D. 1676. The Parliament met again at *Edinburgh*, upon the 28th of *July* 1670, wherein certain Commiſſioners of *Scotland* were appointed to treat with the Commiſſioners of *England*, concerning an Union of both Nations; but ſuch inſuperable Difficulties appear'd, that the Deſign was laid aſide, and the Parliament adjourn'd upon the 22d of *Auguſt*. In the Third and Fourth Seſſions of this Parliament, the Earl of *Lauderdale* continued Commiſſioner; and in Teſtimony of his great Ability and Favour with the King, he was upon the 2d of *May* 1672, created Duke of *Lauderdale*, and to the Heirs-male of his Body.

An Union propoſed between *Scotland* and *England.*

1672. *Lauderdale* made a Duke.

From the Year 1672, to the Year 1678, the Nation continu'd in a tolerable Condition of Peace and Quietneſs, only ſome private Animoſities among the divided Parties of Nobility and Churchmen, which, tho' pretty hot among themſelves, yet made no publick Diſturbance: For the Duke of *Lauderdale* and his Party managed Matters ſo, that they ſuppreſs'd all the Endeavours of their Enemies.

Scotland in Quietneſs from 1672 to 1678.

During this Time, as there had been War betwixt *England* and *Holland*, it was rumour'd that Aſſiſtance had been ſent to the diſaffected People in the Weſt; whereupon ſome Parties of the King's Forces were ſent to quarter in theſe Parts of the Country, by which Means they were kept quiet, tho' at the ſame Time ſeveral of their Party were contriving all Means to be revenged on the chief Perſons of the Epiſcopal Party, eſpecially the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, who in *April* 1679, being at *Edinburgh*, and having concerted Matters with Sir *George Mackenzie* of *Roſehaugh*, then the King's Advocate, to ſuppreſs the Fanatick Party, who were then making ſome Appearances of riſing again in the Weſt; he left *Edinburgh* upon *Friday* the 2d of *May*, (being then reſolv'd to take his Leave of St. *Andrew*'s, in order to return to *Edinburgh*, from whence he intended a Journey to *London*) and lodging on *Friday*'s Night at a Village called *Kennoway* in *Fife*; on *Saturday* Morning he took Coach with his Daughter Mrs. *Iſobel Sharp*, and as he paſſed by *Struther* Houſe, he ſent a Servant to make his Complement and Excuſe to the Earl of *Crawford*, that he could not wait on him at that Time, but would in his Return. A few Minutes after the Servant left the Coach, the Coachman perceiv'd ſome arm'd Men making towards them; whereupon he call'd to the Poſtilion to drive hard, the Archbiſhop finding the Coach run ſwift, look'd out to ſee what the Matter was, and perceiving armed Men purſuing him, he turned to his Daughter, and ſaid, *Lord have Mercy upon me, my poor Child,*

1679.

The Murder of Archbiſhop *Sharp.*

for

for I am gone. In the mean Time the Coachman put faſter on, and outrun the moſt Part of theſe Ruffians, while at laſt one of the beſt mounted of them got before the Poſtilion, and, by wounding him in the Face, ſhooting the Horſe which he led in the back, and cutting him in the Hams; he turn'd the Coach out of the Way, and gave Time to the reſt to come up, who immediately ſtopt the Coach, by cutting the Harniſs with their Swords, one wounded him with the Shot of a Piſtol, another with a ſmall Sword: Thereafter they called to him to come out. Upon which he compoſedly open'd the Coach Door, and ſtept forth, and beſought them to ſpare his Life, and entreated them not to bring innocent Blood upon their own Heads; but all in vain. Then he entreated them through the Bowels and Mercies of CHRIST, that they would at leaſt ſuffer him to die patiently, and have ſome Time to recommend his Soul unto GOD. Which being denied him, he fell upon his Knees, and while he was holding up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, and praying earneſtly to GOD, he was firſt deeply wounded in the Wreſts and Backs of his uplifted Hands, and receiving in his Head and other Parts of his Body, Twenty two great Wounds, he died on the Spot. *A. D.* 1679.

The Names of the Aſſaſines.

The Names of theſe inhuman and bloody Murderers were, *John Balfour* of *Kinloch*, *David Hackſton* of *Rathillet*, *George Balfour* in *Gilſton*, *James Ruſſel* in *Kettle*, *Robert Dingwall* a Tenant's Son in *Caddam*, *Andrew Guillan* Webſter in *Balmerinoch*, *Alexander* and *Andrew Henderſons*, Sons to *John Henderſon* in *Kilbrachmont*, and *George Fleming*, Son to *George Fleming* in *Balboothie*. The Place where this barbarous Murder was committed, is called *Magus Moor*, within Two Miles, and in Sight of St. *Andrew*'s. The Privy Council at *Edinburgh* having Notice thereof, immediately ſent an Expreſs to the King, whereupon his Majeſty order'd a Proclamation to be iſſued for apprehending the Murderers; and tho' they eſcap'd at that Time, yet moſt of them were taken afterwards, and hang'd in the Graſs-market of *Edinburgh*.

Inſurrections in the Weſt.

About a Week after this Murder was committed, a Body of the Fanaticks came to *Rutherglen* near *Glaſgow*, where they proclaim'd the Covenant; and having burnt ſeveral Acts of Parliament made after the Reſtoration, they affixt a ſeditious Declaration upon the Market-Croſs, and attempted to do the ſame at *Glaſgow*; but were prevented by ſome of the King's Forces who lay there: However on *Sunday* the firſt of *June*, they rendevouz'd on *Loudon Hill*, being in Number between 1500 and 2000 well armed; whereof Notice being brought to *Glaſgow*, Captain *Graham* of *Claverhouſe*, marched out againſt them with a Troop of Horſe, and another of Dragoons; and coming up to an Engagement with them, he attack'd them, but was ſoon overpower'd by their great Numbers, and obliged to retire with the Loſs of 30 of his Troopers and Dragoons, beſides his Cornet, who was of his own Name. After this Defeat *Claverhouſe* return'd to *Glaſgow*, where the Lord *Roſs* lay with two Regiments of Foot, and the next Day the Rebels coming up to the City, were beat back by the Lord *Roſs* and *Claverhouſe*'s Forces; but in a few Days after they rendevouz'd at *Shawhead Moor*, where they were join'd by great Numbers; ſo that their Army amounted to near 16000, whereof, when the Lord *Roſs* and *Claverhouſe* had Notice, they march'dto *Stirling* to joyn the reſt of the King's Forces, and the Rebels remov'd to *Bothwell-bridge*, where they form'd a Camp.

They defeat a Party of the King's Forces.

They come to *Bothwell-Bridge*.

The Earl of *Linlithgow* being made Major General, inſtead of the deceaſt Major General Sir *George Monro*, he raiſed all the Forces that he could, and order'd all the ſtanding Troops of the Nation to meet together at *Falkirk*, where being come, he was joyn'd by the Lord *Roſs* and *Claverhouſe*; and having conſulted, they propos'd to attack the Rebels: But when they were upon their March, there came Orders from the Privy Council to the Earl of *Linlithgow*, to return with all the King's Forces to *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Linlithgow* made Major General.

Mean Time the Duke of *Monmouth*, with ſeveral other Officers, being ſent from *London* on that Occaſion, he arriv'd at *Edinburgh* on the 17th of *June*; and having review'd the Army, he march'd with all the King's For-

The Duke of *Monmouth* comes to *Scotland*.

A. D. 1679. ces to *Bothwell* Bridge, where about 12000 of the Rebels were encamp'd, and had fortify'd the Paſs of the Bridge.

The Duke, at his firſt coming up, ſent Notice to the Rebels, That the King had given him a Commiſſion to offer them every Third Church in the Kingdom, with ſeveral other Priviledges, upon Condition, that they would lay down their Arms, and return to their reſpective Dwellings, and for the future, give Obedience to the Government.

The *Whigs* defeated at *Bothwell* Bridge.

Theſe Conditions being rejected, the Duke immediately order'd a Party of Dragoons to advance to the Bridge with Two Field-Pieces, wherewith having beat down their Fortifications on the Bridge, the King's Army march'd over the Bridge, and having fired Four Field-Pieces among the Rebels Horſe, they all fled in great Confuſion, and their Foot being attack'd by the Strength of the Duke's Army, were ſuddenly routed, and put to Flight.

We find, by the beſt Accounts of this Action, there were above 300 of the Rebels kill'd upon the Spot, and about 1300 taken Priſoners.

Of theſe Priſoners only Two Miniſters were executed, and 200 tranſported for *Virginia*, but were all caſt away at Sea: All the reſt were releas'd upon ſigning a Bond to live peaceably for the future.

The Bill of Excluſion againſt the Duke of *York*.

It was about this Time, that the Bill was brought in to the Parliament of *England* for excluding the Duke of *York*, upon Account of his Religion; about which there happen'd great Debates in Parliament; and Matters were carry'd to that Height, that the King was adviſed to ſend the Duke out of the Kingdom for ſome Time, yet the Parliament having ſtill inſiſted on the Bill; and that the Duke of *York* ſhould only be excluded for himſelf, but that his Poſterity, failing Heirs of the King's Body, ſhould not be debarr'd the Benefit of Succeſſion. Mean Time, while theſe Debates laſted, ſome Reports were handed about, that the King had been married to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother, which Reports coming to the King's Ears, his Majeſty thought proper to make a ſolemn Declaration, *That he never gave nor made any Contract of Marriage, nor ever was married to any Woman whatſoever, but to Queen* Catherine *then living*; but as the Parliament continued to urge the King to paſs the Excluſion Bill, his Majeſty thought proper to diſſolve that Parliament.

The King's Declaration concerning his Marriage.

The *Engliſh* Parliament diſſolv'd.

A. D. 1681. The Duke of *York* comes to *Scotland*.

Some Time after, the Duke of *York* return'd to *England*, and in the Year 1681, his Royal Highneſs came down to *Scotland*, being appointed his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, and call'd a Parliament, which met at *Edinburgh* the 28th Day of *July*, where his Commiſſion was read, he being therein deſign'd his Royal Highneſs *James* Duke of *Albany* and *York*: With him, at this Time, came his Dutcheſs, and the Lady *Anne*, afterwards Queen of *Great-Britain*. They were received by the Nobility and People of all Ranks with the utmoſt Reſpect; and the Duke's Behaviour was ſuch, that he was univerſally belov'd and reſpected by all People, according to his Birth and Dignity.

At this Time his Highneſs kept a ſplendid Court at the Palace of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, all Ceremonies being obſerved with the ſame Exactneſs as if the King had been preſent.

In this Parliament the Teſt Act was paſs'd, which occaſion'd great Uneaſineſs among the Presbyterian Party: However, Matters were kept quiet at that Time, and an Act was paſs'd, ſettling the Succeſſion upon his Majeſty's Iſſue or Relations, according to Proximity of Blood, without any Exception, which gave great Satisfaction to his Highneſs: And the Parliament being adjourn'd upon the 17th of *September*, his Royal Highneſs and Family continued at *Edinburgh* all the next Winter; but in *March*, after his Highneſs was call'd to *London*, where having ſtay'd 'till the Firſt of *May*, he embark'd in the *Gloceſter* Frigate with ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry of both Nations; and having a Yatcht and Three other Ships in Convoy, they proceeded on their Voyage; but on the 5th of *May*, early in the Morning, being off of *Yarmouth Roads*, the Ship ſtruck upon the *Lemon-ore Sands*, upon which the Duke, with as many Perſons as could get into the Pinnace, ſav'd themſelves on Board of the Yatcht, where his Royal Highneſs had no

A. D. 1682.

He is call'd to *England*.

He returns to *Scotland* by Sea, and is ſhipwreck'd.

ſooner

ſooner enter'd, than with Sorrow and Concern he ſaw the Frigat ſink to the Bottom. Among thoſe left, were the Earl of *Roxburgh*, the Lord *Obrian*, Son to the Earl of *Inchiquin* in *Ireland*, the Laird of *Hopton*, Sir *Joſeph Dowglaſs*, Mr. *Hide*, Brother-in-Law to the Duke, with ſeveral other Gentlemen, and about 130 Perſons, conſiſting of Sailors, and the Dukes and Noblemen and Gentlemens Servants. *A. D.* 1682. The Perſons loſt in the Ship.

After this ſad Diſaſter, the Duke arrived at *Edinburgh* upon the 7th Day of *May*, and having, by the King's Commiſſion, appointed the Lord *Haddo*, (afterwards created Earl of *Aberdeen*) Lord Chancellor and Preſident of the Council, the Earl of *Queensberry* Lord Treaſurer, and the Earl of *Perth* Lord Juſtice General, he took his Leave of the Nobility and Gentry in a courteous Manner; after which, he, with his Dutcheſs and the Lady *Anne*, with a great Retinue, went on board of a Ship call'd the *Happy Return* in *Leith Road*, and after a pleaſant Voyage, they arriv'd ſafe at the *Buoy in the Nore*. The Duke, Dutcheſs, and Lady *Anne* return to *England*.

The King being then at *Windſor*, and having Notice of his Highneſs's Arrival, he, with the Queen, and ſeveral Noblemen and Ladies, reſolved to meet him, and coming in a Coach to *Putney*, they went on Board the Royal Barge, and went down the River, and met the Duke and Dutcheſs at *Erriff*, where their Majeſties received the Duke, the Dutcheſs, and the Lady *Anne*, with the utmoſt Teſtimonies of Reſpect and Affection: And when they came to *Whitehall*, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* came to congratulate his Royal Highneſs on his happy Return, and his Eſcape from the late Danger. The King and Queen meet them on the River.

When the Teſt Act had been paſs'd, as before mention'd, tho' ſeveral Perſons were diſſatisfied, yet none made any publick Objection againſt it ſo much as the Earl of *Argyle* did, who was then a Privy Counſellor, and one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, who having for ſome Time delay'd taking of the Teſt, at laſt was obliged to declare his Reaſons, and being call'd before the Council upon that Occaſion, he declar'd, That he would take no Oaths to bind himſelf up from making ſuch Amendments in Church and State, as might be of publick Advantage. Upon this, the Earl's Enemies took Opportunity to accuſe him of diſloyalty; and being confin'd Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, in ſome Days after, he was tried before the Juſtice-Court, and by an Aſſize found guilty of High Treaſon, and ſentenced to be executed. But ſome Days after, he made his Eſcape in Diſguiſe, and fled over to *Holland*; where, in the Year 1683, he became acquainted with ſeveral of thoſe Perſons who had fled from *England* upon Account of Plots form'd againſt the King and Duke of *York*, as there had been ſeveral Plots diſcover'd, the chief of which happen'd in this Year 1683, being that call'd the *Rye-houſe* Plot, the Particulars of which being ſo fully mention'd in the Hiſtories of that Nation, and ſo generally well known, I think it needleſs to trouble the Reader with it here. The Earl of *Argyle* try'd and ſentenc'd. *A. D.* 1683.

During the other Two Years of this Reign, the Kingdom of *Scotland* continued, for the moſt Part, in Peace and Quietneſs, being govern'd all the Time by ſuch as were the Duke of *York*'s chief Favourites: As alſo, at that Time, the Duke's Power was very great in *England*; for, as there had been ſeveral Perſons executed for former Plots, the Duke's Party ſo prevail'd, that all diſaffected Perſons were obliged to live in Quietneſs; and ſuch of them as had been detected, and found Means to eſcape, fled to *Holland*.

Upon the 6th Day of *February*, 1685, the King died at *Whitehall*, being in the 24th Year after his Reſtoration, and 55th Year of his Age. His Death was very much lamented by moſt of the Subjects of both Nations. The King's Death.

This King was generally allow'd to have been endow'd with extraordinary Qualifications, which, in any inferior Station of Life, had appear'd more conſpicuous to the World. Various Reports was ſpread of the Manner of his Death, eſpecially by ſuch as were diſaffected to his Brother, who did not ſtand to alledge, That the King's Life had been taken away by Poiſon, not without the Duke's Knowledge: But that Report I find by the beſt Authority, to be entirely groundleſs; and that his Majeſty died of an Apoplectick Fit, without any unnatural Cauſe.

A. D. 1685. The Account we have of his Sickneſs and Death is, That on the 2d of *February*, he was ſeiz'd with a violent Fit of an Appoplexy, in which he continued ſome Minutes as a dead Man, but being immediately let Blood, he recover'd his Senſes, and order'd the Phyſician ſhould be rewarded and pardon'd for having let Blood without a Conſultation of the Privy-Council. The King continued in a weak Condition for Four Days, during which Time, Doctor *Kenn*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, attended him. The King being ſenſible of his approaching Fate; he conferr'd with the Biſhop 'till the laſt Day, on which, it is reported, that the Duke of *York* brought Mr. *Huddleſton* (who had aſſiſted in preſerving the King after the Battle of *Worceſter*) he being of the Order of St. *Benedict*, confer'd in Private with the King; and the Night before his Death, 'tis ſaid, that he adminiſter'd the three Sacraments of the Church of *Rome*, *viz. Pennance*, *Extreme-Unction*, and the *Euchariſt*; and the next Day, being the 6th, he expir'd.

His Corps was, upon the 14th of *February*, privately entomb'd in *Henry* VIIth's Chapel in *Weſtminſter* Abby; where there is an Effigy in Wax-work, in the full Proportion and Reſemblance of his Majeſty's Body and Countenance.

JAMES VII. *The* 111*th King of* Scotland.

James, Duke of *Albany*, ſucceeds King *Charles* II.

JAMES, Duke of *Albany* and *York*, the 2d Son of King *Charles* I. was born the 14th of *October*, 1663. and ſucceeded his Brother the 6th Day of *February*, 1685.

The Account of the King's Death coming to *Edinburgh*, on the 10th of the ſame Month, the Earl of *Perth*, Lord Chancellor, and Duke of *Queenſberry*, Lord High Treaſurer, immediately call'd a Privy Council, and having read the King's Letter directed to them, the Lord Chancellor took the Oath of Allegiance, the Oath of Privy Council and the Teſt, and then adminiſter'd the ſame to the reſt of the Counſellors. After which they all ſign'd a Proclamation, and went to aſſiſt at the Solemnity of proclaiming the King, which was perform'd in the following manner:

The Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, together with the Magiſtrates and Town Council in their Formalities, proceeded firſt, bare-headed; next, the Lyon King at Arms and the reſt of the Heralds, with their Coats of Arms diſplay'd; then follow'd the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, with the reſt of the Officers of State and Privy Councellors, with other Lords both Spiritual and Temporal; and after them the Lords of Seſſion in their Robes; the Train'd Bands being drawn up in both ſides of the Paſſage, from the Parliament Houſe to the Croſs, where being come, they aſcended the Croſs; and the Lord Chancellor and Lyon King at Arms proclaim'd the King with the uſual Solemnity. After which the Privy Council met, and diſpatch'd a Letter to the King, giving him an Account of what was done, as to the Proclamation and the Oaths; and at the ſame time gave his Majeſty Aſſurance of their Readineſs to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of his Title and Perſon.

King *James* proclaim'd at *Edinburgh*.

The Biſhops of *Scotland* having met at *Edinburgh*, they ſent an Addreſs to the King, expreſſing their Sorrow for the Death of the late King, and their Duty and Obedience to his Majeſty: And the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* likewiſe ſent an Addreſs with the ſame Aſſurances.

Upon the 20th of *February* a Proclaimation was publiſh'd, to ſummon a Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh*, which accordingly met upon the 23d of *April* (which was the ſame Day the King and Queen were ſolemnly crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, being St. *George*'s Day) in which Parliament the Duke of *Queensberry* repreſented his Majeſty as High Commiſſioner.

In

In this Parliament they paſt the following four Acts, *viz.* 1ſt, An Act for ſecuring the Church, as then eſtabliſh'd by Law. 2d, For annexing the Exciſe upon forreign and inland Commodities to the Crown of *Scotland* for ever. 3d, An Act ratifying the former Cuſtoms of Juſticiaries Proceedings againſt Pannels already in Priſon; and concerning Proceſs and Citations for High Treaſon. 4th, Concerning Witneſſes: That no infamous Perſon ſhould be admitted Witneſs, eſpecially in the Caſe of Life and Death, or Treaſon: And that ſuch Perſons as were cited in Caſes of Treaſon, and refus'd to appear, ſhould be proceeded againſt as guilty of the ſame Crime they were to witneſs. *A. D.* 1685.

In the beginning of *May*, a Proclamation was publiſh'd at *Edinburgh*, for putting the Kingdom in a Poſture of Defence, and to be in readineſs with Proviſion and Arms, to aſſiſt and ſerve the King and Government, in caſe of any domeſtick Inſurrections or forreign Invaſions. For at that time the Government had Information, that the Duke of *Monmouth* (who had been baniſh'd ſome time before the late King his Father's Death, and then reſided in *Holland*) had conſerted Meaſures with the Earl of *Argyle* (who likewiſe reſided in *Holland*, from the time of his Eſcape out of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*) and that they intended to invade both Nations at the ſame time: Which Information prov'd true; for the Earl of *Argyle*, with five Ships, ſet to Sea from *Holland*, and coming into the Iſles of *Orkney*, he ſent his Secretary and Surgeon aſhore with ſome private Meſſages; but they were both ſeiz'd at their landing by the Inhabitants, who ſent them Priſoners to the Privy Council at *Edinburgh*. After this the Earl ſail'd about to the Weſt Coaſt of *Scotland*, and landed at *Dunſtaffage* in *Lorn*, where he put a Garriſon, and then march'd further into the Country, and publiſh'd his Declaration; the Title of which was in theſe Words:

Argyle lands in *Scotland*.

The Declaration of the Proteſtant People (that is to ſay) the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, and Commoners of all Sorts, in Arms in the Kingdom of Scotland, *with the Concurrence of true and faithful Paſtors, and of ſeveral Gentlemen of the* Engliſh *Nation join'd with them.*

His Declaration.

In this Declaration they pretended, that many Advantages had accru'd to the Proteſtant Religion by the War againſt King *Charles* I. extol'd the Fidelity of the Covenanters; declar'd againſt the King's Authority, terming him only *James* Duke of *York*; and exclaim'd againſt the *Engliſh* Parliament, calling them, Deſtroyers of the true Proteſtant Religion: And declaring, that their Reaſons for taking up Arms was for the Reſtoration of the Proteſtant Religion, the Extirpation of Popry, the Satisfaction of all who had been Sufferers for adhering to the Cauſe of the LORD: Declaring further, that they would enter into no Treaty, Agreement, or Capitulation with the King, but proſecute the War till their Ends were obtain'd; concluding, with an Aſſurance of Indemnity to all that would join them againſt a perſecuting Tyrant, and an appoſtate Party.

Beſides this general Declaration, the Earl publiſh'd one in his own Name, wherein he declar'd he had not taken up Arms with thoſe that had appointed him to be their Leader, for no private End nor perſonal Prejudice; nor expected no Reward, but the Recovery of his Eſtate, as it had been before the pretended Forfeiture of his Family: And that as he had ſuffer'd patiently for four Years in Exile, which he was compell'd to, by an unjuſt Sentence pronounc'd againſt him in the Reign of the late King, to whom he had been always loyal and obedient; but he being dead, and the Duke of *York* having invaded the Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom, he thought it not only juſt, but his Duty to GOD and his Country, to oppoſe and repreſs his tyranical Uſurpation: And at the ſame time he invited all true Proteſtants to concur with him in his Undertaking.

Againſt this Declaration the Parliament, then ſitting at *Edinburgh*, paſt an Act, wherein they ordain'd, to ſuppreſs all Field and Conventicle Preachers, and to puniſh them and their Hearers with Death and Confiſcation of their Goods: And another Act, declaring it Treaſon to take the Solemn

Proceedings of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

A. D. 1685. League and Covenant, as formerly impos'd on the Nation: And that all the Subjects of *Scotland* ſhould take the Oaths of Allegiance, and aſſert the Royal Prerogatives, whenever they ſhould be requir'd by the Privy Council, under pain of Baniſhment and Impriſonment: And the 3d Act was paſt to raiſe the Sum of 260000 Pounds, to be paid yearly, during the King's Life-time.

The Parliament grants a large Subſidy.

Mean time the Parliament gave immediate Orders to raiſe Forces; in which the Marquiſs of *Athole*, the Earl of *Broadalbin*, Sir *Ewen Cameron* of *Lochyell*, with other Noblemen and Gentlemen, Chieftains of Clans, rais'd great Numbers of Men over all the *Highlands* and Northern Shires, ſo that in ten Days Time there were near 12000 Men in Arms, between *Caithneſs* and the Firth of *Forth*.

By this time the Earl of *Argyle*, with Sir *John Cochran*, having rais'd ſome Forces by the diſperſing of the Declarations, they march'd to *Campbeltoun*, from whence the Earl ſent his Son, Mr. *Charles*, to *Cowell*, to raiſe all his Vaſſals in that Country, having charg'd them to bring out all the fencible Men between 16 and 60, with their beſt Arms and three Weeks Proviſion, to be in Readineſs againſt the 26th of *May* without Fail, or ſooner if they could. By this Means the Earl in a few Days had two Troops of Horſe and 700 Foot; and having march'd from *Campbeltoun*, he was join'd with 300 Men from *Iſla*, and being attended by the Ships, he embark'd for the Iſle of *Bute*, and took the Town of *Rothſay*; but hearing that two Men of War, nam'd the *King's Fiſher* and the *Falcon*, were come up to the Entrance of *Lochrowan*, they fortify'd a Caſtle call'd *Allangreg*, and a Rock that lies near to it, to ſecure their Ships that lay in the Loch; afterwards the Earl march'd towards the Head of *Lochfine*, having left 150 Men to guard his Ships and the Caſtle, where he had put his Arms and Ammunition.

Upon the 11th of *June*, the Marquiſs of *Athole* with a Party of 300 Foot, encounter'd a Party of the Earl of *Argyle*'s, to the Number of 400 Foot and 80 Horſe, which Party, tho' ſuperior in Number, were by the Marquiſs of *Athole* totally routed, many of them being ſlain, and moſt of the reſt were taken Priſoners: The ſame Day the King's Ships took the Caſtle of *Allangreg*, where they found a great Quantity of Powder, with great Store of Arms and other Warlike Proviſions.

The Marquiſs of *Athole* defeats a Party of *Argyle*'s Forces.

On the 16th of *June* the Earl march'd with his Army, who were near 2500, to *Gairloch*, and croſs'd the Ford of the River *Leven* above *Dunbarton*; of which, when the Earl of *Dunbarton*, Commander in Chief of the King's Forces, had Notice, he march'd with the Army from *Glaſgow*, and almoſt overtook the Earl of *Argyle*'s Army in the Pariſh of *Killern* near *Stirling*, but being late, they encamp'd that Night, and the Earl of *Argyle* got off in the Night, and made his Way over *Clyde*; the Earl of *Dunbarton* miſſing them in the Morning, purſu'd them with the Horſe, and left the Foot to come up at their Eaſe.

The Earl of *Argyle* being come to *Renfrew*, Sir *John Cochran* undertook to provide Guides, but they miſtook the Way, and led the Army into Bogs, where having loſt their Horſes and Baggage, the Foot were diſpers'd. The Earl of *Dunbarton* with his Troops came upon them, and having taken many of them Priſoners, the Earl of *Argyle* diſguis'd himſelf, and fled alone; and being purſu'd and overtaken by the River Side, he left his Horſe and run into the Water; Whereupon a Countryman ſeeing him, offer'd his Aſſiſtance to the Purſuers, and run into the Water after the Earl, who turn'd upon him and preſented a Piſtol, which miſſing Fire, the Fellow gave the Earl a ſevere Blow over the Head, which ſtun'd him ſo, that he fell, and in falling cry'd out, *Unfortunate* Argyle. Upon which they ſeiz'd him, and convey'd him to the Earl of *Dunbarton*, who ſent him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Argyle* defeated and taken.

Mean time Sir *John Cochran* with his Party took the Way towards the Sea, but ſeeing the King's Forces purſuing him, he turn'd and poſted himſelf in an Incloſure, wherein his Party were cover'd Breaſt high; but the Lord *Roſs*, who commanded the Party of the King's Troops, notwithſtanding

ing of their advantageous Poſture, attack'd them; in which Attack, altho' the Captain of Dragoons was kill'd, the Lord *Roſs* ſlightly wounded, Sir *Adam Blair* ſhot through the Neck, Sir *William Wallace* of *Craigie* wounded in the Side; yet his Lordſhip was no ways diſcourag'd, but made the Dragoons light from their Horſes, and led them on through the Wood, where he attack'd Sir *John Cochran*'s Men with ſuch Fury, that he ſoon broke through them. Sir *John Cochran* and his Son took their Way to make their Eſcape, but were taken by the Lord *Roſs*'s Party, and ſent Priſoners to *Edinburgh*. *A. D.* 1685.

Some few Days after Collonel *Ayloff*, and the Maltſter *Rumbald*, two *Engliſhmen*, who had been Managers of the *Rye-houſe* Plot, and had eſcap'd to *Holland*, being among this Party, were taken with about 200 more by the Earl of *Arran*'s Militia, who carried them to *Glaſgow*, and from thence to *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Argyle* being brought to *Edinburgh*, he was committed Priſoner to the Caſtle, and by the former Sentence, he was, upon the 26th Day of *June* beheaded, at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, his Body was interr'd in St. *Magdalen*'s Chapel in the *Cowgate*. The Earl of *Argyle* beheaded.

Some Days after the Earl's Execution, Collonel *Ayloff* ript up his own Belly with a Pen Knife in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, but his Wound not proving mortal, he was immediately carried up to *London*, expecting he would make Diſcoveries, but he denying to give any Satisfaction that Way, he was executed. About the ſame Time *Rumbald*, who was alſo Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, was ſentenc'd to be drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd; which Sentence was accordingly executed in the Graſs-market of *Edinburgh*. *Rumbald* executed.

Having here given an Account of that Part of the Invaſion in *Scotland*, it is obſerv'd, that according to the Agreement between the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Argyle*, the Duke was to have landed in *England* with all poſſible Expedition, after the Earl left *Scotland*, but was retarded in his Preparation, that he could not proceed till about the 11 of *June*; at which Time he, with the Lord *Grey*, and 1500 Men landed at *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire*; and having poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town, the Duke upon *Sunday* the 14th of *June*, about Three of the Clock in the Morning, march'd out of *Lyme*, and came to *Bridge-port*, from whence he publiſh'd his Declarations. Mean time the Mayor of *Lyme* ſent an Expreſs to Court, giving an Account of the Duke's Condition and Proceedings; which being peruſed by the King and Privy Council, it was laid before the Parliament; whereupon a Proclamation was publiſh'd, declaring the Duke of *Monmouth* and all his Adherents Traitors and Rebels: At the ſame Time the Parliament addreſs'd the King with Aſſurance of their Reſolutions, to ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, againſt the Duke and all other Enemies. And an Act being paſt to attaint *James* Duke of *Monmouth* of high Treaſon; another Proclamation was iſſued for apprehending all Perſons that ſhould publiſh or diſperſe his Declaration. The Duke of *Monmouth* lands at *Lyme*. The Parliament addreſs the King.

Upon the firſt Notice of the Duke's landing, the Dukes of *Albemarle*, *Somerſet*, and *Beaufort*, rais'd their Militia to oppoſe the Duke's March; but he being joyn'd by ſeveral Parties he march'd to *Bridge-water*, and from thence to *Taunton*, where he was join'd by others; ſo that he had now an Army of about 5000 Men. He then march'd towards *Briſtol*, expecting to have taken that City; but hearing that the King's Forces were upon their March towards him, he return'd again to *Bridge-water*, where he took the Advantage of the Town. Mean Time the King's Army commanded by the Earl of *Feverſham*, came upon their March to a Place call'd *Sedgemoor*, near *Bridge-water*, where they encamp'd: And the Duke having Notice, that the Duke of *Albemarle*, with the *Devonſhire* Militia, the Duke of *Somerſet* with the Militia of that County, the Duke of *Beaufort* with the Militia of *Gloceſterſhire*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* with the Militia of *Wiltſhire*, were all in Readineſs to joyn the Earl of *Feverſham*: He reſolv'd to attack the Earl's Army before the others could come up to their Aſſiſtance; and to that End, upon the 5th of *July*, about 11 at Night, he march'd out The King's Army comes to *Sege-moor*.

A. D. 1685. of *Bridge-water*, and about one in the Morning he came up to the Earl's Camp, expecting to have ſurpris'd the Army; but the Regiment commanded by the Earl of *Dunbarton* being upon the out Watches, they encounter'd the Duke's Advance Guards, and immediately allarm'd the reſt of the Army, who were ſuddenly put into Order: And the Duke's main Body being come up, both Armies engag'd with the utmoſt Fury, in which Action the Duke behav'd himſelf with great Bravery, but at laſt he was overpower'd by the King's Army, eſpecially by the Strength of the Horſe, ſo that his Troops were intirely broke and diſperſt, and the Duke himſelf forc'd to make his Eſcape by Flight: By this Means the Earl of *Feverſham* obtain'd a compleat Victory, there being above 300 kill'd on the Spot, and near 1000 in the Purſuit, with as many taken Priſoners. This Engagement happen'd on *Munday* Morning the 6th of *July*.

The Duke of *Monmouth* defeated.

The Duke and Lord *Grey* taken.

Some Days after the Duke and Lord *Grey* were taken in Diſguiſe by Country Men, and brought to the Lord *Lumley*, who ſent them under a ſtrong Guard to *London*, where they were committed Priſoners to the Tower.

The Duke writes to the King and to Queen Dowager.

Some Days after the Duke's Confinement, he wrote a Letter to the King, wherein he made a very penitent Acknowledgment of his Offences againſt his Majeſty and the Government; for which he in a humble Manner entreated his Majeſty's Mercy, promiſing that the remaining Part of his Life, (if it could be ſpared) ſhould be ſpent in making Reparations for the Wrongs he had done; at the ſame Time entreated he might be admitted to ſpeak to his Majeſty. By the ſame Meſſenger the Duke alſo wrote to the Qneen Dowager, to the ſame Purpoſe; and ſhe ſtill retaining her former Affection, and pitying his Misfortunes, prevail'd ſo with the King, that the Duke was admitted into his Preſence; where being come, he threw himſelf at the King's Feet, acknowledging that he derſerv'd to die; yet humbly entreated that his Majeſty would not uſe him with the Severity of Juſtice.

He is admitted to ſee the King.

The King having ask'd him ſeveral Queſtions, which the Duke anſwer'd, the King deſired that he might ſign a Declaration, that the late King his Father told him, he was never married to his Mother. To which the Duke readily agreed; after which the King expreſt ſome Concern for his unfortunate Condition, but giving him no Hopes of Pardon, the Duke ſet on an Air of greater Diſdain, and deſired to be returned to his Priſon, expreſſing his Readineſs to ſubmit to his Fate.

And upon the 15th Day he was brought to *Tower-hill*, attended by the Biſhops of *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, Doctor *Teniſon*, and Doctor *Hooper*, who aſſiſted to prepare him for Death. He was preſſed very much on the Scaffold to acknowledge the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance: To which he anſwered, *That he acknowledged the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *in the Communion whereof he lived and died.* And being again urg'd by the Biſhops, who ſaid, *That ſince he profeſt himſelf to be of the Church, he ought to acknowledge the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance in particular:* But the Duke ſaid, *That the general Acknowledgment of the Church of* England *included all.* After which he prepared himſelf for the Block, and after continuing in Prayer with the beforementioned Biſhops and Doctors, he was beheaded about Eleven of the Clock.

He is beheaded.

Thus fell *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, eldeſt natural Son to King *Charles* II. by Mrs. *Lucy Barlow*, alias *Walters*; he was born in *Rotterdam* in *Holland*, on the 9th of *April* 1649. In the 13th Year of his Age, he came over to *England*, and was created Duke of *Orkney* in *Scotland*, and ſoon after Duke of *Monmouth* in *England*, and made Knight of the Garter: In 1665 he was married to the Lady *Anne Scott*, the only Daughter then alive of *Francis* Earl of *Buccleugh*, who was eſteemed the greateſt Fortune, and moſt accompliſhed Lady of the Iſle of *Britain*. This Marriage being contracted by the King's Conſent, the Duke, to keep up the Name of that ancient noble Family, took the Name of *Scott*; whereupon he and the Counteſs were jointly created Duke and Dutcheſs of *Buccleugh*; by which Marriage he left

Two

Two Sons, *James Scot* late Earl of *Dalkeith*, and *Henry Scot* preſent Earl of *Delorain*. *A. D.* 1686.

In the Year 1686, the Parliament met at *Edinburgh* upon the 29th of *April*, wherein the Earl of *Murray* repreſented his Majeſty as High Commiſſioner. In this Parliament the Three Eſtates join'd in new Aſſurances of continued Loyalty, firm Adherence and Readineſs to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes to ſupport his Majeſty's Authority. At which Time, the Commiſſioner took Opportunity to repreſent the King's Affection and Regard for his Subjects in general; *And that as thoſe of his Subjects, who were Roman Catholicks, having upon all Occaſions hazarded their Lives and Fortunes to ſerve the Government, he recommended to the Conſideration of his Parliament, that they might have the Protection of the Laws, and ſuch Priviledges as the other Subjects enjoy'd: This Love he expected they would ſhew to their Brethren, as he was an indulgent Father to them all.* At the ſame Time, the Commiſſioner acquainted the Parliament, That the King, at that Time, did not demand any further Supplies, he being ſatisfied with what they had already granted was ſufficient; and that he had his Majeſty's full Power to conſent to all ſuch Laws and Regulations, as might in any Meaſure contribute to the Peace and Advantage of the Nation: And laſtly, that he had full Power to conſent to an Act of Oblivion, and general Indemnity.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

The Commiſſioner's Speech.

This Speech being taken into Conſideration, the major Party of that Parliament were inclin'd to paſs an Act in Favour of the Roman Catholicks, without any Exceptions; but ſome Members moved to appoint a Committee, to conſult the Statutes in Force againſt Papiſts, which being agreed to, the Committee were appointed, and having examin'd the Laws, they drew up a Bill, whereby it was agreed, *That Roman Catholicks were to be allow'd the Exerciſe of their Religion in private, without repealing the former Acts, which made them liable to Penalties for publick aſſembling together.* With this Condeſcenſion, the King ſeem'd contented, but being further inform'd, that upon paſſing that Bill great Debates had ariſen in the Houſe, he ſent an Expreſs to the Lord Commiſſioner, with Orders to diſſolve, or, at leaſt, prorogue the Parliament.

The Speech conſider'd.

The Parliament agree upon a Bill.

In this Year 1687, the Privy-Council receiv'd a Letter from the King, wherein he repreſented to them, That as by his Inſtructions to his Commiſſioner the laſt Parliament, he had inform'd him of his Deſigns to eaſe his Roman Catholick Subjects, to which he had received their dutiful Anſwer; and that now he thought fit to acquaint them of his Intentions to give an additional Eaſe to thoſe of tender Conſciences, to convince the World of his Moderation: And as he had the utmoſt Regard to the Regular Clergy of the eſtabliſh'd Church, he recommended to them to ſuppreſs theſe Enemies of Chriſtianity, as well as of Government and human Society, the Field Conventicles, and all ſuch as deluded his Subjects to believe their rebellious and ſeditious Doctrine. At the ſame Time, his Majeſty acquainted them, that he had ſent therein incloſed a Proclamation, the Particulars of which he doubted not but they would judge juſt and reaſonable, as they did to him. *A. D.* 1687.

A Letter from the King to the Privy-Council.

The Tenor of this Proclamation was, That his Majeſty having taken into Conſideration the many and great Inconveniencies in his ancient Kingdom, through the different Opinions in Chriſtian Religion, and the great Heats and Animoſities among the Profeſſors thereof, to the Decay of Trade, and extinguiſhing of Chriſtian Charity, he was reſolv'd, ſo far as might be in his Power, by Vertue of his Royal Prerogative, to unite the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects. He thought fit, by Vertue of his Authority and Prerogative Royal, to grant his Royal Toleration to the ſeveral Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion hereafter nam'd, *viz.* The moderate Presbyterians meeting in their Houſes, and willing to embrace his Indulgence, ſo as they did not build Meeting-Houſes, uſe Out-Houſes or Barns, or Field Conventicles. In the next Place, Quakers, and then Papiſts, in Favour of whom, he did ſuſpend, ſtop, and diſable all Laws and Acts of Parliament made againſt them, upon Condition they ſhould exerciſe their Religion in Houſes and

The King's Proclamation for a Toleration in *Scotland*.

A. D. 1687. Chapels, and no where elſe. His Majeſty alſo diſcharg'd them from all Oaths whatſoever, by which they were diſabled from holding Offices or Employments in the Kingdom: Inſtead of which he requir'd them to take the following Oath:

An Oath to be taken by, &c.

" I *A. B.* do acknowledge, teſtfy and declare, That *James* VII. *&c.* is " Rightful King and Supreme Governor of theſe Realms, and over all Per- " ſons therein; and that it is unlawful for Subjects, upon any Pretence " whatſoever, to riſe in arms againſt him, or any commiſſionated for him; " and that I never will reſiſt his Power or Authority, nor ever oppoſe his " Authority, or his Perſon, as I ſhall anſwer to GOD; but to the utmoſt " of my Power, ſhall reſiſt, defend, and maintain him, his Heirs and law- " ful Succeſſors, in the Exerciſe of their Abſolute Power, againſt all deadly. *So help me GOD.*

By the ſame Proclamation, the King alſo indemnify'd the Papiſts and Quakers, for all things by them done, contrary to the Laws and Acts of Parliament made in Times paſt. And for the Encouragement of the Proteſtant Biſhops and Regular Clergy, he declar'd, That he would protect both them and other Miniſters, in their Perſuaſions, Functions, Rights and Properties.

The Privy Council's Anſwer to the King's Letter.

The Privy Council return'd an Anſwer to this Letter, That his Majeſty's Proclamation ſhould be printed and publiſh'd according to his Orders: That they ſhould aſſert his Prerogative with the Hazard of their Lives, and were willing that ſuch as were loyal and peaceable, of whatſoever Profeſſion, might be at Eaſe and Security; conceiving that ſuch as were employ'd by his Majeſty were ſufficiently ſecur'd by his Authority and Commiſſion. And laſtly, They thank'd his Majeſty for his Aſſurance of maintaining the Church and Religion, as by Law eſtabliſh'd.

A Thankſgiving for the Queen's Conception.

Upon the 17th of *January*, 1688. an Expreſs arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, with an Order to the Privy Council, to proclaim a ſolemn Thankſgiving for the Queen's Conception.

Liberty of Conſcience granted in *England*. 1688.

About the ſame time, the King acquainted his Privy Council in *England*, that he intended to ſet forth a Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*: Which accordingly was publiſh'd the 29th of *April*, 1688. And on the 4th Day of *May* an Order was paſt in Council, That the Declaration ſhould be read on the 20th and 27th Days of the ſaid Month, in all Churches and Chapels within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and ten Miles thereabouts; and upon the 3d and 10th of *June* following, in all Churches and Chapels throughout the Kingdom. And further order'd, That the Biſhops ſhould cauſe the ſaid Declaration to be ſent and diſtributed throughout their ſeveral Dioceſſes, to be read accordingly.

Upon the publiſhing of this Order, the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, and *Briſtol*, drew up a Petition in Behalf of themſelves and ſeveral of their abſent Brethren, and others of the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſſes: The Tenor of which was, " That their Unwillingneſs to diſtribute and publiſh

The Biſhops Remonſtrance againſt the King's Declaration.

" the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, did not proceed from want of " Duty or Obedience, nor any want of Reſpect to the Diſſenters; but be- " cauſe the Declaration was founded upon ſuch a diſpenſing Power, as had " often been declar'd illegal in Parliament; and was a Matter of ſo great " Conſequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that they " could neither in Prudence, Honour nor Conſcience, make themſelves ſo " far Parties in it, as to ſpread or publiſh it over the Nation: Therefore " they entreated the King, not to inſiſt upon their reading and diſtributing " the ſaid Declaration."

The King's Anſwer.

His Majeſty was very much offended at their Petition, and in anſwer to it ſaid, *That he did not expect ſuch Uſage from the Church of* England, *eſpecially from ſome of theſe Petitioners; however, if he alter'd his Mind they ſhould hear from him, if not, he expected his Commands ſhould be obey'd.*

Upon

Upon this Occaſion ſeveral Perſons who had their own Ends to accompliſh, took Opportunity to perſuade the King, to preſs his Commands in that Caſe; and at the ſame time advis'd the Biſhops to deny Obedience: So that at laſt the Matter terminated in the Biſhops Commitment to the Tower, on the 9th Day of *June*. *A. D.* 1688.

The Biſhops ſent to the Tower.

Upon the 10th Day of *June*, being *Trinity Sunday*, between the Hours of 9 and 10 in the Morning, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Son at St. *James*'s; on the ſame Day, the King not only order'd the Lord Mayor of *London* to cauſe Bonfires and other publick Rejoycing to be made in the City, but likewiſe, by Proclamation, appointed a publick Thankſgiving, on *Sunday* the 17th of the ſame Month. And upon the 14th of that Month an Expreſs arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, with the like Order, appointing a Thankſgiving throughout the whole Nation; which was accordingly obſerv'd: And upon the firſt Account of the Queen's Delivery, publick Rejoicings were commanded at *Edinburgh*; upon which Occaſion great Bonfires, Illuminations, and Fire-works were made, with all other Demonſtrations of Joy and Gladneſs.

The Birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

The before-mention'd Biſhops being brought to their Trial, were firſt admitted to Bail, and afterwards acquitted; which occaſion'd great Rejoicings in and about the City of *London*.

The Biſhops acquitted.

Upon the Occaſion of the Biſhops Commitment many of the Clergy and others took Opportunity to exclaim againſt the Proceedings of the King and his Council; ſo that the common Complaint was, Of Arbitrary Government and the Invaſion of Religion, Liberty and Property: Thoſe Complaints ſtill increas'd, and were not a little taken Notice of, eſpecially by ſuch as were diſſaffected, or had ſuffer'd upon any Account under the late, or preſent Government; who having, by their Agents in all Parts of the Kingdoms, given an Account of the dangerous Condition of Religion and Liberty: Their Complaints made ſuch great Alterations among many of the Subjects; ſo that in a few Weeks time, many of thoſe who had made ſolemn Proteſtations of Obedience and Loyalty, and hazarding their Lives and Fortunes to maintain the King's Authority; had now quite different Deſigns; nor did they ſtand to make publick Profeſſion of their Sentiments.

About the Beginning of theſe Animoſities, ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility took Opportunities to repreſent the common Complaints of *England* to the Prince of *Orange*; but as his Highneſs and the Princeſs, upon the firſt News of the Queen's being deliver'd of a Prince, having ſent over to congratulate the King and Queen with all Aſſurance of Duty and Affection; and the Princeſs having order'd the Prince of *Wales* to be pray'd for in her Chapel: They did not ſeem at firſt to countenance the Complaints of the diſaffected *Engliſh* Subjects; yet ſoon after the Prince of *Orange* took particular Notice of ſuch of the *Engliſh* Nobility, as reſorted to him upon that Account; and after ſeveral Conſultations, a few, who at firſt undertook the Deſign, engag'd many, or moſt of the prime Nobility of *England*, to join in an Aſſociation to bring over the Prince of *Orange*, to demand Redreſs of Grievances; and ſo ſoon as he found a ſufficient Number had eſpouſed the Cauſe, he held ſeveral Conſultations with their principal Agents, and having concerted their Meaſures, he made all poſſible Preparations to execute his intended Enterpriſe.

An Aſſociation to bring over the Prince of *Orange*.

About the Beginning of *October*, their Preparations being repreſented to the King, his Majeſty at firſt could not entertain any Belief of ſuch Deſigns from the Prince of *Orange*, who had behav'd himſelf with all the Reſpect and Duty becoming a Son-in-Law, and Siſter's Son; but yet in a few Days after his Majeſty had too certain Aſſurance of what had been before reported to him. He was at firſt very much ſurpriſed, but in Conſideration of the Strength of his Army and Navy, he had great Hopes to render the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns ineffectual. Whereupon his Majeſty order'd the Lord *Dartmouth* to ſet immediately to Sea, to watch the *Dutch* Fleet, and to fall upon their Tranſports, if he ſaw them making towards *England*.

A. D. 1669. Upon the first Rumour of the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Invasion, the Duke of *Newcastle*, the Earls of *Lindsay*, *Derby*, *Pembroke*, and *Ailsburry*, the Lords *Falconbridge* and *Jermyn*, with several others of the Nobility offered their Service to the King; whereupon his Majesty gave Commissions to the Duke of *Newcastle*, and to the other Noblemen, to raise Two Regiments of Foot, and as many independent Troops and Companies as they could levy.

The Prince of *Wales* baptized.

Upon the 15 of *October*, the pretended Prince of *Wales* was solemnly baptized at St. *James*'s, and was nam'd *James*, *Francis*, *Edward*; about which Time a Pamphlet was distributed in *Holland*, Entitled, *A Memorial of the* English *Protestants, presented to their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of* Orange, &c. Wherein, after a long Narration of the Grievances of the Nation, they complain'd, that the King oblig'd his Subjects to own a suppos'd Child for the Prince of *Wales*; adding, that his Majesty would never suffer the Witnesses that were present at the Queen's Delivery, to be heard and examin'd.

This Pamphlet, (which was suppos'd to have been written by Doctor *Gilbert Burnet*) with other Reports, made such a great Noise at the Court of *England*, that upon the 22d of *October*, his Majesty call'd an extraordinary Council, and having sent for the Queen Dowager, several Ladies, and all such other Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as were then in Town, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, the Judges, and several of their Majesty's learn'd Council, to whom his Majesty made a Speech in these Words.

My Lords,

The King's Speech on Account of a Pamphlet printed in *Holland*.

" I have call'd you together upon a very extraordinary Occasion, but extraordinary Distempers must have extraordinary Remedies. The malicious " Endeavours of my Enemies have so poison'd the Minds of some of my Subjects, that, by the Reports I have from all Hands, I have Reason to believe, that very many do not think this Son with which GOD hath blest " me to be mine, but a suppos'd Child: But I may say, that by particular " Providence scarce any Prince was ever born, where there was so many " Persons present.

" I have taken this Time to have the Matter heard and examin'd here, " expecting that the Prince of *Orange*, with the first Easterly Wind, will invade this Kingdom; and as I have often ventured my Life for the Nation, " before I came to the Crown, so I think my self more obliged to do the " same now when I am King, and do intend to go in Person against him, " whereby I may be expos'd to Accidents; therefore I thought it necessary to " have this now done, in order to satisfy the Minds of my Subjects, and prevent the Kingdoms being engag'd in Blood and Confusion after my Death. " Desiring to do always what may contribute most to the Ease and Quiet of " my People, which I have shew'd, by securing to them their Liberty of " Conscience, and the Enjoyment of their Properties, which I will always " preserve.

" I have desired the Queen Dowager to give her self the Trouble to come " hither, to declare what she knows of the Birth of my Son, and most of " the Ladies, Lords, and other Persons who were present, are ready here to " depose upon Oath, their Knowledge of this Matter; whereupon the Queen " Dowager was pleas'd to say, that when the King sent for her to the Queen's " Labour, she came as soon as she could, and never stirr'd from her till she " was deliver'd of the Prince of *Wales*."

The Names of those who were examined about the Prince's Birth.

Besides the Queen Dowager, the Depositions of Forty Persons more were taken in Form: Of these Witnesses Seventeen were Roman Catholicks, *viz.* the Dutchess of *Richmond*, Marchioness of *Powis*, the Countesses of *Peterborough*, *Fingall*, and *Leitchfield*, the Lady *Bulkley*, Lady *Walgrave*, Mrs. *Mary Crane*, Mrs. *Isabella Walgrave*, Mrs. *Berigrina Turini* an

an *Italian*, Mrs. *Anne Caray*, *Mary Anne Delabdie*, a *French* Woman, dry Nurſe to the Prince, Mrs. *Judith Wilks* the Queen's Midwife, the Lord *Arundell* of *Wardour*, Lord Privy Seal, the Earls of *Murray* and *Melfort*, and Sir *William Walgrave* firſt Phyſician to the Queen. The Proteſtants who gave their Depoſitions at the ſame Time, being 23 in Number, were, the Counteſſes of *Arran*, *Mariſhal*, *Sunderland*, and *Roſecommon*, the Lady *Bellaſis*, Lady *Iſabella Wentworth*, Mrs. *Catharine Sayer*, Mrs. *Margaret Dawſon*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Bromley*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Pearſe*, the Lord Chancellor *Jeffries*, the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Mulgrave*, *Craven*, *Feverſham*, and *Middleton*, the Lord *Godolphin*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, Lieutenant Collonel *Griffin*, Sir *Charles Scarborough*, firſt Phyſician to the King, Sir *Thomas Witherly*, Second Phyſician to the King, Doctor *Robert Braay*, one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians in Ordinary, and *James St. Ammond* their Majeſties Apothecary. *A. D.* 1688.

The Subſtance of their Depoſitions being the Circumſtances and Condition of a Woman in Labour, and a new born Child. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with the Particulars of them here.

After theſe Depoſitions were taken, the King told the Lords, that the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* would have been preſent, but that ſhe being with Child, and not having lately ſtir'd abroad, could not come ſo far without Hazard; adding further, that tho' he did not queſtion but every Perſon there preſent were ſatisfied before in that Matter, yet by what they had heard, they would be better able to ſatisfy others; that beſides, if he and the Queen could be thought ſo wicked, as to endeavour to impoſe a Child upon the Nation, they ſaw how impoſſible it wonld have been: Neither could he himſelf be impoſed upon, having conſtantly been with the Queen during her being with Child, and the whole Time of her Labour. That there was none of them but what could eaſily believe him, who had ſuffer'd ſo much for Conſcience Sake, capable of ſo great a Villany, to the Prejudice of his own Children; and that he thank'd GOD, that thoſe that knew him, knew well that it was his Principle to do as he would be done by, for that was the Law and the Prophets; and he would rather die a Thouſand Deaths than do the leaſt Wrong to any of his Children.

Upon the 27th of *October*, this Declaration made by the King and Queen Dowager, with the ſeveral Depoſitions of the abovemention'd Perſons, were enroll'd in Chancery by Order of the King and Council.

But notwithſtanding of the King's Declaration, and all theſe Depoſitions which were carefully diſperſt among the People, yet it had ſo little Effect, that they gave Way to the former Reflections, and ſtill proceeded in their Deſigns to aſſiſt the Noblemen who intended to bring over the Prince of *Orange*.

The King having order'd all poſſible Preparations in *England*, he ſent down the Duke of *Gordon* to *Scotland*, to put that Kingdom in a Poſture of Defence: At his firſt coming having ſurvey'd the Garriſon of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, he repair'd the ſame, and put all neceſſary Proviſion therein; and at the ſame Time 3000 Men march'd from *Scotland* to *Carliſle*, where they were commanded to wait the King's further Orders.

The Prince of *Orange* ſets Sail for *England*.

Upon the 29th of *October*, the King had Intelligence, that the *Dutch* Fleet conſiſting of 52 Men of War, with a great Number of Tranſports, ſet Sail on the 19th from the *Brill* in *Holland*, having on Board his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, with the Marſhal *Schomberg*, Count *De Solms*, Count *Naſſaw*, the Heer's *Averquge* and *Bentinick*, and *Zuyleſtyn*, beſides ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Scotland* and *England*; the chief of which were the Earls *Shrewsburry*, *Macclesfield* and *Argyle*, the Viſcount *Mordaunt*, the Lords *Wiltſhire*, *Powlet*, *Ellan*, and *Dunblain*, Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Henry Herbert*, Collonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Major *Wilderman*, Doctort *Gilbert Burnet*, Mr. *Harbord*, Mr. *Ferguſſon*, and ſeveral others. At their firſt ſetting to Sea, they were driven back by a Storm, and with great Difficulty return'd to *Helvoetſluice*, and other Harbours, with the Loſs of ſome of their Ships: But ſo ſoon as they had repair'd this Damage, they again ſet to Sea, and the 5th of *November* landed at *Torbay*.

He lands at *Torbay*.

A. D. 1688. It is to be obſerv'd, that ſome Weeks before the Prince came over, two Declarations were drawn up in *Holland*, of which one was for *England*, and another for *Scotland*: In that for *England* his Highneſs declar'd, That his Deſign of coming over was to relieve the Nation from *Popery* and *Slavery*, and to ſupport and maintain the Proteſtant Religion according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſh'd. Of which Declaration ſeveral Copies were remitted to *Mynheer Fagel*, the *Dutch* Penſionary, who gave them into ſuch Hands, as diſpers'd them over all Parts of the Kingdom; and ſome Copies being carry'd into *Scotland*, at firſt gave great Uneaſineſs to the Presbyterians, upon Account that the Prince had declar'd to ſupport the Church of *England*. But their Uneaſineſs was ſoon remov'd by the Declaration directed to *Scotland*, wherein his Highneſs ſolemnly declar'd to re-eſtabliſh and maintain the Presbyterian Government in that Nation.

The Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration for *England*.

Another for *Scotland*.

As theſe Declarations made great Impreſſion on the People of both Nations; upon the Prince's landing great Numbers of People were in Readineſs in all Parts of the Nation: Of which he having Account, came ſtraight to *Exeter*, which being ſurrender'd to him, upon the 8th of *November*, he caus'd his Declaration to be publickly read.

The King having Notice of the Prince of *Orange*'s landing, he gave Orders to have all things in Readineſs to join his Army, which was then encamp'd in *Salisbury* Plain. As his Preſence was earneſtly deſir'd by the Earl of *Feverſham* and other General Officers; but the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Peterborough*, and *Oxford*; the Dukes of *Grafton* and *Ormond*; the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Clare*, *Clarendon*, *Burlington*, *Angleſey*, and *Rocheſter*, Viſcount *Newport*, the Lords *Paget*, *Chandos*, and *Oſulſton*, drew up a Petition, wherein they advis'd the King to call a Free and regular Parliament, to redreſs all Grievances in Church and State; and at the ſame time to uſe all Means to come to an Agreement with the Prince of *Orange*, and thoſe who had declar'd for him. To which Petition the King return'd this Anſwer, *My Lords, What you ask of me I moſt paſſionately deſire, and promiſe upon the Faith of a King, that I will call ſuch a Parliament as you ask for, as ſoon as ever the Prince of* Orange *has quitted this Realm: For how ſhould it be poſſible a Parliament ſhould be free in all its Circumſtances, as you Petition for, while an Enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near* 100 *Voices.*

The Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal to the King.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

Upon the 17th Day of *November* his Majeſty left *Whitehall*, and went to *Salisbury*, intending to review his Army, and to march with them againſt the Prince of *Orange*; but, contrary to his Expectation, thoſe whom he moſt confided in deſerted him; of which, the firſt was the Lord *Churchill*, who having the Command of a Brigade of about 5000 Men, the next Day after the King's coming to the Army, he went off, and join'd the Prince of *Orange*; after him the Duke of *Grafton*, Collonel *Berkley*, Collonel *Kirk*, and ſeveral other Officers likewiſe left the King's Army, and join'd the Prince of *Orange*.

He goes to his Army at *Salisbury*.

At this unexpected Deſertion the King was very much ſurpriz'd, yet was reſolv'd to uſe all poſſible Means to bring them back: Whereupon a Proclamation was publiſh'd, promiſing a free Pardon to all ſuch of his Subjects who had taken Arms and join'd the Prince of *Orange*, provided they would quit and deſert him within the Space of 20 Days; but this Proclamation had little Effect: And his Majeſty ſeeing his Army daily decreaſe by Deſertion, he reſolv'd to return to *London*; and being on his Journey, he found himſelf again unexpectedly deſerted by his Son-in-Law the Prince of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and Sir *George Hewit*, and coming to St. *James*'s on the 30th of *November*, a Proclamation was publiſh'd to call a Parliament upon the 15th of *January* following; and at the ſame time his Majeſty ſent the Marquiſs of *Halifax*, Earl of *Nottingham*, and Lord *Godolphin*, with a Commiſſion to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, who was then with his Army advanc'd as far as *Reading*; and thoſe three Noblemen having deliver'd their Propoſals, which was, *That as the King intended to call a free Parliament, he*

Several Noblemen & General Officers deſert to the Prince of *Orange*.

he desir'd that his own, as well as the Prince of Orange's *Army should be kept at a proper Distance from* London, *for the more free Proceedings of the Parliament in such Matters as came before them.* A. D. 1688.

In Answer to this Demand of the King, the Prince of *Orange* made the following Proposals:

Proposals sent by the Prince of *Orange* to the King.

" That all Papists be remov'd from Civil and Military Offices, and be " Disarm'd: That all Proclamations reflecting on him, and such as had as- " sisted him, should be suppress'd: That the Tower of *London* and *Tilbury* " Fort, be immediately put into the Hands of the City: That if the King " should be at *London* during the sitting of the Parliament, he (the Prince " of *Orange)* should be there also, with an equal Number of Guards; or if " the King should remove to any Place from *London*, he should also be at the " same Distince: And that the respective Armies should continue 30 Miles " distant from *London*: And that no more Forces should be brought into " the Kingdom: And, in the mean time, a sufficient Part of the Publick " Revenue should be allow'd to him, for the Support and Maintenance of " his Troops, until the sitting of a free Parliament: And, *Lastly*, To pre- " vent the landing of *French* or other forreign Troops, *Portsmouth* should " be put into the Hands of such Persons as the King and he should ap- " point.

The King, upon Consideration of these Proposals, thought them altogether unreasonable and inconsistent with the Honour of a crown'd Head to comply with, therefore resolv'd upon other Measures; and on the 10th of *December* he sent the Queen and Infant Prince, with a slender Attendance, down to *Dover*, from whence they were safely transported to *France*. The same Evening the King call'd an extraordinary Council, wherein, among other things given in Charge, he requested the Lord Mayor of *London* to take particular Care of the City, and Preserve the Peace and Tranquility of the same; and order'd the Council to attend the next Day, to give their further Advice upon the Exigency of his Affairs: Yet the same Night his Majesty took Barge at the privy Stairs, and being only accompany'd with Sir *Edward Hales*, Mr. *Sheldon* and Mr. *Delabaday*; and passing down the River, he went on Board of a small Vessel, with which he set to Sea, but being forc'd by contrary Winds upon the Coast of *Kent* near *Feversham*, when he came to that Town he was seiz'd by some rude Fellows, pretending to have a Power to examine all Strangers: Those Fellows took his Majesty's Gold and several Jewels from him. But at last some of them knowing him to be the King, they fell upon their Knees, and in a submissive Manner ask'd Pardon for what they had done, and offer'd the Jewels and Gold: The King took back the Jewels, but his Gold he distributed among them, and freely excus'd what they had done, knowing that they were ignorant who he was.

The King leaves *Whitehall*.

He is seiz'd at *Feversham*.

The next Day after the King left *Whitehall*, several Lords of the Council repair'd to *Guildhall*, where they drew up a Declaration to join the Prince of *Orange*, since the King had withdrawn himself: But having Information of his being at *Feversham*, they sent a Message, to signify their earnest Desire, that his Majesty might be pleas'd to return to his Palace at *Whitehall*: Whereupon the King return'd back again, and on *Sunday* the 26th of *December*, in the Evening, he arriv'd at *Whitehall*, attended by several of the Nobility, with a Regiment of his Horse Guards. Mean time his Majesty sent the Earl of *Feversham* with a Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, who was then at *Windsor*, lodg'd in the Prince of *Denmark*'s Appartment: The Contents of the King's Letter was, *That the Prince, if he thought proper, might come and reside at St.* James's, *and bring as many Troops as he thought necessary with him.*

The King sends a Message to the Prince.

This Letter being communicated to some of the Peers about the Prince, it was resolv'd that his Highness should, with all convenient Speed, advance towards *London*; but the Earl of *Feversham* being made Prisoner by the Prince, at the same time it was order'd, that the King should be desir'd to

A. D. 1688. remove within ſome Diſtance from the City; with which the Marquiſs of *Halifax*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamare* were diſpatch'd with a Letter ſign'd by the Prince of *Orange*; wherein he ſignify'd to the King, that it would be very convenient, both for the Quiet of the City and the Safety of his Perſon, that he ſhould remove to *Ham*, where he ſhould be attended by his Guards to preſerve him from any Diſturbance; but at the ſame time the Prince of *Orange* ſent his own Guards, commanded by Count *Solmes*, to take Poſſeſſion of all the Paſſes about *Whitehall*, which they did before the Meſſage was deliver'd to the King: And theſe three Lords ſeeing the Guards plac'd about 11 a-Clock at Night, they went at 12 a-Clock to the King's Appartment, and ſent an Account to the Earl of *Middleton* the King's Secretary, that they deſir'd Admittance to the King, with a Meſſage from the Prince of *Orange*; which being notify'd to his Majeſty, tho' in Bed, yet he order'd they ſhould be admitted. The Lords, after a ſhort Apology for coming at ſo improper a Time, they deliver'd the Letter, which the King having read, he return'd for Anſwer, *That he ſhould readily comply with it.*

The Prince's Meſſage to the King.

The King's Anſwer.

But after the Lords had taken their Leave, he call'd them again, and told them, *That he would rather go to* Rocheſter *than any other Place:* Of which the Lords having ſent Notice to the Prince of *Orange*, they receiv'd a Letter next Morning from Monſieur *Bentinck*, by the Princ's Order, ſignifying, that the King might retire to *Rocheſter*.

His Majeſty, upon this Notice, deſir'd that ſome of his own Guards might attend him, and one of his own Coaches, to convoy him to *Rocheſter*, declaring he could not go by Water in ſo cold a Seaſon, againſt Wind and Tide, without greatly endangering his Health. Mean time his Maleſty took his Leave of the Lords and Forreign Ambaſſadors in ſuch a manner, that many of them ſhed abundance of Tears; and then taking Barge, with the Earls of *Arran*, *Ailsbury*, *Leitchfield*, *Dunbarton*, and *Middleton*, attended by ſix of his Yeomen of the Guards, and 100 *Dutch* Guards, he arriv'd about Nine a-Clock at Night at *Graveſend*, and the next Day, in one of his own Coaches, went by Land to *Rocheſter*.

The King goes to *Rocheſter*.

About Three in the Afternoon, the ſame Day that the King left *Whitehall*, the Prince of *Orange* came to St. *James*'s, attended by the *Dutch* and *German* Officers, with a great Retinue of the Nobility and Gentry of both Nations, and was receiv'd with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy.

The Prince of *Orange* comes to *Whitehall*.

The King having remain'd ſome Days at *Rocheſter*, where he had Notice of the Proceedings of the Prince of *Orange*, and that he propos'd to call a Parliament, without any Regard or Mention of his Majeſty's Name or Authority; and that in all Addreſſes and congratulatory Speeches made to the Prince, they generally reflected on his Majeſty's Character and Conduct; he therefore reſolv'd to leave the Kingdom: And having communicated his Mind to his natural Son, the Duke of *Berwick*, he wrote an Order to the Earl of *Middleton* (who then attended him as Secretary) to give ſome Gold which he left to the Guards, and therein enclos'd a Letter, which his Majeſty order'd to be publiſh'd: And, about Three in the Morning, on the 23d of *December*, he went out a private Back-way, being accompany'd only by the Duke of *Berwick* and Mr. *Delabady*, and rode to *Dover*, where one Captain *Macdonald* waited with a ſmall Ship, wherein his Majeſty embark'd, and in a few Hours after, landed in *France*; and being arriv'd at that Court, was reſpectfully receiv'd by the King, who appointed the Palace of St. *German*'s for his Majeſty's Reſidence.

The King leaves the Nation.

The Letter which the King left when he departed from *Rocheſter*, was in theſe Words: "The World cannot wonder at my withdrawing my ſelf "now this ſecond time, I might have expected ſomewhat better Uſage, after "what I wrote to the Prince of *Orange* by my Lord *Feverſham*, and the In"ſtructions I gave him. But inſtead of an Anſwer, ſuch as I might have "hoped for, what was I to expect, after the Uſage I receiv'd, by making "the ſaid Earl a Priſoner, againſt the Practice and Law of Nations; the "ſending

The King's Reaſons for leaving the Nation.

" ſending his own Guards at 11 a-Clock at Night, to take Poſſeſſion of the " Poſts at *Whitehall*, without adverti ſing me in the leaſt manner of it; the " ſending to me at One of the Clock at Midnight, when I was in Bed, a " Kind of Order, by three Lords, to be gone out of my Palace before 12 the " the ſame Morning. After all this, how could I hope to be ſafe, ſo long as " I was in the Power of one, who had not only done this to me, and inva- " ded my Kingdoms, without any juſt Occaſion given him for it; but that " did, by his own Declaration, lay the greateſt Aſperſion on me that Malice " could invent, in the Clauſe of it which concerns my Son? I appeal to all " that know me; nay, even to himſelf, that on their Conſciences, neither " he, nor they, can believe me in the leaſt capable of ſo unnatural a Villany, " nor of ſo little common Senſe, to be impos'd on in a Thing of ſuch a Nature " as that. What had I then to expect from one, who, by all Arts, hath ta- " ken ſuch Pains to make me appear as *Black as Hell* to my own People, as " well as to all the World beſides? What Effect that hath had at home, all " Mankind has ſeen, by ſo general a Defection in my Army, as well as in " the Nation, amongſt all Sorts of People. *A. D.* 1688.

" I was born free, and deſire to continue ſo: And tho' I have ventur'd my " Life very freely on ſeveral Occaſions for the Good and Honour of my Coun- " try, and am as free to do it again, (and which I hope ſhall yet do, as old " as I am, to redeem it from the Slavery it is like to fall under) yet I think it " not convenient to expoſe my ſelf to be ſecur'd, as not to be at Liberty to " effect it; and for that Reaſon to withdraw, but ſo as to be within Call, " whenſoever the Nation's Eyes ſhall be open'd, ſo as to ſee how they have " been impos'd upon by the ſpecious Pretences of *Liberty and Property*. I " hope it will pleaſe GOD to touch their Hearts, out of his infinite Mercy, " and to make them ſenſible of the Condition they are in, and bring them " to ſuch a Temper, that a Legal Parliament may be call'd; and that amongſt " other Things which may be neceſſary to be done, they will agree to *Liberty* " *of Conſcience* for all *Proteſtant Diſſenters*; and that thoſe of my own Per- " ſuaſion may be ſo far conſider'd, and have ſuch a Share of it, as they may " live peaceably and quietly, as *Engliſhmen* and Chriſtians ought to do; and " not be oblig'd to tranſport themſelves, which would be very grievous to " ſuch who love their Country. And I appeal to all Men, having any " Conſideration and Experience, whether any thing can make this Nation " ſo great and flouriſhing, as *Liberty of Conſcience*; ſome of our Neighbours " dread it. I could add much more to confirm what I have ſaid, but now " is not the proper Time.

End of the Seventh Book.

BOOK VIII.

Containing an Account of the Chief Tranſactions from the Revolution, *to the Union of* Scotland *and* England, A. D. 1706.

AFTER King *James*'s Departure from *England*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembl'd themſelves at the Houſe of Lords in *Weſtminſter*, upon the 25th of *December*; and propos'd to the Prince of *Orange* to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs: And the next Day ſeveral of thoſe who had been Members of the Houſe of Commons in the Reign of King *Charles* II. with the Aldermen and Common Council of the City of *London*, by the Prince of *Orange*'s

The Lords and Commons of *England* deſires the Prince of *Orange* to take the Government.

A. D. 1688. Appointment, met at St. *James*'s: To whom the Prince made a Speech, wherein he mov'd the Heads of his Declaration; and, at the ſame time, deſir'd them to chuſe a convenient Place for their Conſultations; whereupon they appointed the Houſe of Commons at *Weſtminſter*: And having been there aſſembled, they elected a Chairman, and after ſeveral Debates, it was reſolv'd, to addreſs the Prince, and return him Thanks for the Care he had taken of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and deſiring he might continue in the Adminiſtration of the Government, and iſſue Circular Letters to call a Convention to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 22d of *January* enſuing.

The Prince of *Orange*'s Anſwer.

To this the Prince of *Orange* reply'd, That he would conſider of it, and give his Anſwer the next Day. And upon the 28th, ſeveral of the Lords and Commons having attended him at St. *James*'s, he told them, that he had conſider'd of their Advice, and would comply with their Deſire.

King *James* writes from *France* to his Privy Council in *England*

The King being then in *France*, and having Notice of their Proceedings, he wrote a Letter to the Lords and others who had been of his Privy Council, wherein, after repeating many Indignities and unjuſt Dealings of the Prince of *Orange*, contrary to that Duty and Reſpect due to him as his Uncle and Father-in-Law; beſides his being a King; he deſir'd them to make his Intentions known to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *London*; and to aſſure all his Subjects in general, That he deſir'd nothing more than to return and hold a free Parliament, wherein he might have Opportunity to ſhew the Sincerity of theſe Proteſtations he had ſo often made, in preſerving the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects and the Proteſtant Religion, and more eſpecially the Church of *England* as by Law eſtabliſh'd, with ſuch Indulgence to thoſe that diſſented from her, as he always thought himſelf, in Juſtice and Care of the general Welfare of his People, bound to procure for them. Concluding with his Deſire to the Privy Council, to ſend their Advice in what was fit to be done towards his returning to accompliſh theſe Ends. This Letter was dated at St. *German*'s *en laye*, the 14th of *January*, 1689.

1689.

Notwithſtanding of this Letter the Convention met on the Day appointed, and the Houſe of Commons came to the Reſolution, That King *James* having violated the the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, he had abdicated the Government; And that the Throne was thereby vacant. This Reſolution was carry'd up to the Houſe of Lords for their Concurrence; to which they agreed; But with theſe Ammendments, That inſtead of the Word *abdicated*, *deſerted* ſhould be inſerted; and that the laſt Sentence, *That the Throne is thereby vacant*, ſhould be wholly left out. The Houſe of Commons would no ways admit of theſe Ammendments; therefore they ſent to the Lords to deſire a Conference upon the Subject of theſe Ammendments: To which the Lords agreed, and both Houſes appointed a Committee to manage the Ammendments.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* proclaim'd King and Queen, at *London*.

In this Committee there aroſe great Debates about thoſe Ammendments, which laſted ſeveral Days, but at laſt they all came to a Reſolution, that *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, ſhould be declar'd King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and accordingly they were both proclaim'd at *London*, upon the 13th Day of *February* 1689.

Having given a general Account of the Affairs of *England* at the Revolution, I ſhall return to take Notice of what happen'd in *Scotland* at that Time.

The Proceedings of the Affairs of *Scotland* at the Revolution.

Upon the Prince of *Orange*'s firſt coming over, he cauſed his Declarations to be diſperſt over all the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was moſt acceptable to the Presbyterian Party, and gave them ſuch Encouragement, that they ſoon began to exerciſe their ſuperior Power, over the Epiſcopal Party. For the Lord Chancellor, upon the News of King *James* leaving *England*, immediately reſigned the Great Seal, and retir'd from *Edinburgh*; and as the Biſhops, and ſeveral of the Epiſcopal and Roman Catholick Nobility and Gentry, had publiſh'd a Memorial, wherein they declar'd their Abhorrene of the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns; the Presbyterian Party upon that Account took

took Opportunity to uſe them with the utmoſt Rigour and Severity; ſo that no Perſon that had ſerv'd in King *Charles* II. or in King *James*'s Reign, could freely appear. *A. D.* 1689.

The *Scots* Nobility meet at *London*.

In the Beginning of *January*, when ſeveral Noblemen and others, who adhered to the Prince of *Orange*, being at *London*, they were, by his Deſire, aſſembled to conſult what was proper to be done upon that Occaſion, with Relation to *Scotland*; and being aſſembled, they appointed the Duke of *Hamilton* their Preſident; and enter'd into a Conſultation, wherein they agreed, that a general Meeting or Convention of the Eſtates of *Scotland*, ſhould meet at *Edinburgh*, to conſider of ſuch Matters as would be proper to preſerve the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom.

The Earl of *Arran*'s Motion to the Lords.

Mean Time the Earl of *Arran*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Hamilton*, propos'd to them, *That they ſhould move the Prince of* Orange *to deſire the King to return, and call a free Parliament, which would be the beſt way to ſecure their Religion and Properties, according to the known Laws of the Kingdom, and to heal all Breaches.* At this Propoſal ſeveral of the Aſſembly were offended, and ſome of them urg'd, how much the Nation was oblig'd to the Prince of *Orange*, for his coming to deliver them from Popery and Arbitrary Power; and that what the Earl had propos'd, would appear to be the Height of Ingratitude to that Prince for his Undertaking. To which the Earl of *Arran* reply'd, *I have all the Honour and Deference imaginable for the Prince of* Orange, *I think him a brave Prince, and that we owe him great Obligations for contributing ſo much to deliver us from Popery; but while I pay theſe Praiſes, I cannot violate my Duty to the King my Maſter. I muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt his Popery and his Perſon. I diſlike the one, but have ſworn and do owe Allegiance to the other, which makes it impoſſible for me to take away that which I cannot forbear believing is the King my Maſter's Right; for his preſent Abſence from us in* France, *can no more affect my Duty, than his longer Abſence from us has done all the while.* Againſt this Speech Sir *Patrick Hume* made ſeveral Objections, and was ſeconded by others. Whereupon the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl's Father, deſir'd the Matter might be wav'd, and laid aſide there, to be referred till the Meeting of the Convention at *Edinburgh*; to which Advice the Aſſembly agreed.

Their Anſwer.

The Earl's Reply.

The Convention of Eſtates meet at *Edinburgh*.

And accordingly the Convention met at *Edinburgh*, on the 14th of *March*, they begun with an Election of a Preſident, the Duke of *Hamilton* being propos'd by the Prince of *Orange*'s Party, and the Marquiſs of *Athol!* by King *James*'s Friends, but the Duke was choſen by a Majority of 40 Voices; after which they paſt an Act to aſſert the Lawfulneſs of that Meeting, and declared, that they would not diſſolve, but continue ſitting until the Government, Religion, and Property, were ſettled and eſtabliſh'd.

Their next Care was to publiſh a Proclamation, requiring all Men from the Age of 16 to 60, to be ready to take up Arms upon Advertiſement from the Eſtates, for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

And upon the 11th Day of *April*, the Convention of Eſtates order'd a Committee to bring in an Act for ſettling the Crown upon *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*. According to which Act they were proclaim'd King and Queen of *Scotland*.

WILLIAM *and* MARY. II.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* proclaim'd King and Queen of *Scotland*.

WILLIAM-HENRY DE NASSAW, Prince of *Orange*, and *Mary Stewart*, eldeſt Daughter to King *James* VII. were, upon the 11th Day of *April*, 1689, publickly proclaim'd King and Queen of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. with the uſual Solemnity.

A. D. 1685. At this Time the Duke of *Gordon*, who, by his Commiſſion from King *James*, held the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, being requir'd to ſurrender it by the Convention, he deny'd giving it up; and at the ſame Time Captain *John Graham* of *Claverhouſe*, who had been by King *James* created Lord Viſcount of *Dundee*, having the Command of ſome Troops in the Borders of *Scotland*, coming into *Edinburgh*, found Means to hold Correſpondence with the Duke; whereof, when the Convention had Notice, they intended to ſecure the Lord *Dundee*; but he having private Notice of their Deſigns, he acquainted ſeveral of his Friends, who, with him, took Horſe to the Number of 30, and marching out of Town, he made his Party ſtop at the Weſt Kirk, and went himſelf up to the Caſtle Wall, where he had Speech of the Duke of *Gordon*; and having conferred with his Grace about an Hour, he return'd to his Party, and march'd that Night to *Linlithgow*, and from thence the next Day to his Houſe at *Dudop*, near *Dundee*.

The Duke of *Gordon* denies to ſurrender the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

The Lord *Dundee* leaves *Edinburgh*.

A Proclamation.

About this Time a Proclamation was publiſh'd, *That none ſhould preſume to acknowledge the late King* James VII. *for their King, neither obey, accept of, or aſſiſt any Order or Commiſſion that ſhould be granted by him.* Yet notwithſtanding of this Proclamation, the Duke of *Gordon* having a Letter from King *James*, giving an Account of his ſafe Arrival in *Ireland*, he ſent Notice to the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, that having an Account of his Maſter the King's ſafe Arrival in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, he intended to fire the Guns of the Caſtle, at which he deſir'd they might not be ſurpris'd.

Mean Time the Lord *Dundee* having conſulted ſome of his Friends, he march'd towards *Inverneſs*, with 150 Horſe, where he joyn'd *Macdonald* of *Keppoch*, who lay then before *Inverneſs* with 900 Men, compelling the Inhabitants to give Obedience to King *James*; after they had proclaim'd the Prince of *Orange* King: And altho' the Inhabitants had got the *Mackintoſhes* to joyn them, yet *Keppoch* compelled them to give him 2000 Dollars, one Half whereof they paid in ready Money, and gave Bond for the other.

Lord *Dundee* having concerted Meaſures with *Keppoch*, and ſeveral other Chiftians of the Clans, he ſtay'd in that Part of the Country for ſome Weeks, from whence he return'd to *Perthſhire*, where he ſeiz'd 9000 Merks of the Government Money, and after that retir'd again to the Highlands: And having Notice, that Major General *Mackay* (who was appointed Commander in Chief by King *William*) was then landed at *Leith* with 6000 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Troops, and had laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*: He thereupon ſent Notice to the Chiftians of the Clans, who being come up, and joyn'd with him, made up about 1500 Foot, and 200 Horſe, they march'd ſtraight towards *Badynoch*.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* beſieg'd.

Mackay having Notice of *Dundee*'s March, he went with the Strength of his Army againſt him. Mean Time the Lord *Dundee* came to the *Blair* of *Athoil*, where he was join'd by Sir *Donald Macdonald*, the Lairds of *Glengery*, *Macklean*, *Lochyell*, and the Captain of *Clanronald*, with ſeveral others, who all being then in Number about 2300 Foot, and near 300 Horſe, with which Number the Lord *Dundee* march'd againſt General *Mackay*, whoſe Army conſiſted of 6000 *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and 2000 new rais'd Men; and upon the 16th of *July* they came to an Engagement at a Place call'd *Killicranky*, near the *Blair* of *Atholl*. In the Engagement the Lord *Dundee*'s Army being all Highlanders, at their coming up they receiv'd the firſt and ſecond Platoons of General *Mackay*'s Army; after which they having fired their Fuzees, threw them down with their Plaids, and then with their Swords and Targets, attack'd the General's Army with ſuch Fury and Reſolution, that in a few Hours they broke through, and diſperſt moſt of all the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Regiments: But the Lord *Dundee* being ſlain in the Engagement, that Party were ſo diſcourag'd, that they gave over the Purſuit; ſo that altho' they obtain'd ſo great a Victory, over above Thrice their Number, yet the Loſs of their General was ſo much lamented and taken Notice of, that none of the other Commanders of that Party, offer'd to head them: But after having taken the Spoil of the Field of Battle, and interr'd the Lord *Dundee*, and the reſt of their

The Battle of *Killicrunky*.

General *Mackay*'s Army routed.

The Lord *Dundee* ſlain.

their Dead, in the Church and Church-yard of *Blair*, they disbanded, and moſt of them return'd home. *A. D.* 1689.

To return to the Duke of *Gordon*, who was beſieg'd in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, firſt by the Earl of *Leven*, and a Party of the Weſt Country Militia, who continu'd for ſome Weeks; and afterwards, by a Party of General *Mackay*'s Army, who rais'd Three Batteries, one at the *Mouterhouſe-hill*, another at the Caſtle of *Collops*, and one at *Heriot*'s Hoſpital. The Battery at the Caſtle of *Collops*, made a Breach in the Wall of the Caſtle, near the back Gate, but the Steepneſs of the Rock, and Mount whereon the Caſtle ſtands, made it impracticable for the Beſiegers to make any Entry. The other Two Batteries being of little Uſe; Orders were given to carry Wool Packs to the Caſtle-hill, in order to raiſe a Battery; but the Caſtle fired great and ſmall Shot on them ſo hotly, that they were forc'd to deſiſt from that Attempt. They afterwards drain'd the *North-Loch*, thinking, that they could dry the Well of the Caſtle; but yet it was ſo well ſupplied, that there remain'd Two Fathom Water in it: And after all Means had been uſed, they found the Caſtle impregnable, they having the City ſo much at Command, were ſtill ſupplied with Proviſion; but at laſt their Ammunition being quite ſpent, and the Duke having Notice of ſtrong Reinforcements coming to joyn the Beſiegers, he thought it would be more prudent to ſurrender upon good Conditions, than be reduced to any Extremity of Neceſſity; therefore, upon the 13th of *June*, he ſurrender'd the Caſtle to Sir *John Lanir*, upon Condition that himſelf and his Garriſon ſhould march out of the Caſtle with Bag and Baggage. *Edinburgh* Caſtle ſurrenders.

By this Time the Government had Poſſeſſion of all Forts and Garriſons of the Kingdom, except the *Baſs*, (which is a Rock of great Strength, lying in the River *Forth*, about Five Miles from *Dunbar*, and Two Miles from the neareſt Coaſt of *Eaſt Lothian*,) whereof Mr. *Charles Maitland*, Brother to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, was Governor; and being ſupplied with Wine, Bread, Arms, and Ammunition from *France*, he held out againſt the Government. During the Time that he held out, one Mr. *Trotter* was taken up, and condemned for aiding and aſſiſting the Governor with freſh Proviſions, and hang'd upon the Shoar in Sight of the *Baſs*. At the ſame Time Captain *Alexander Hallyburton*, Captain *William Frazer*, Mr. *William Witham*, and Mr. *William Nicholſon*, were ſentenc'd to be hang'd, but were repriv'd from Time to Time, till at laſt they were ſet at Liberty by the Capitulation. The *Baſs* holds out. Mr. *Trotter* executed.

After the Execution of Mr. *Trotter*, the Garriſon being reduc'd to very narrow Allowance, of which they had not above Six Days Proviſion; whereupon the Governor put out a Flag of Truce, and the Government ſending to know what they wanted, the Governor reply'd that he would ſurrender upon Terms; which being reported to the Privy Council, Two of their Number were ſent to the Garriſon; and at their coming, the Governor receiv'd them very cheerfully, and having ſaved ſome Bottles of the beſt *French* Wine and Brandy, and ſome fine Biskets; they made the Counſellers and their Retinue drink plentifully, telling them, that there was no Scarcity of Proviſion, and unleſs he had his own Terms, he would not ſurrender; which Terms he deliver'd to them in Writing, and as ſoon as they left the Garriſon, and were ſet off in their Boats, the Governor order'd all the Head-pieces, Hats and Caps that they could find in the Garriſon, to be put on Muzels of Muskets, and cautiouſly placed on the Wall in their View, to make the Counſellers believe, that the Place was full of Men. This Stratagem gain'd ſuch Credit with the Privy Counſellers, that they reported to the Council at *Edinburgh* how they were treated; and that the Garriſon was in every Reſpect well provided, wherefore the Privy Council agreed to the Governor's Articles, which were, The Governor's Stratagem to obtain good Conditions.

"I. That all the Garriſon ſhould come aſhore with their Swords about them, "and that the Government ſhould allow them a Ship with freſh Proviſions "to tranſport them to *Dunkrik*, or any other Part of *France*; and that they The Articles of Surrender.

A. D. 1669. "should be allow'd to stay at *Edinburgh*, without Moleſtation, till the Ship "was ready; and that thoſe who pleaſed to ſtay at Home ſhould live peace- "ably.

"II. That whatever belong'd to them, or that they had taken during the "Time they held the Garriſon, ſhould be by them diſpoſed to the beſt Ad- "vantage.

"III. That all who had belong'd to the Garriſon, or had aſſiſted it, "ſhould have the Benefit of the Capitulation: And laſtly, they that were "condemned or in Priſon, or otherwiſe diſtreſs'd, ſhould be ſet at Liberty the "ſame Day the Garriſon came aſhore, without any Fees or other Charges "whatſoever."

General *Cannon* raiſes Forces for King *James*.

Whilſt the Wars continu'd between King *James* and King *William* in *Ireland*, Major General *Cannon* receiv'd Orders from King *James*, to raiſe all the Forces he could, to interrupt the *Argyleſhire* and Weſt Country People from coming over to aſſiſt his Enemies in *Ireland*; and General *Cannon* being then joyn'd by the Earl of *Dumfermling*, with ſeveral Companies of the Clans, they propos'd to fight General *Mackay*, and to place Garriſons in the Caſtles of *Strathbogy*, *Gordon-Caſtle*, *Elgin*, *Forres*, *Nairn*, and *Inverneſs*; but having held a Council of War, they came to a Reſolution to march through *Aberdeenſhire*, over the *Cairn of Mount*, which they accordingly did; and coming to *Dunkeld*, where the Lord *Angus*'s Regiment lay in Garriſon, commanded by Lieutenant Collonel *Clieland*, General *Cannon*'s Party attack'd them; and after killing the Lieutenant Collonel, the Major and ſeveral other Officers of the Lord *Angus*'s Regiment, they were beat from their Poſts, and the Garriſon taken by General *Cannon*.

General *Buchan*, &c. comes over to *Scotland*.

In the Beginning of Winter Major General *Buchan*, the Earl of *Seafort*, (who had been created a Marquis by King *James* in *Ireland*) with Collonel *Brown*, and ſome other Officers came over from *Ireland*, and *Buchan* being eldeſt Major General, demanded the chief Command, which was given him; and being join'd by Sir *Donald Macdonald* of the *Iſles*, and ſeveral other Clans, they march'd towards *Strathſpey*, and coming to a Place call'd *Cromdale*, they there encamp'd ſome Days. Sir *Thomas Livingſton* (afterwards created Viſcount *Tiviot*) having Notice of the Condition of *Buchan*'s Party, he march'd with 17 Troops of Dragoons, and Three Regiments of Foot, and came upon *Buchan* and his Party, early in the Morning, while they were for moſt part aſleep in their Tents and Houſes, and kill'd ſeveral of them; but the Highlanders getting their Swords and Targets, fell upon the Dragoons with great Fury, and kill'd ſo many of them and their Horſes, that Sir *Thomas* could not purſue the Victory he at firſt had obtain'd.

The Skirmiſh of *Cromdale-hill*.

After this the Generals, Noblemen, and Chieftains of the Clans, who ſtill adher'd to King *James*, had ſeveral Skirmiſhes with Parties of the Government's Forces; during which time the Clans were reduc'd to great Hardſhips, yet would not come to any Terms with the Government, till General *Buchan* and General *Cannon* agreed to ſend over Sir *George Barcly* and Major *Menzies* to King *James*, who was then in *France* (after his Retreat from *Ireland*) to acquaint him of their Condition, and to know his Pleaſure. In Anſwer to which Meſſage, King *James* deſir'd, that they ſhould make the beſt Articles they could for themſelves; and that ſuch of them as thought proper to come and reſide with him at St. *German*'s, ſhould make Conditions to be ſafely tranſported thither.

When theſe two Officers return'd from *France* to the *Highlands*, the Generals *Buchan* and *Cannon*, and the Chieftains of the Clans, propos'd a Treaty with the Government; by which Treaty they were allow'd two Ships to tranſport themſelves, with other Officers, and ſuch as inclin'd to accompany them to *France*. The Chieftains of the Clans and other Gentlemen ſubmitted to the Government, upon Condition they ſhould enjoy their Liberties and Properties as formerly.

King *James*'s Intereſt ſuppreſt.

After this Manner was King *James*'s Power and Authority, and all Parties and Perſons who adher'd to him, entirely ſuppreſt; and the Government eſtabliſh'd under King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

Ha-

Having given an Account of the Military Affairs of *Scotland* in the beginning of this Reign, I return to take Notice of the Proceedings of the Parliament. For, as the Convention of Eſtates, which was call'd at the Prince of *Orange*'s firſt coming over, was upon the 5th of *June*, 1689. turn'd into a Parliament, in which *William* Duke of *Hamilton* repreſented the King's Perſon as Commiſſioner. And the next Year, 1690. the Parliament met again; wherein the Earl of *Melvil* was Commiſſioner: In which Parliament the Act of Supremacy was repeal'd, Epiſcopacy was aboliſh'd, and Presbytery eſtabliſh'd. *A. D.* 1690.

Epiſcopacy aboliſh'd, and Presbytery eſtabliſh'd.

After this the Kingdom of *Scotland* continu'd quiet for ſome time; and in the latter end of the Year 1691. a Proclamation was publiſh'd, *That all the* Highlanders *ſhould take the Oaths to King* William *and Queen* Mary, *by the 1ſt of* January *after*. To which they ſubmitted; and at that time the Laird of *Glenco* went to Collonel *Hill*, Governor of *Inverlochy*, ſome few Days before the Expiration of the Time limited, for taking the Oaths, and to receive the Indemnity appointed by the Proclamation. The Collonel receiv'd *Glenco* with all Reſpect and Kindneſs; but told him that the Sheriffs of the Shire were the proper Perſons to adminiſter the Oaths, and to give him a Protection. 1691.

The Laird of *Glenco* goes to take the Oaths to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*.

Glenco complaining, that by this Diſappointment the time might be expir'd, as the Weather was ſo extremely bad, that he could not reach the Sheriff by the Day limited: Upon which Account the Collonel gave him a Protection, and a Certificate of the Time he had come to him. Whereupon *Glenco* poſted to *Inverary*, where he found Sir *Collin Campbell* of *Ardkinglaſs* Sheriff of that Shire; and deſir'd of him the Benefit of the Indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the Conditions requir'd. But Sir *Collin* ſcrupl'd at firſt to admit him, becauſe the Time appointed was elaps'd by one Day; yet when *Glenco* produc'd Collonel *Hill*'s Certificate and Protection, and having threaten'd to proteſt againſt the Sheriff for the Severity of his Uſage, Sir *Collin* at laſt comply'd, and adminiſter'd the Oaths to him and his Attendance, of which he gave him a Certificate for his Protection; wherewith *Glenco* return'd home, thinking himſelf and Tenants perfectly ſafe.

In *January*, 1692. the Earl of *Argyle*'s Regiment came to that Part of the Country: The Deſign of their coming was then ſuſpected to be, to take a Courſe with theſe who did not ſubmit and take the Oaths; or, as the Garriſon of *Inverlochy* being throng'd, and *Glenco* being commodious for quartering, as being near the Garriſon, theſe Soldiers were ſent thither to quarter. At firſt it was pretended they came there to exact the Arrears of the Ceſs and Hearth Money, A Tax laid on by the Parliament of *Scotland* in 1690. 1692.

Before the Soldiers enter'd *Glenco*, the Laird and ſome of his Friends came out to meet them, and ask'd them if they came as Friends or Enemies. The Officers anſwer'd, As Friends; and gave them their Parols of Honour, that they neither would do him nor his Friends any Harm: Upon which the Laird welcom'd them, and gave them the beſt Entertainment the Place could afford. He and they liv'd in perfect Friendſhip for the Space of 15 Days; and was ſo far from ſuſpecting any Hurt from them, that the very laſt Day of his Life was ſpent in keeping them Company. Captain *Campbell* of *Glenlyon* who commanded the Party, being in Company with *Glenco*, and playing at Cards, till Seven a-Clock at Night, upon the 2d of *February*; after which he receiv'd a Letter from Major *Duncanſon*, written as follows:

Glenlyon and his Men comes to *Glenco*.

SIR,

YOU are hereby order'd to fall upon the Rebels, the Macdonalds *of* Glenco, *and put all to the Sword under* 70. *You are to have ſpecial Care, that the old Fox and his Sons do not, upon any Account, eſcape your Hands. And you are to ſecure the Avenues that no Man eſcape. This you are to put in Exe-*

Major *Duncanſon*'s Letter to *Glenlyon*

A. D. 1692. *cution at Five a-Clock in the Morning precisely; and by that Time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger Party. If I do not come to you at Five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the King's special Command, for the Good and Safety of the Country, that these Miscreants be cut off, Root and Branch. See that this be put in Execution without Feud or Favour, or else you must expect to be treated as not true to the King and Government, nor a Man fit to carry a Commission in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in fulfilling hereof, as you love your self, I subscribe these with my Hand,*

Ballachollis, Feb. 11. 1692. Robert Duncanson.

This Letter was directed, *To Captain* Robert Campbell *of* Glenlyon, *for their Majesties Service.*

Major *Duncanson* receiv'd Orders by a Letter of the same Date, and from the same Place, in these Words:

SIR,

A Letter from Collonel *Hamilton* to Major *Duncanson.*

Per *Second to the Commander in Chief, and my Collonel's Orders to me, for putting in Execution the Service commanded against the Rebels of* Glenco, *wherein you, with the Party of the Earl of* Argyle's *Regiment under your Command, are to be concern'd: You are therefore forthwith to order your Affairs so, as that the several Posts already assign'd by you, be by you and your several Detachments fallen in Action with, precisely by Five a-Clock to Morrow Morning, being* Saturday; *at which Time I will endeavour the same, by those appointed from this Regiment for the other Places. It will be most necessary you secure those Avenues on the* South *Side, that the old Fox nor none of his Cubs get away. The Orders are, That none be spar'd under 70, nor the Government be troubled with Prisoners. This is all, until I see you, from your Humble Servant,*

James Hamilton.

Postscript. P. S. *Please to order a Guard to secure the Ferry and the Boats there; and the Boats must be all on this Side of the Ferry, after your Men are over.*

For their Majesties Service, for Major Robert Duncanson, *of the Earl of* Argyle's *Regiment.*

Murder *Glenco.* After *Glenlyon* receiv'd his Orders, the Soldiers were dispos'd 2, 3, or 5 in each House, according to the Number of Persons in the Families they were to assassinate, and had their Orders secretly. They were all receiv'd by these poor People, little expecting that their Guests would be their Murderers. About Five in the Morning they begun their Work, and murder'd about 38 Persons in a few Minutes Time, among whom were the Laird of *Glenco*, as also *Macdonald* of *Achintrickin*, who had submitted to the Government, and had Collonel *Hill*'s Protection in his Pocket, which he had got three Months before. Among the many barbarous Murders committed in this Massacre, it is reported, that a Boy, about 8 Years of Age, seeing his Parents murder'd, he run to Captain *Campbell*, grasping him about the Legs, crying for Mercy, offering to be his Servant all his Life. Captain *Campbell* inclin'd to save him, but one *Drummond* run his Dagger through the Boy and kill'd him. The Rehearsal of several of the Circumstances of this Story makes it appear most doleful; particularly that of the Laird of *Glenco* himself: For, as he was undressing himself before his Bed, and giving Orders to his Servants at the same Time, for the good Entertainment of his Murderers, he was shot through the Head, and fell dead into his Lady's Arms: By the Fright of which, and other bad Usage, she died the next Day. It is to be observ'd, that most of these poor People were kill'd when they were asleep, and not allow'd one Minute to implore Mercy for their past Sins. Providence

dence order'd it ſo, that that Night prov'd moſt boiſtrous, for a Party of 400 Men more had been order'd to go to the other End of the Glen, to have committed the like Slaughter at the ſame Hour (intending that the Inhabitants ſhould been inclos'd and none of them eſcape) but that Party could not come up till it was Nine a-Clock next Day, ſo that none were murder'd but thoſe in the Houſes where *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*'s Party quarter'd; otherwiſe all the Males under 70 Years of Age, to the Number of 200. had been cut off; for that was the Order, and it might have been eaſily executed, eſpecially conſidering the Inhabitants had no Arms at that Time; for they upon the firſt Warning that the Soldiers were coming to the Glen, convey'd them all out of the Way; for though they had rely'd upon the Promiſes made them for their Security, yet thought it not improbable but they might be diſarm'd. *A. D.* 1692.

It is not known, whether to impute it to the Difficulty of diſtinguiſhing the Difference of a few Years, or to the Fury of the Soldiers, who being once glutted with Blood, ſtood at nothing, that even ſome of above 70 Years of Age were deſtroy'd: They ſet alſo the Houſes on Fire, drove off all the Cattle to the Garriſon of *Inverlochy*, *viz.* 900 Cows, 200 Horſes, and a great many Sheep and Goats, and there they were divided among the Officers. How diſmal may we imagine the Caſe of the poor Women and Children then were? It was lamentable, paſt Expreſſion. Their Husbands, Fathers, and neareſt Relations, being murder'd or fled for their Lives; and they themſelves almoſt ſtrip'd and nothing left them; their Houſes being burnt, and no Place to ſhelter, in the bittereſt Time of the Winter Seaſon, in a very cold Place of the Country, and no Town nor Houſes near them by ſeveral Miles; and to get thither they were to paſs over great Mountains and deep Wreaths of Snow, in a vehement Storm, wherein moſt of them periſh'd through Hunger and Cold. It is lamentable to think of poor Children ſtrip'd, and Women, ſome with Child, and ſome giving Suck, wreſtling againſt Storms and Mountains, and Heaps of Snow, and at length to be overcome, fall down, and die miſerably. The lamentable Caſe of Wives and Children about *Glenco*.

By *Hamilton*'s Order to *Duncanſon*, there was a ſpecial Caution, That the old *Fox* nor none of his *Cubs* ſhould eſcape; and in *Duncanſon*'s Order to *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, That the old *Fox* nor none of his *Sons* ſhould eſcape: Yet notwithſtanding of this barbarous Caution, it pleas'd GOD that two young Men, *Glenco*'s Sons, eſcap'd; for it happen'd, that the younger Brother truſting little to Captain *Campbell*'s fair Promiſes, therefore had a more watchful Eye over him than his Father or Brother, who ſuffer'd themſelves by his repeated Promiſes to be deluded to a Belief of his Friendſhip: And as this Youth had obſerv'd ſome Signs of Danger; of which having acquainted his elder Brother, they went to their Father and inform'd him: But he was ſo confident of *Glenlyon*'s Promiſes, that he would not give Ear to them, looking on their Information to proceed from childiſh Fear, yet did not hinder them to make what Obſervations they could: And they knowing ſeveral private Corners, where they had Opportunity to hear ſome of the Guards ſay to one another, *That they did not like this Work at all*, one of them ſaid, *He was willing to fight againſt the* Glenco-*men, but that it was baſe to murder them*; to that another anſwer'd, *They were not to blame for it, they who gave the Orders were only guilty, as they were oblig'd to obey their Commanders.* The young Gentlemen hearing this, retir'd as quickly and quietly as they could, intending to inform their Father, but as they came near, they perceiv'd the Houſe ſurrounded, and hearing Guns diſcharge and People ſcreeching, and having no Arms, nor in any Condition to reſcue their Father, they preſerv'd their own Lives by ſudden Flight. *Glenco*'s Sons eſcape.

This is a true Account of the horrid Murder of *Glenco*, which according to the Barbarity of the Fact, exceeds any thing of that Kind, committed among Chriſtians. This Maſſacre was executed about Five a-Clock in the Morning, on the 13th of *February*, 1692.

A. D. 1692.

This Murder was laid before the Parliament of *Scotland*, where moſt People expected to ſee the Contrivers of the horrid Fact duly puniſh'd: But when the Matter came to be conſider'd, ſeveral Debates happen'd.

The Murder of *Glenco* examin'd before the *Scots* Parliament.

And of thoſe concern'd, Collonel *Hill* and Collonel *Hamilton* were ſummon'd to appear before the Parliament, with ſeveral others; but Collonel *Hamilton* having deny'd to appear, and gone out of the way, he was very much blam'd for his Part of that Action. Mean time the Debates continu'd very hot; for as ſome would have that Execution declar'd a downright Murder, and ſuch as authoriz'd or executed it, puniſh'd according to Law; whereas others would plead, it was no more than an Order of Fire and Sword againſt thoſe of the Clans who had not taken the Oaths. And after much Enquiry about the ſeveral Orders given for executing the Fact, the Parliament was adjourn'd.

Sir *John Lawder* of *Fountainhall* refus'd to be made Lord Advocate at that Time, unleſs he had Liberty to proſecute the Murderers of *Glenco*; whereupon that Office was given to *James Stewart*, who was afterwards made a Baronet.

After this the Kingdom of *Scotland* liv'd in Subjection to the Government, and ſuch as had retir'd to *France* were either forfeited, or ſucceeded in their Eſtates by their neareſt Heirs. Of thoſe forfeited were the Earls of *Dunfermling*, *Middleton*, and *Melfort*, Sir *John Macklean* of *Dowart*, Sir *Adam Blair*, with ſeveral others, were, by Order of Parliament, out-law'd.

The Death of Queen *Mary*.

In the Year 1694. upon the 28th of *December*, died Queen *Mary*, without Iſſue, and was interr'd in *Weſtminſter* Abby, on the 5th of *March*.

1695.

An *African* and *India* Company erected in *Scotland*.

In this Year, 1695. the Merchants of *Scotland* having obtain'd an Act of Parliament for erecting an *Eaſt-India* Company, whereupon all the Merchants, and many of the Nobility, Gentry and Commons of any Condition, join'd in contributing to carry on the Deſign; as alſo ſome *Engliſh* join'd in the Project: And having at length, by large Contributions, rais'd conſiderable Sums, and engag'd a ſufficient Fund to ſupport the Company; they built and fitted out ſix large Ships of Force and great Burden, which were laden with rich Commodities, and a ſufficient Number of Men, well ſupply'd with Arms and Ammunition. And being put to Sea, they landed at *Darien*, upon the Iſthumes of *America*, where they were kindly receiv'd by the Inhabitants; and as the *Spaniards* had no Collonies there, the *Scots* Company endeavour'd to make ſome Progreſs in a Settlement; expecting to make ſome Plantations whereby they might eſtabliſh a Trade. But ſome of the *Engliſh* being diſſatisfy'd with theſe Advantages which the *Scots* were like to have, by trading to thoſe Places; wherefore their ſecret Agents were employ'd to order Matters ſo with the *Spaniards*, that the Governors of their ſeveral Collonies ſhould join in a Complaint againſt the *Scots* Collonies; whereby the Court of *Spain* (who were then in Terms of Peace with King *William*) might move the Court of *England* to ſuppreſs the *Scots* Collonies: Which Complaints being repreſented to the Court of *England*; Orders were ſent to the Governors of the ſeveral *Engliſh* Plantations, diſcharging them to give Relief or Aſſiſtance to the *Scots* Collonies. And, according to theſe Orders, in *April*, 1699. a Proclamation was publiſh'd at *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and *New York*, to forbid all Commerce with the *Scots* at *Darien*. And at the ſame time the *Spaniards*, either by Inclination or Direction, ſent ſtrong Parties to attack the *Scots*, who for ſome time defended themſelves with the utmoſt Bravery; yet were at laſt, after great Loſs of Men and Subſtance, oblig'd to abandon their Plantations, where they had put themſelves to great Expence and Labour.

Meaſures taken to ſuppreſs it.

The Parliament of *Scotland* meeting at *Edinburgh*, in *September* 1700, the Duke of *Queensberry* being then Commiſſioner, deliver'd King *William*'s Letter, promiſing Protection to the Company; and deſiring that the Forces for that Purpoſe might be maintain'd; whereupon a Supply was granted by the Parliament for their Uſe.

The

The Parliament being then adjourn'd, and appointed to meet again in *November*, the Company at the ſame Time having Accounts by what Means their Collonies were oblig'd to quit *Darien*, the whole Nation was in the utmoſt Confuſion and Uproar: Whereupon the Parliament again met, and promiſing all Satisfaction to the Company, at their Meeting the Commiſſioner produc'd a Letter, wherein King *William* declar'd the utmoſt Concern, that it was not in his Power to maintain the Companies Eſtabliſhment and Settlement at *Darian*, without diſturbing the general Peace of *Europe*. Therefore deſired they would propoſe any ſuch Means as might reaſonably redreſs the Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd in that Undertaking. This unexpected Declaration from *England*, put the Adventurers in great Conſternation, and many were ſo much offended, that they uſed ſeveral publick Speeches, reflecting highly on the Court and Parliament of *England*. And at the ſame Time there aroſe ſeveral Mobs at *Edinburgh*, who threatned all ſuch as had publick Commiſſions under the Government; ſo that for ſome Days the Commiſſioner and other State Officers, were oblig'd to abſent themſelves from the Parliament, and at ſuch Times as they could venture to attend the Houſe, they were no leſs reflected on by ſeveral Members: As the moſt Part of the Nobility and Commons then in the Houſe had been Adventurers.

A. D. 1700.

The Company obliged to abandon *Darien*.

Tumults at *Edinburgh* upon that Account.

In this Confuſion the City and Country continued for ſome Time, but at laſt the Court Party uſed ſuch political Means, as brought Matters to a more peaceable Condition. Mean Time ſome of thoſe who had been in Conſultation with ſome Members of the *Engliſh* Court, and the Council propoſed, that the only Way to promote the Trade of *Scotland*, would be to be united with *England*. That Motion was ſeconded by ſeveral Members, according to their Inſtructions or Inclinations; but after ſeveral Debates and Conſultations, thoſe that were for the Union found ſo many againſt it, that they gave over any further Motion at that Time in the Affair.

Upon *Friday* the 17th of *September* 1701, died King *James* VII. at his Court of St. *Germans*, in the 69th Year of his Age, and was interr'd with great Solemnity; and the *French* King, according to his Promiſe to King *James*, proclaim'd his Son by the Titles of *JAMES* III. of *England*, and VIII. of *Scotland*, &c. Which Proceedings of the *French* King being contrary to his Treaty with *England*, it was highly reſented by King *William* and the *Engliſh* Parliament.

The Death of King *James*.

His Son proclaim'd King of *England* by the *French* King.

During the reſt of this Reign there happen'd little Matter of Conſequence to be obſerv'd in Hiſtory, concerning the Kingdom of *Scotland*. As the Kingdom continued in Peace and Quietneſs, except the Uneaſineſs occaſion'd amongſt the Generality of the People, by the Miſcarriage of *Darien*.

Upon the 26th of *February*, King *William* diverting himſelf at *Hampton*-Court, he had the Misfortune to fall from his Horſe, and broke his Collar Bone, which was immediately ſet, and he return'd to *Kenſington*; and having the Bandage open'd, the Fracture ſtarted, and his Majeſty having got Cold by ſleeping in the Gallery, he fell dangerouſly ill, whereof he died, on *Sunday* the 8th of *March* 1702, in the 51ſt Year of his Age, and 13th Year of his Reign.

King *William*'s Death.

The ſame Day that King *William* departed this Life, *Anne* Princeſs of *Denmark* was proclaim'd with the uſual Solemnity, at *Weſtminſter*, and the other accuſtom'd Places in *London*; and on the 12th Day of the ſame Month, an Expreſs arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, giving an Account of the Death of King *William*; whereupon the State Officers, and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, went to the Croſs, and with the uſual Solemnity, proclaim'd the Princeſs of *Denmark* by the Name and Titles of *ANNE*, by the Grace of GOD, Queen of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*. &c.

ANNE.

A. D. 1702.

ANNE Princeſs of *Denmark*, the Second Daughter of the late King *James* VII. of *Scotland*, was proclaim'd upon the 12th of *March* 1702; at which Time her Majeſty, by her Letter to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, order'd the Privy Council and Officers of State to continue as they had been before the Death of King *William*, until they receiv'd further Orders by new Commiſſions. At that Time the chief Officers were the Earl of *Marchmont*, Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Melvil*, Preſident of the Council, the Duke of *Queensberry*, Lord Privy Seal, the Earls of *Seafield* and *Hyndford* Secretaries, the Earl of *Selkirk* Lord Regiſter, *Adam Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*, Treaſurer-Deputy, Sir *John Maxwell* of *Pollock* Juſtice-Clerk, Sir *James Stewart* of *Goodtrees*, Advocate. Theſe Officers being moſt of them at *Edinburgh*, continued the Government in all Things as it had been in Church and State. And upon the 9th of *May*, the Privy Council receiv'd an Expreſs to declare War againſt *France*, which was accordingly proclaim'd with the uſual Solemnity, at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, and all other Cities and Towns in the Nation.

The Queen's Letter to the Privy Council.

The Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*.

The ſame Parliament, which from the Convention of Eſtates had been turn'd into a Parliament, and continued all the late Reign, were now appointed to meet at *Edinburgh*; and being met upon the 9th Day of *June*, the Duke of *Queensberry* being appointed High Commiſſioner; who at the Meeting of the Houſe was about to read the Queen's Letter: But the Duke of *Hamilton* ſtood up, and demanded to be heard, whereupon the Lord Chancellor deſired his Grace to be ſilent, till the Queen's Commiſſion was read, and the Houſe conſtituted; yet the Duke deſir'd to be heard in his own Name, and in Behalf of ſeveral other Members who adher'd to him; and ſaid, "We "are come here in Obedience to her Majeſty's Command, and we are hearti- "ly glad of her Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, not only on Ac- "count that it is her undoubted Right, as being lineally deſcended from the "ancient Race of our Kings, but likewiſe becauſe of the many perſonal Vir- "tues and Royal Qualities her Majeſty is endued with, which gives us "Ground to hope we ſhall enjoy under her auſpicious Reign, all the Bleſ- "ſings that can attend a Nation, which, has a loving and gracious Sovereign "united with a dutiful and obedient People; and we are reſolv'd to ſacrifice "our Lives and Fortunes in Defence of her Majeſty's Right, againſt all her "Enemies whatſoever, and have all the Deference and Reſpect for her Ma- "jeſty's Government and Authority, that is due from loyal Subjects to their "rightful and lawful Sovereign. But at the ſame Time, that we acknow- "ledge our Submiſſion to her Majeſty's Authority, we think our ſelves "bound in Duty, by Virtue of the Obedience we owe to the ſtanding Laws "of the Nation, and becauſe of the Regard we ought to have for the Right "and Liberties of our Fellow Subjects, to declare our Opinion, as to the "Legality of this Meeting, *viz.* That we do not think our ſelves warranted "by Law, to ſit and act any longer as a Parliament; and that by ſo doing "we ſhall incur the Hazard of loſing our Lives and Fortunes, if our Proceed- "ings ſhall come to be queſtion'd by Subſequent Parliaments." Then his Grace read a Paper, which contains the Reaſons of their diſſenting from the Proceedings of the other Members, who thought themſelves impower'd to ſit and act as a Parliament, and is as follows:

The Duke of *Hamilton*'s Speech at the Meeting of the Parliament.

Foraſmuch as by the fundamental Laws and Conſtitution of this Kingdom, all Parliaments do diſſolve by the Death of the King or Queen, except in ſo far as is innovated by the 17th Act, 6th Seſſion of King William's *Parliament laſt in Being, at his Deceaſe, to meet and act what ſhould be needful for the Defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, as now by Law eſtabliſh'd, and maintaining the Succeſſion to the Crown, as ſettled by the Claim of Right, and for preſerving and ſecuring the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; and ſeeing that the ſaid*

Ends

Ends are fully ſatisfied by her Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, whereby the Religion and Peace of the Kingdom are ſecured, we conceive our ſelves not now warranted by the Law to meet, ſit, or act; and therefore do diſſent from any Thing that ſhall be done or acted. And thereupon his Grace took Inſtruments, and craved an Extract of his Proteſtation; after which he, with his Brother the Earl of *Selkirk*, and 79 other Members who adhered to his Proteſtation, left the Houſe. A. D. 1702.

The Subſtance of the Queen's Letter to the Parliament.

Mean Time the Queen's Commiſſion to the Duke of *Queensberry* was read, alſo her Majeſty's Letter to the Parliament, wherein, after expreſſing her Reſentment at the *French* King, for having proclaim'd the pretended Prince of *Wales*, as King of *England*, *Scotland*, &c. and the lawful Succeſſor of the late King *James*, and had deſired the King of *Spain* to concur with him in maintaining his Pretenſions: Her Majeſty therefore recommended to her Subjects of *Scotland*, to provide competent Supplies for maintaining ſuch a Number of Forces as might be neceſſary for preventing and diſappointing the Deſigns of her Enemies. And at the ſame Time the Queen earneſtly recommended the Conſideration of the Treaty of Union of the Two Kingdoms to the Parliament, not doubting but they would contribute their utmoſt Endeavours towards the Accompliſhment of that great Deſign, concluding with an Aſſurance of protecting the Liberties and Privileges of the Kingdom, in Church and State.

The High Commiſſioner and Chancellor's Speeches.

After the Queen's Letter was read, his Grace the Duke of *Queensberry*, as her Majeſty's Commiſſioner, made a Speech exhorting the Parliament to comply with her Majeſty's Requeſt, aſſuring them, that nothing could contribute more to the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, or the Advantage of the Nation, than an Union betwixt the Kingdoms. Which Speech of the Commiſſioner, was ſeconded by another eloquent Speech made by the Earl of *Marchmont*, Lord High Chancellor, wherein his Lordſhip likewiſe (after many Encomiums on the Character of the late King *William*, and Reſentment of the *French* King's late Proceedings) recommended to the Parliament, to contribute their utmoſt Endeavours to unite the Two Kingdoms, as a Thing neceſſary for the Security and Happineſs of both.

After theſe Speeches, thoſe Members then ſitting, met upon the 11th, and appointed a Committee for drawing up an Anſwer to her Majeſty's Letter, as alſo for reviſing the Minutes; which Committee receiv'd Overtures for an Act recognizing her Majeſty's Royal Authority, an Act adjourning the Council and Seſſion, an Act declaring that Seſſion to be a free and lawful Meeting of Parliament, and diſcharging any Perſon to diſown, quarrel, or impugne the Dignity and Authority thereof, under the Penalty of High Treaſon: And an Act for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion.

Which Acts were paſt on the 12th Day, and touch'd with the Sceptre, and at the ſame Time they drew up an Addreſs to the Queen, wherein they gave her Majeſty Aſſurance of uſing their utmoſt Endeavours to comply with her Requeſts, according to the Tenor of the Letter; and on the 19th of *June*, an Act was paſt granting Ten Months and a Half's Ceſs, upon Land Rents.

The Queen refuſes to receive the Addreſs of the diſſenting Members.

About the ſame Time the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Members who adhered to him, having prepared an Addreſs to the Queen, wherein they repreſented to her Majeſty the Reaſons of their Proceedings; with which Addreſs the Lord *Blantyre* was ſent to *London*; but at his coming, the Queen was prepoſſeſt with ſuch an ill Opinion of their Proceedings, that ſhe would not receive their Addreſs, yet was pleaſed to admit the Lord *Blantyre* to her Preſence, but receiv'd little Satisfaction as to his Meſſage.

Mr. *Alexander Bruce* expell'd the Houſe.

About this Time at *Edinburgh*, one Mr. *Alexander Bruce* an Advocate, having made a long Speech againſt the Act of Security for the Presbyterian Government, wherein he affirm'd, among other Things, that Presbytery was inconſiſtent with Monarchy, for which Mr. *Bruce* was expell'd the Houſe. And the Dean and Faculty of Advocates having paſt a Vote among themſelves, in Favour of the Proteſtation and Addreſs by the Duke of *Hamilton*, and other Members that adhered to him; the Dean and Faculty

A. D. 1702. were therefore charg'd and purſu'd by the Lord Advocate before the Parliament, and after ſeveral long Debates upon the Matter, they were ſeverly reprimanded.

In this Parliament an Oath of Abjuration was propos'd by ſome of the ſitting Members, but ſuch Debates aroſe thereupon, that it was laid aſide at that Time: As alſo the Act of Succeſſion, which had been paſt in *England*, which was likewiſe oppos'd by a great Number of ſitting Members, alledging that it would rather be an Impediment than an Encouragement to the intended Union of the two Nations. And at the ſame time, the Party of thoſe ſitting Members who oppos'd theſe two Motions, endeavour'd to bring back the diſſenting Members to the Houſe; but his Grace, the Commiſſioner, to prevent any bad Conſequences, thought fit to adjourn the Parliament, upon the 30th Day of *June*: Upon which Occaſion he return'd the Houſe Thanks for their Chearfulneſs and Unanimity in recognizing her Majeſty's Royal Authority, and ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion and Presbyterian Government, with the other Acts that had been paſt for her Majeſty's Service, and the Good and Safety of the Kingdom.

The Lord Commiſſioner adjourns the Parliament.

In *October* this Year, by an Act paſt in the Parliament of *England*, impowering her Majeſty to nominate Commiſſioners for treating of the Union between both Nations, the following Perſons were appointed for *England*, *viz.* His Grace *Thomas* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Sir *Nathan Wright*, Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*; *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Lord Preſident of the Council; *John* Marquiſs of *Normandby*, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal; *William* Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward of her Majeſty's Houſhold; *Charles* Duke of *Somerſet*, Maſter of the Horſe to her Majeſty; *Edward* Earl of *Jerſey*, Lord Chamberlain to her Majeſty; *Charles* Earl of *Burlington*; *Daniel* Earl of *Nottingham*, one of her Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State; *Lawrence* Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; *John* Earl of *Marlborough*, Captain General of all her Majeſty's Forces, and Maſter General of the Ordnance; *Richard* Earl of *Scarborough*; the Lord Biſhop of *London*; Sir *Charles Hedges*, the other Principal Secretary of State; Sir *John Holt*, Chief Juſtice of the Queen's Bench; Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; Sir *John Leviſon Gower*, Baronet, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, Baronet; Sir *John Cook*, Doctor of Law; *Robert Harley*, Eſq; *Charles Godolphin*, Eſq; *Samuel Clerk*, Eſq; and *Stephen Waller*, Doctor of Law.

Commiſſioners appointed to treat of the Union.

The Commiſſioners for *Scotland* were, the Duke of *Queensberry*, the Duke of *Argyle*, the Marquiſs of *Annandale*, the Marquiſs of *Lothian*, the Earl of *Seafield*, the Earl of *Hyndford*, the Earl of *Leven*, the Viſcount of *Tarbat*, the Viſcount of *Stair*, the Earl of *Galloway*, the Lord *Boyle*, Sir *James Stewart*, Lord Advocate; Sir *Hugh Dalrymple*, Sir *George Maxwell*, Sir *James Smollet*, Sir *Archibald Douglaſs*, Sir *David Dalrymple*, Sir *Patrick Johnſton*, Provoſt of *Edinburgh*; Mr. *Montgomery*, Provoſt of *Glaſgow*; Mr. *Scrimzeor*, Provoſt of *Dundee*; and Mr. , Provoſt of *Aberdeen*. Dr. *Charles Davenant*, a Civilian, was appointed to be Secretary of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, and *Robert Pringle*, Eſq; to the *Scots*.

The firſt Time of their meeting was in the *Cockpit*, upon the 22d of *October*, where the Lord Keeper made a Speech; wherein he repreſented, *the Occaſion of their meeting, and the great Deſire they had to accompliſh the Work about which they were met; recommending to all the Company to conſult ſuch Meaſures as might bring the Matter to an agreeable and ſpeedy Concluſion.*

The Lord Keeper of *England*'s Speech.

To which the Duke of *Queensberry* made Anſwer, *My Lords, the Union of the two Kingdoms has been much deſir'd, both before, and ſince their being under one Sovereign; and I hope it is reſerv'd to her Majeſty, for the Glory of her Reign, to finiſh the Deſign which hath been often attempted by her Royal Predeceſſors.*

The Duke of *Queensberry*'s Anſwer.

At the ſame time his Grace aſſur'd the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, That as he, and the other Commiſſioners for *Scotland*, had conſider'd the Advantage that would

would redound to both Nations by the Union, they would, to the utmoſt of their Power, advance the great Deſign, and accommodate all Difficulties that might ariſe in the Treaty, upon reaſonable Terms. *A. D.* 1702.

As at that Time there was not a Quorum of the *Scots* Commiſſioners come to Town, their meeting was adjourn'd, by the Queen's Letter, to the 10th of *November*, but they did not meet till the 20th of the ſame Month; at which time the Lord Keeper of *England* made ſome Objections againſt the Validity of the *Scots* Commiſſioners; yet by general Conſent, the Preliminaries were adjuſted. The chief of which were, "That nothing agreed upon "at their meeting ſhould be binding, unleſs it were ratify'd by her Majeſty "and the reſpective Parliaments of both Nations: And that except all the "Heads for a Treaty were agreed to, no particular Things agreed on ſhould "be binding. Preliminaries adjuſted.

The Preliminaries being adjuſted, the Lord Keeper of *England* propos'd on the Part of the *Engliſh*, That the two Kingdoms ſhould be inſeperably united in one Monarchy, under her Majeſty and her Heirs and Succeſſors, and under the ſame Limitations according to the Acts of Settlement.

And his Grace the Duke of *Queensberry*, on the Part of *Scotland*, propos'd, That both Nations ſhould be united in one Monarch and one Parliament, with a mutual Communication of Trade and Privileges.

Mean time the Queen coming to their Aſſembly, made the following Speech to the Commiſſioners of both Nations:

My Lords, I am ſo fully perſuaded that the Union of my two Kingdoms will prove the Happineſs of both, and render this Iſland more formidable than it has been in Ages paſt; that I wiſh this Treaty may be brought to a good and ſpeedy Concluſion. I am come to know what Progreſs you have made in it, and I do aſſure you, that nothing ſhall be wanting on my Part, to bring it to Perfection. The Queen's Speech.

After reading the Procedure, her Majeſty remov'd. And the Propoſals deliver'd by the *Scots* Commiſſioners to thoſe of *England*, at that Time, were as follows:

"1. That there ſhould be a free Trade betwixt the two Kingdoms, with- "out Diſtinction. 2. That both ſhould be liable to an equal Impoſition for "Export and Import, and that a Book of Rates ſhould be adjuſted for "both. 3. That the Subjects and Shipping of both Kingdoms ſhould have "an equal Freedom as to the Plantation Trade, and be under the ſame Re- "gulations. 4. That the Act of Navigation, and all other Acts in both "Kingdoms, inconſiſtent with the ſaid Propoſals, be repeal'd. 5. That "neither of the Kingdoms ſhould be burden'd with the Debts contracted by "the other before the Union; and that the Equality of the Impoſition in the "2d Propoſal be underſtood with an Exception of Impoſitions laid on and "appointed by the Parliament of *England*, for Payment of their Debts: "Or, If an Equality of Impoſition be thought neceſſary, That there be al- "low'd to *Scotland* an Equivolent. 6. That the former Propoſals were "made without Prejudice to the Companies or Manufactories of either "Kingdoms, which are reſerv'd to the further Conſideration and Progreſs "of this Treaty. The Propoſals of the *Scots* Commiſſioners.

On the 16th of *December*, the Lords Commiſſioners for *England* deliver'd to the Lords Commiſſioners for *Scotland*, ſome Conſiderations upon the Propoſals, as a ſubject Matter of Debate betwixt the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms. As to the 1ſt Article, the Lords Commiſſioners of *England* agreed, There ſhould be a free Trade for the native Commodities of the Growth, Product and Manufacture of both, with an Exception to Wool and Sheep Fells, and with equal Duties on home Conſumption reſpectively; and that the Maſters, Mariners, and Goods of *Scotland*, be under the ſame Penalties as thoſe of *England*. To the 2d, they deſir'd there might be added, *That the Impoſition and Prohibition ſhould be the ſame in both, as to the Import and Export.* To the 3d their Lordſhips ſaid, That the Plantation Trade was the Property of *England*, and of ſuch Conſequence as not to be The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners Anſwer.

A. D. 1702. communicated till the other Particulars, which ſhould be thought neceſſary to the Union, were adjuſted; that in this Article there ſhould be Proviſion made, that *Scots* Men be liable to be preſs'd in Time of War, for her Majeſty's Service. To the 4th, they agreed, that the Act of Navigation be accommodated to the Union. To the 5th, they thought it contradicted by what was agreed in the 2d, and ſaid there was no Duty on Trade, except ſome of the Funds of the Civil Government, but what was appointed to pay publick Debts; and tho' theſe Debts were contracted by a long War, entred into more particularly for the Preſervation of *England*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; yet *Scotland* had taſted the Benefit of that War by the Oppoſition made to the Growth of the Power of *France*; and that *Scotland* would be abundantly compenſated for that Burden, by a compleat Union, which could not be eſtabliſh'd with Equality, unleſs there were the ſame Duty in both Kingdoms on Foreign and Home Conſumption; but how the Money ariſing from thence in *Scotland* ſhould be applied, or what Equivalent ſhould be allow'd the *Scots*, that it might be ſettled when their Lordſhips came to propoſe what Proportion *Scotland* ſhould bear of the publick Burdens, for the Support of the Government in Peace and War. For the 6th Propoſal they deſired it might be further explain'd. At the ſame Time the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* deliver'd in their Propoſals, for preſerving the Rights and Privileges of their Company trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*, which was to be conſider'd at the next Meeting.

The Epiſcopal Clergy's Addreſs to the Queen.

At this Time the Epiſcopal Clergy of *Scotland* having obſerved, that in this Meeting no Mention was made of Religion, they conceiv'd great Hopes, that as the Two Nations would be united in Civil Government, that alſo Epiſcopal Church Government would be reſtored in *Scotland*. Upon which Occaſion they drew up an Addreſs to the Queen, which was preſented to her Majeſty, about the latter End of *December*. To their Addreſs the Queen return'd an Anſwer, and at the ſame Time wrote to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, recommending thoſe Clergy to their Care and Conſideration, and deſiring they might be protected in the Exerciſe of their Religion.

The Queen's Moto *Semper Eadem.*

In *December* this Year, the Earl of *Carliſle*, Deputy Earl Marſhal of *England*, gave publick Notice, that it was her Majeſty's Pleaſure, that whenever there was Occaſion to Embroider, depict, grave, carve, or paint her Majeſty's Arms, theſe Words, *SEMPER EADEM* ſhould be uſed for a Motto; which Order was likewiſe notified in *Scotland*.

1703. About the Beginning of this Year 1703, the People of *Scotland* were ſtrangely divided in their Opinions about the propos'd Union. For as there had been no Mention made of Religion in the aforemention'd Treaty, the Presbyterian Party were under ſome Apprehenſion of being ſuppreſs'd, as they had been at the Reſtoration; nor were ſome of the Epiſcopal Party leſs hopeful of ſeeing themſelves reſtor'd; but theſe Fears and Hopes only affected a few of each Party, for the principal Perſons, and Generality of both Parties were otherwiſe concern'd upon that Occaſion.

The Queen grants an Indemnity in *Scotland.*

Upon the 6th of *March* this Year, the Queen's Proclamation was iſſued, wherein her Majeſty granted an Indemnity and free Pardon to all her Subjects of *Scotland*, that had been baniſh'd, or guilty of any Offences againſt the Government, ſince the Revolution, allowing Liberty to ſuch as were out of the Kingdom, to return home by a Day limited.

The Earl of *Seafield* being now made Chancellor, he came down to *Scotland* to prepare Matters for the Meeting of a new Parliament, which was appointed to meet at *Edinburgh* the 6th Day of *May*, and accordingly this new Parliament met at the Day appointed; and in the firſt Day of their Meeting, according to their uſual Solemnity, all the Members went on Horſeback, from the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe* to the Parliament-Houſe, the Nobility being all in their Parliament Robes, with rich Foot Mantles and Liveries. Being come to the Parliament-Houſe; his Grace the Duke of *Queensberry*, Lord High Commiſſioner being placed on the Throne, he deliver'd the Queens Letter to the Parliament, wherein her Majeſty having recommended to them the Peace

A new Parliament at *Edinburgh.*

and

and Security of the Kingdom, concluded with an earneſt Deſire of laying aſide all Differences and Animoſities, and bring Matters to ſuch a happy Concluſion, as might eſtabliſh a laſting Union betwixt her Majeſty and her People. *A. D.* 1703.

The firſt Thing entred upon in this Parliament, was the Draught of an Act for recognizing and aſſerting her Majeſty's Authority, and her undoubted Right and Title to the Imperial Crown of that Kingdom; which Draught being read, was order'd to be read a Second Time, by unanimous Conſent.

Diſputes in the Parliament.

Upon the 15th Day of *May*, the Chancellor mov'd, that it ſhould receive a Second reading, in order to be paſt; but before it went to a Vote, the Queen's Advocate offer'd a Clauſe in theſe Words, *That it ſhall be Treaſon to quarrel her Majeſty's Right and Title to the Crown, or her Exerciſe of the Government, from her actual Entry to the ſame.* Againſt this Clauſe it was objected, that it was diſhonourable to her Majeſty: For, by it, the Houſe ſeem'd to give her Majeſty an Indemnity for her Actings, and Exerciſe of her Power, ſince her Acceſſion to the Throne. Some Debate happening upon that Account, it was anſwer'd in Behalf of the Clauſe, that by the late Queen *Mary*'s Death, without Heirs of her Body, the Right of Succeſſion came to the Queen, upon the Proſpect of King *William*'s Death, as by the Entail ſhe was to ſucceed before any Children of his Body, but that ſhe did not ſucceed to the Exerciſe till his Death. Therefore it was proper, not only to recognize her Right to Succeſſion, but alſo to recognize her actual Exerciſe, and ſecure both by a Sanction of Treaſon; but after ſeveral Debates for and againſt the Clauſe, in Four Days after the Act was paſt with the Clauſe.

Act propoſed againſt making War.

After this the next Thing conſider'd, was an Act for a Toleration to the Epiſcopal Clergy; but thoſe who were the chief Promoters of it, conceiving great Difficulties, laid it aſide till ſome more proper Occaſion. Afterwards ſeveral Acts were propos'd, eſpecially an Act concerning Peace and War, whereby, after her Majeſty's Death, and failing Heirs of her Body, no Perſon at the ſame Time, King or Queen of *Scotland* and *England*, ſhould have the ſole Power of making War with any Prince, State, or Potentate whatſoever, without Conſent of Parliament: As alſo ſeveral other Acts were propos'd, but the Debates continuing ſtill, they could come to no Agreement. As alſo ſeveral other Acts were propos'd, eſpecially an Act *to ſettle the Succeſſion on the Houſe of* Hanover. Which Act being propos'd by the Earl of *Marchmount*, upon the firſt reading of it, the Clerk was interrupted, and ſeveral of the Members propos'd to have the Member who propos'd the Act call'd to the Bar, and others to have him ſent to the Caſtle; whereupon the Chancellor, with much ado, obtain'd Silence, and the Clerk was order'd to read it to an End; whereupon the Earl of *Marchmount* deſir'd it might be mark'd a firſt reading, and was ſeconded by the Marquiſs of *Lothian*, and ſome others; but after ſeveral warm Diſputes, the Act was laid aſide. And the Diviſions in this Parliament were ſo great, that the Commiſſioner, after giving the Royal Aſſent to ſome private Acts, he adjourn'd the Parliament upon the 16th Day of *September*.

Diviſions upon reading the Act of Succeſſion.

Peers created in *Scotland*.

After this Parliament was adjourn'd, the Queen was pleaſed to confer Titles of Honour on the following Perſons, the Marquiſſes of *Douglaſs* and *Athol* were made Dukes, the Viſcounts of *Stairs*, *Roſeberry*, and *Tarbot*, Lord *Boyle*, *James Stewart* of *Bute*, and *Charles Hope* of *Hopton*, were created Earls of *Stairs*, *Roſeberry*, *Cromarty*, *Glaſgow*, *Bute*, and *Hopton*, and *John Crawford* of *Kilbirny*, and Sir *James Primroſe* of *Carington*, were created Viſcounts of *Garnock* and *Primroſe*.

1704. A pretended Invaſion.

In the Beginning of the Year 1704, a Report was ſpread of an intended Invaſion from *France*, but after diligent Search had been made into the Grounds of that Report, it was found to be a ſimple Contrivance of ſome worthleſs Perſons, to accompliſh their own baſe Ends; upon that Account one *Robert Ferguſſon*, was apprehended and put in *Newgate*, and one *David Bailie* being examin'd, and found guilty of defaming the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol*

A. D. 1704. and ſome other Noblemen, he was ſentenc'd to ſtand in the Pillory, and to be baniſh'd out of the Kingdom. The former Part of the Sentence was executed, but the latter remitted.

At this Time the Earl of *Cromarty* was made Secretary inſtead of the Duke of *Queensberry*, and the Marquiſs of *Tweedale* appointed Commiſſioner to the enſuing Parliament.

The Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*.

In this Parliament, which met at *Edinburgh* the the 6th Day of *July*, her Majeſty's Commiſſion to the Marquiſs of *Tweedale* for repreſenting her Royal Perſon in this Seſſioon was read, in order to be recorded. And upon the 11th Day of the ſame Month the Parliament met again: At which time the Commiſſioner preſented the Queen's Letter; wherein her Majeſty declar'd her great Concern upon Account of the Diviſions in the laſt Seſſion: Wherefore ſhe earneſtly recommended to them, to conſult ſuch Meaſures as might contribute to the Peace and Proſperity of the Nation, and bring Matters to a happy Concluſion. After reading the Queen's Letter the Commiſſioner made a Speech; wherein he repreſented the Queen's earneſt Deſire in ſettling the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line; with the many Advantages for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion in *Scotland* and other Nations: And that they would conſider of all other Means which might prevent ſuch Diviſio ns as had been in the laſt meeting.

The Commiſſioner's Speech.

After this Speech the Earl of *Seafield*, Lord Chancellor, and Earl of *Cromarty* the Secretary, made each of them a Speech in Recommendation of the Queen's Letter and the Commiſſioner's Speech: Theſe Speeches being over, Mr. *Seaton*, *junior*, of *Pitmedden*, gave in an Overture to this Effect, "That "the Houſe would ſtand by, and defend her Majeſty's Perſon and Go- "vernment, without naming a Succeſſor to the Crown of *Scotland* during "this Seſſion of Parliament; but would agree on ſuch Conditions of Go- "vernment, to take Effect after her Majeſty's Death, as might beſt conduce "to free that Kingdom from all *Engliſh* Influence: To the End the *Scots* "might be in a Condition to treat with *England* about a Foederal Union.

Seaton of *Pitmedden*'s Motion.

Two Days after, the Duke of *Hamilton* propos'd a Reſolution, *Not to name a Succeſſor till the* Scots *had a previous Treaty with* England *for regulating their Commerce, and other Concerns with that Nation.*

The Duke of *Hamilton*'s Motion.

Some Days after, great Debates aroſe upon this Motion of the Duke of *Hamilton*'s: And at the ſame time the Earl of *Rothes* preſented another Memorial, wherein it was reſolv'd, *That the Parliament ſhould immediatly proceed to make ſuch Limitations and Conditions of Government for the Ratification of their Conſtitution, as might ſecure the Religion, Liberty and Independency of the Nation, before they proceed to the ſaid Nomination: And that afterwards they ſhould take the Duke of* Hamilton's *Reſolve into Conſideration.*

The Earl of *Rothes*'s Motion.

Theſe Motions occaſion'd ſome warm Debates and Speeches on both Sides: For as thoſe that were for the Act of Settlement of the Succeſſion, in their Speeches repreſented the Danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor, with many Reflections on the Court of *France* and the *Jacobite* Party in *Scotland*: On the other Hand, thoſe that oppos'd the ſettling of the Succeſſion; made Speeches againſt the Proceedings of the Parliament of *England*, eſpecially with relation to a pretended Plot. Upon which Occaſion the Duke of *Athole* (then Lord Privy Seal) mov'd, That the Commiſſioner ſhould write to her Majeſty, to ſend down the Perſons that were Witneſſes, and all the Papers relating to that Plot, that the Affair might be examin'd; ſo that thoſe who were falſly accus'd might be vindicated, and thoſe who were guilty might be puniſh'd according to their Deſervings. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor declar'd, by Order of the Commiſſioner, That his Grace had wrote, and would again write to her Majeſty, to ſend down the whole Evidences relating to the Plot, as ſoon as poſſible.

Some Days after, the Duke of *Hamilton* propos'd, That the Parliament ſhould proceed to make ſuch Limitations and Conditions of Government, as might ſecure the Religion, Liberty and Independency of the Nation: And

that

that they ſhould nominate Commiſſioners to treat with *England* for regulating Commerce and other Concerns with that Nation; previous to all other *Buſineſs*, except an Act for two Months Ceſs, to be granted for the preſent Subſiſtence of her Majeſty's Forces. Whereupon the Earl of *Marchmount* made a Speech, the Subſtance of which was, That ſince the Houſe reſolv'd to delay ſettling the Succeſſion, it was reaſonable an Act ſhould be made, to exclude all Popiſh Succeſſors. Upon which aroſe ſeveral Debates, ſo that nothing was concluded in this Seſſion, but an Act for 6 Months Ceſs, that paſt upon the 21ſt of *June*, and the Act of Security upon the 5th of *Auguſt*, and laſtly upon the 22d of *Auguſt*, an Act was paſt, diſcharging the Importation of Woolen Manufactory, and allowing the Exportation of Wool and Skins. And upon the 27th the Parliament was prorogued to the 7th of *October*. *A. D.* 1704.

The Parliament prorogued.

After this Parliament was adjourn'd, the Marquiſs of *Tweedale* was made Chancellor, the Earls of *Seafield* and *Roxborough* Secretaries, the Earl of *Rotheſs* Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Cromarty* Lord Juſtice General, Mr. *Baillie* of *Jerviſwood* Treaſurer-Deputy, the Earl of *Selkirk*, Lord *Belhaven* and Sir *James Hume* Lords of the Treaſury, and Sir *William Hamilton* of *Whitelaw* was made Juſtice Clerk, but dying ſoon after, he was ſucceeded by *Adam Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*.

At the time of the Adjournment of this laſt Seſſion, an Addreſs having been tranſmitted to her Majeſty, deſiring, That the Evidences and Papers relating to the late Plot, might be laid before them againſt their next meeting. Which Addreſs being laid before the Parliament of *England*, ſeveral Obſervations was made on it; and after Conſideration of the late Acts paſt in *Scotland*, the Grand Committee of the Houſe of Peers in *England* came to theſe Reſolutions: "That the beſt Method to prevent the Inconveniencies "which might happen by the late Acts paſs'd in *Scotland*, was by making "ſuch Laws here for that Purpoſe: That the Queen be enabled, by Act of "Parliament, on the Part of *England*, to name Commiſſioners to treat about "an Union with *Scotland*; provided that thoſe Powers be not put in Exe-"cution till Commiſſioners ſhould be nam'd on the Part of *Scotland*, by the "Parliament there: That *Scotſmen* ſhould not enjoy the Privilege of *Engliſh-"men*, except ſuch as are ſettled in this Kingdom, in *Ireland*, and the Plan-"tations; and ſuch as are, and ſhall be in our Land and Sea Service, until an "Union be concluded, or the Succeſſion ſettled as in *England*: That the bring-"ing of Cattle from *Scotland* into *England* be prevented: That the Lord "Admiral, or Commiſſioners of the Admirality for the time being, be re-"quir'd to give Orders to her Majeſty's Ships, To take ſuch Ships as they "ſhall find trading from *Scotland* to *France*, or to the Ports of any of her "Majeſty's Enemies, and that Cruizers be appointed for that Purpoſe: And "that the Exportation of *Engliſh* Wool into *Scotland* be carefully hinder'd." Theſe Reſolutions being approv'd of by the Houſe, the Judges were order'd to reduce them into Bills; one of which, for the entire Union with *Scotland*, was read a third time and paſſed, the 20th of *December*, and ſent to the Commons for their Concurrence; and the Lords addreſs'd the Queen upon that Occaſion. Some Days after, Mr. *Conyers* reported from the Committee of the whole Houſe of Commons, That the Reſolutions which they had taken were as follows: 1. That they ſhould enable her Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners for *England*, to treat with Commiſſioners for *Scotland*, about uniting the two Kingdoms. 2. That all Natives of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, except ſuch as were ſettl'd, and ſhould continue Inhabitants of *England* or the Dominions thereunto belonging, or are at preſent in Service in the Army or Navy, ſhould be reputed as Aliens, unleſs the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Scotland* be ſettl'd on the Princeſs *Sophia* of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Proteſtants. 3. That a more effectual Proviſion be made to prevent the Exportation of Wool from *England* and *Ireland* into *Scotland*. 4. That Proviſion be made to prevent the Importation of *Scots* Linnen into *England* or *Ireland*; and to permit the Exportation of the Linnen Manufactories of *Ireland*, in *Engliſh* Bottoms, into her Majeſty's Planta-

Propoſitions of the Houſe of Peers of *England*, concerning *Scotland*.

Reſolutions of the Commons.

A. D. 1704. tion of the *West Indies*. 5. That immediate Proviſion be made to prevent the conveying of Horſes, Arms, or Ammunition from *England* or *Ireland* into *Scotland*. 6 That all the Proteſtant Free Holders of the Six Northern Counties of *England*, be permitted to furniſh themſelves with Arms.

Theſe Reſolutions being read all except the laſt Two, were agreed to by the Houſe, who appointed a Committee to prepare and bring in a Bill accordingly. And ſome Days after, upon a Second reading of the Lords Bill to the ſame Purpoſe, it was order'd to ly upon the Table. On the 1ſt Day of *February*, the Commons read a Third Time, and paſt their own Bill relating to *Scotland*; and ſent it to the Lords for their Concurrence, which they readily gave, and return'd the Bill 4 Days after, without any Ammendment.

1705. The Parliament of *Scotland* meets.

In the Year 1705, his Grace *John* Duke of *Argyle*, was nominated her Majeſty's High Commiſſioner to the Parliament of *Scotland*, which was appointed to meet upon the 28th of *June*. When his Grace came to the Borders of *Scotland*, he was receiv'd by a Squadron of the Marquiſs of *Lothian*'s Dragoons; the next Day the Lord Advocate, Lord Provoſt, and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, with above 600 Horſe, met his Grace near *Muſſelburgh*, having then a Retinue of 34 Coaches of the Nobility and Gentry, with 6 Horſes in each. And at his Grace's coming to *Edinburgh*, the great Guns from the Caſtle, the Park, and Men of War in *Leith* Road, were fired round; which extraordinary Reſpect was paid to his Grace, upon the Account of his great Atchievements in Military Actions. For in the 17th Year of his Age, he had the Command of a Regiment in the Army, and behaved himſelf with incomparable Bravery: And in the Beginning of the War in this Reign, he was made a Major General, and afterwards Lieutenant General; and at this Time when appointed her Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, was only in the 22d Year of his Age.

On the Day appointed for the Meeting of the Parliament, his Grace came to the Houſe, where his Commiſſion was read, and recorded; after which the Commiſſions of *James* Earl of *Seafield*, as Chancellor, *William* Marquiſs of *Annandale*, and *Hugh* Earl of *London* as Secretaries of State; *David* Earl of *Glaſgow* Lord Treaſurer Deputy, Sir *James Murray* of *Philiphaugh* Clerk-Regiſter, *Adam Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*, Lord Juſtice-Clerk, all whoſe Commiſſions were ſeverally read, and recorded as uſual. After which the Parliament was adjourn'd to the 3d of *July*, on which Day, being met, the Queen's Letter was read, wherein her Majeſty recommended to the Parliament the ſettling the Succeſſion of the Kingdom in the Proteſtant Line, and to paſs an Act for a Commiſſion to ſet a Treaty on Foot, and to provide ſuch Things as were neceſſary for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom.

The Queen's Letter to the Parliament read.

After reading of the Queen's Letter, his Grace the Commiſſioner made a Speech, wherein he expreſt her Majeſty's tender Affection towards the Nation, and Aſſurance to maintain the Government as eſtabliſh'd by Law, both in Church and State. And recommended to their Conſideration, how neceſſary it was for the Advantage of the Nation, to ſettle the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line, and to promote the Treaty of the Union with *England*; and after recommending to their Care to maintain, repair, and ſupply the Ships of War, Magazines, and Forts of the Nation. His Grace concluded in theſe Words, "My Lords and Gentlemen, I am moſt ſenſible of the Difficulties "that attends this Poſt, and the Loſs I am at by want of Experience in pub-"lick Affairs: But I ſhall endeavour to make it up by my Zeal and Firm-"neſs in ſerving her Majeſty, and the great Regard I ſhall have to whatever "may be for the Good of my Country."

The Lord Commiſſioner's Speech.

And then the Earl of *Seafield*, Lord Chancellor, made a Speech to the ſame Purpoſe.

After this was read a Letter from the Queen to the Lord Commiſſioner, appointing Lord *Archibald Campbell*, Brother to his Grace, (now Earl of *Illa*) to have the Place and Vote of Lord High Treaſurer in this Parliament.

In this Seſſion ſeveral Propoſals were made by ſeveral of the Members, concerning ſettling of the Succeſſion, and entring into the Treaty of Union with

with *England*, and to conſider of the Coin and Trade of the Nation, which occaſion'd Debates without Concluſion; but afterwards Two Acts were made diſcharging the Importation of *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* tann'd Leather; as alſo diſcharging Importation or wearing of Muſlin, Callico, or other Foreign Linen, and Importation of *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* Butter or Cheeſe; which Acts being put to a Vote, were by a Majority of Voices approv'd. *A. D.* 1705.

Upon the 17th of *July*, the Duke of *Hamilton* preſented the following Reſolution, That this Parliament will not proceed to the Nomination of a Succeſſor, untill they had a previous Treaty with *England*, in Relation to Commerce, and other Concerns with that Nation. That the Parliament ſhould proceed to make ſuch Limitations and Conditions of Government, as might ſecure Liberty, Religion, and Independency of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, before they proceeded to the ſaid Nomination. Upon this Occaſion the Lord *Belhaven* made a long Speech, wherein, with great Earneſtneſs he uſed many weighty Arguments to diſſwade the Parliament from entring into a Treaty of Union. This Speech carried ſuch Weight with it, that after ſome Debates, it was put to the Vote, to approve or not of the Motion made by the Duke of *Hamilton*, and it was by a Majority approv'd. The Duke of *Hamilton* offers a Reſolution.

Some Days after a Draught of an Act for a Treaty with *England*, was preſented by the Earl of *Marr*, as alſo another Draught for a Treaty by the Marquiſs of *Lothian*; and at the ſame Time a Draught of an Act for chooſing of State Officers, Privy Counſellers, and Members of Exchequer and Treaſury, in caſe of her Majeſty's Deceaſe, without Heirs of her Body, which was preſented by the Earl of *Rothes*; the Draught of ſeveral other Acts concerning Fiſhing, and Exportation and Importation of Merchandizes, was order'd to be printed for Information of the Members. Draughts of Acts prepared.

On the 23d of *July*, the Duke of *Queensberry* being appointed Lord Privy Seal of *Scotland*, he came on his Journey to *Berwick*, where his Grace receiv'd an Expreſs, wherein ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen deſired, that he ſhould make a publick Entry into *Edinburgh*, and coming the next Day to *Dunbar*, he was met by the Earls of *Marr*, *Wyeems*, *Balcarras*, *Roſeberry*, Viſcount *Primroſe*, and Lords *Elibank* and *Strathnaver*, the Lord Regiſter, Lord Preſident of the Seſſion, with about 100 Gentlemen on Horſe-back; and the next Day was met between *Dunbar* and *Edinburgh*, by the Marquiſſes of *Annandale* and *Lothian*, Earls of *Crawford*, *Sutherland*, *Loudon*, *Leven*, *Melvil*, *Stairs*, *Glaſgow*, *Cromarty*, *March*, *Hyndford*, and *Dalhouſie*, the Lords *Forbes*, *Bellandin*, and *Rollo*, the Lord Provoſt and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, with ſeveral others; ſo that at this Time his Grace was met with greater Splendor than at any Time when he had been Commiſſioner; at his Arrival a Council was held, where his Grace took Place as Lord Privy Seal, and went afterwards to the Parliament, where his Commiſſion being read, was ordered to be recorded; and he took the uſual Oaths. The Duke of *Queensberry*'s Entry to *Edinburgh*.

After the Duke of *Queensberry*'s coming to the Parliament, the Draught of ſeveral Acts were taken into Conſideration, particularly a Propoſal made by Doctor *Hugh Chamberlain*, for ſupplying the Nation with Money by a Paper Credit; which being read and conſider'd, it was agreed, that the forcing any Paper Credit by an Act of Parliament, was unfit for the Nation.

On the 10th of *Auguſt*, among other Things, it was mov'd, that Mr. *James Anderſon* Writer to her Majeſty's Signet, having written a Book, Entituled, *An Hiſtorical Eſſay, ſhewing, that the Crown and Kingdom of* Scotland *is Imperial and Independent*; wherein he learnedly confuted and expoſed the groſs Miſtakes of a late Book, Entituled, *The Superiority and direct Dominion of the Imperial Crown of* England, *over the Crown and Kingdom of* Scotland, and ſeveral other Books to the ſame Purpoſe; and that he ſhould have a Reward for that good Service: Whereupon it was agreed, that he ſhould have the Sum of 4800 Pounds *Scots*; as alſo that the Thanks of the Parliament ſhould be given him by the Lord Chancellor, in the Preſence of her Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, and the Eſtates, which was accordingly done. Mr. *Anderſon* rewarded for writing a Book in Vindication of the Crown of *Scotland*.

A. D. 1706. Likewiſe at that Time Mr. *James Hodges*, who in his Writings had ſerv'd the Intereſt of *Scotland* by Order of Parliament, had a Reward of 4800 Pounds *Scots*. And at the ſame Time, by Order of Parliament, the Book entitl'd, *The Superiority and direct Dominion of the Imperial Crown of* England *over the Crown and Kingdom of* Scotland, being ſcurilous and full of Falſhood; as alſo the Pamphlet entitled, *The* Scots *Patriot unmask'd*, reflecting upon the Honour and Independency of the Nation, written by *William Atwood*, were burnt by the Hand of the Hangman of *Edinburgh*, in Preſence of the Magiſtrates.

M. *Hodges* rewarded.

Atwood's Book burnt by the common Hangman

After this the Parliament proceeded to appoint an Act, for appointing a Council of Trade; which was accordingly approv'd. An Act for a Trienial Parliament was alſo mov'd, but the Conſideration of it was delay'd.

Upon the 29th of *Auguſt*, an Act and Commiſſion for treating with *England* was read, and after a long Debate, the further Conſideration of it was put off till the next Sitting: Againſt which Act the Duke of *Athol* enter'd a Proteſtation, in the Name of himſelf and ſeveral other Members; however that Act for the Treaty was again mov'd, and after ſeveral Proteſtations and Debates, the Act was at laſt paſt, impowering the Queen to appoint Commiſſioners for *Scotland*, to meet and treat with Commiſſioners of *England*. And after paſſing ſeveral other Acts of leſs Conſequence, the Parliament was adjourn'd to the 20th of *December* next.

An Act paſt impowering the Queen to appoint Commiſſioners to treat of the Union.

1706. In the Month of *March*, 1706. her Majeſty iſſu'd a Commiſſion, appointing the following Perſons for *Scotland*, to treat of an Union between the two Kingdoms, *viz.* *James* Earl of *Seafield*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*; *James* Duke of *Queenſberry*, Lord Privy Seal; *John* Earl of *Marr*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Loudon*, Principal Secretaries of State; *John* Earl of *Sutherland*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *David* Earl of *Wemyss*, *David* Earl of *Leven*, *John* Earl of *Stair*, *Archibald Campbell*, Brother to the Duke of *Argyle*; *Thomas* Viſcount *Duplin*, *William* Lord *Roſs*, one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; Sir *Hugh Dalrymple*, one of her Majeſty's Sollicitors; Sir *Alexander Ogilvy*, Receiver General; Sir *Patrick Johnſton*, Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*; Sir *James Smollet*, of *Bonhill*; *George Lockhart* of *Carnwath*, *William Moriſon* of *Preſtongrange*, *Alexander Grant*, younger, of *Grant*; *William Seaton*, younger, of *Pitmedden*; *John Clerk*, younger, of *Pennycook*; *Hugh Montgomery*, Provoſt of *Glaſgow*; *Daniel Campbell* and *Daniel Stewart*, Tackſmen of the Cuſtoms. Theſe being the Commiſſioners on the Part of *Scotland*, her Majeſty likewiſe appointed the following Perſons as Commiſſioners on the Part of *England*, *viz.* *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William Cowper*, Eſq; Keeper of the Great Seal; *John* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, High Treaſurer of *England*; *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Mountgomery*, Preſident of the Council; *John* Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Keeper of the Privy Seal; *William* Duke of *Devonſhire*, Steward of the Houſhold; *Charles* Duke of *Somerſet*, Maſter of the Horſe; *Charles* Duke of *Bolton*, *Charles* Earl of *Sunderland*, *Evelyn* Earl of *Kingſtoun*, *Charles* Earl of *Carliſle*, *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles* Viſcount *Townſhend*, *Thomas* Lord *Wharton*, *Ralph* Lord *Gray*, *John* Lord *Paulet*, *John* Lord *Sommers*, *William Cavendiſh* Marquiſs of *Hartington*, *John Manners* Marquiſs of *Granby*, *John Smith*, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; Sir *Charles Hedges*, Knight, and *Robert Harley*, Eſq; Principal Secretaries of State; *Henry Boyle*, Eſq; Chancellor, and under Treaſurer of the Exchequer; Sir *John Holt*, Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Queen's-Bench; Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common-Pleas; Sir *Edward Northy*, Attorney General; Sir *John Cook*, and Sir *Stephen Waller*, Doctor of Law.

1706.

Names of the *Scots* Commiſſioners.

Names of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners.

On *Tueſday* the 16th of *April*, theſe Commiſſioners met at the Council Chamber in the *Cock-pit*, at *Whitehall*; and the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* having choſen Sir *David Nairn* for their Secretary, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners appointed *George Doddington*, Eſq; after which both their Commiſſions were read by their reſpective Secretaries. The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal addreſs'd himſelf to the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* in a Speech, which was

The *Scots* and *Engliſh* Commiſſioners meet at the *Cock-pit*.

was anſwer'd by the Earl of *Seaſield*, Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*. Their Speeches being over, it was agreed and order'd, That Copies of each Commiſſion ſhould be prepar'd and ſign'd by the reſpective Secretaries, and interchang'd againſt the next meeting, which was put off till the *Munday* after: And accordingly having met again on that Day, the Lord Keeper, in the Name of the Lords Commiſſioners for *England*, deliver'd to the Board Articles of Preliminaries; which being read, were taken into Conſideration till their next meeting: At which time, the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland* acquainted the Board, That the Lords Commiſſioners for *Scotland* did agree to the Preliminary Articles propos'd by the Lords Commiſſioners of *England* at their laſt meeting, for regulating the Methods for proceeding in the Treaty. *A. D.* 1706.

In this Treaty theſe Commiſſioners having met at 45 ſeveral times, betwixt the 16th Day of *April*, and the 22d of *July*. On which Day the reſpective Secretaries read the Draught of the Articles of the Union, and ſign'd and ſeal'd the Inſtruments and Writings, according to their reſpective Commiſſions: And the ſame Day order'd, That the reſpective Secretaries of each Commiſſion, ſhould ſign each others Journals of the Proceedings, and afterwards enter in their Journals the Articles of the Treaty of Union. After which the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms went from the *Cock-pit* to attend the Queen at St. *James*'s; where the Lord Keeper, in Name of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, and the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, in Name of the Lords Commiſſioners for that Kingdom, made each of them Speeches, acquainting her Majeſty of the Progreſs they had made in the Treaty. The Treaty concluded.

To which Speeches her Majeſty return'd an Anſwer, *expreſſing her Thankfulneſs to the Commiſſioners for their diligent Endeavours in bringing Matters to ſo happy a Concluſion; and the great Satisfaction ſhe had receiv'd, to think that ſo great a Work ſhould be accompliſh'd in her Reign.*

The ſame Day an Order was made by the Queen and Council, That whoſoever ſhould be concern'd in any ſeditious Diſcourſes or Libels, or laying Wagers, or making or ſubſcribing Policies of Aſſurance, relating to the Union betwixt the two Kingdoms, ſhould be proſecuted for ſuch Offences, according to the utmoſt Rigour of the Law. Which Order, all Juſtices of the Peace and other Magiſtrates, were order'd to take Notice of: And that her Majeſty's Pleaſure therein might be publickly known, it was order'd to be publiſh'd in the *Gazette*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* being appointed to meet the 3d of *October*, his Grace *James* Duke of *Queensberry*, her Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, went to the Parliament Houſe on the Day appointed, being attended by ſeveral of the Nobility and other Members of Parliament. His Grace's Commiſſion was read and recorded as uſual; after which her Majeſty's Letter to the Parliament was read, wherein her Majeſty expreſs'd *the great Satisfaction ſhe had receiv'd by the Care and Diligence of the Commiſſioners, who had concluded that Treaty in ſuch Terms, as ſhe hop'd would be acceptable to the Subjects of both Nations: And as it was ſo long deſir'd of both Nations, ſhe ſhould eſteem it as the greateſt Glory of her Reign, to accompliſh that which would prove the greateſt Happineſs of her People. And concluded with her earneſt Deſire to avoid all ſuch Diviſions as might any ways obſtruct the ſo much wiſh'd for happy Concluſion.* The Parliament meets at *Edinburgh*. The Queen's Letter read.

After which the Duke of *Queensberry* made a Speech, wherein, among other things he ſaid, The Lords Commiſſioners for both Kingdoms were limited in the Matter of Church Government: And as for the Security of the Preſbyterian Government in the Church of *Scotland*, as they had Laws made already for its Eſtabliſhment; the Queen gave repeated Aſſurance to preſerve it. And at the ſame time declar'd, he had Power from her Majeſty to conſent to what might be further neceſſary after the Union. The Lord Commiſſioner's Speech.

A. D. 1706. The Chancellor's Speech.

The Earl of *Seafield* Lord Chancellor, alſo made a Speech, wherein, after Commendation of the Queen's Letter, and Commiſſioner's Speech, he repreſented the happy Proſpect of Peace and Advantage, by being united with *England*; as alſo repeated her Majeſty's Aſſurance for maintaining and preſerving Presbyterian Church Government in *Scotland*. Which Speech his Lordſhip concluded in theſe Words; *My Lords and Gentlemen. Since we have now the Opportunity of eſtabliſhing of our ſelves and our Poſterity, by this Union with* England, *all that concerns our Religion and Liberties, together with the moſt valuable Privileges of Trade, I am hopeful that you will proceed to the Conſideration of the Articles of the Treaty, in ſuch Manner as ſhall bring it to the deſired Concluſion; and it cannot but tend to the laſting Honour of this Seſſion of Parliament, to have ſo happily finiſhed this important and weighty Matter.*

Theſe Speeches being over, the Treaty of the Union was read, and order'd to be printed, together with the Proceedings of the Lords Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, in Relation to that Matter. The Parliament was adjourn'd for Six Days, and the Lord High Commiſſioner return'd to her Majeſty's Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*, attended by ſuch of the Nobility, and other Members of Parliament, as were forward in promoting the Union, to whom his Grace gave a ſplendid Entertainment.

At their next Meeting, upon the 12th of the ſame Month, it being mov'd, that the Houſe ſhould proceed to the Conſideration of the Articles of the Union, the Motion was oppoſed by ſeveral of the Members, who crav'd Liberty, ſince they had ſeen the Arricles, to conſider and adviſe with their Conſtituents upon that Occaſion; whereupon great Debates aroſe, but at laſt it was carried by a Majority of Voices, that they ſhould proceed to conſider of the Articles of the Treaty without Delay; which ſtill occaſion'd further Debates, inſomuch, that not only in the Houſe many Reflections and Reproaches were thrown on thoſe who promoted the Treaty, but likewiſe in the Outter-houſe and Parliament-Cloſs, great Crowds of People were daily aſſembled, exclaiming againſt the Union; and at the ſame Time they ſurrounded and followed the Commiſſioner through the Streets, to and from the Houſe, curſing and reviling him to his Face; but as the Duke of *Hamilton* was the chief Perſon of the Party that oppoſed the Treaty, he was followed through the Streets by the Apprentices and younger Sort of People, with Huzzas, and all other Teſtimonies of popular Applauſe.

During the ſitting of this Seſſion, while the Articles were before the Parliament, many Tumults, Addreſſes, Proteſtations, and Speeches were made againſt the Union, by ſeveral Parties and Perſons in ſeveral Places of the Kingdom, beſides the Oppoſition it met with in the Parliament: The Relation of the Particulars being too tedious, and ſomewhat inconvenient, I think proper to conclude with the Articles by which both Kingdoms are united, which are as follows.

The Union concluded.

The Articles of the UNION, *as they paſs'd with Amendments in the Parliament of* Scotland, *and ratify'd by the Touch of the Royal Sceptre at* Edinburgh, January 16th, 1707, *by* James *Duke of* Queensberry, *her Majeſty's High Commiſſioner for that Kingdom.*

The Articles of the Union.

I. THAT the Two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*, ſhall, upon the Firſt Day of *May* next enſuing the Date hereof, and for ever after, be united into one Kingdom, by the Name of *Great Britain*; and that the Enſigns Armorial of the ſaid united Kingdom, be ſuch as her Majeſty ſhall appoint; and the Croſſes of St. *Andrew* and St. *George* be conjoin'd in ſuch Manner as her Majeſty ſhall think fit, and uſed in all Flags, Banners, Standards, and Enſigns, both at Sea and Land.

II. That the Succeſſion to the Monarchy of the united Kingdom of *Great Britain*, and of the Dominions thereunto belonging, after her moſt ſacred Majeſty, and in Default of Iſſue of her Majeſty, be, remain, and continue to the moſt excellent Princeſs *Sophia*, Electoreſs and Dutcheſs Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Proteſtants, upon whom the Crown of

of *England* is ſettled, by an Act of Parliament made in *England* in the Twelfth Year of the Reign of his late Majeſty King *William* III. Entituled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.* And that all Papiſts, and Perſons marrying Papiſts, ſhall be excluded from, and for ever incapable to inherit, poſſeſs, or enjoy the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any Part thereof. And in every ſuch Caſe, the Crown and Government ſhall from Time to Time, deſcend to, and be enjoy'd by ſuch Perſons, being Proteſtants, as ſhould have inherited and enjoy'd the ſame; in caſe ſuch Papiſts, or Perſons marrying a Papiſt, was naturally dead, according to the Proviſion for the Deſcent of the Crown of *England*, made by another Act of Parliament in *England*, in the Firſt Year of the Reign of their late Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Entituled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown.* A. D. 1707.

III. That the united Kingdom of *Great Britain* be repreſented by one and the ſame Parliament, to be ſtiled the Parliament of *Great Britain.*

IV. That all the Subjects of the united Kingdom of *Great Britain* ſhall, from, and after the Union, have full Freedom and Intercourſe of Trade, and Navigation to, and from any Port or Place within the ſaid united Kingdom, and the Dominions and Plantations thereunto belonging; and that there be a Communication of all other Rights, Privileges, Advantages which do, or may belong to the Subjects of either Kingdom, except where it is otherwiſe expreſly agreed in theſe Articles.

V. That all Ships or Veſſels, belonging to her Majeſty's Subjects of *Scotland*, at the Time of *Ratifying the Treaty of Union of the Two Kingdoms, in the Parliament of* Scotland, though Foreign built, be deem'd, and paſs as Ships of the Build of *Great Britain*; the Owner, or where there are more Owners, one or more of the Owners, within Twelve Months after the 1ſt of *May* next, making Oath, that at the Time of ratifying the Treaty of Union in the Parliament of *Scotland*, the ſame did, in whole or in Part, belong to him or them, or to ſome other Subject or Subjects of *Scotland*, to be particularly named, with the Place of their reſpective Abodes; and that the ſame doth then, at the Time of the ſaid Depoſition, wholly belong to him or them, and that no Foreigner, directly or indirectly, hath any Share, Part, or Intereſt therein. Which Oath ſhall be made before the chief Officer or Officers of the Cuſtoms, in the Port next to the Abode of the ſaid Owner or Owners: And the ſaid Officer or Officers, ſhall be impower'd to adminiſtrate the ſaid Oath; and the Oath being ſo adminiſtrated, ſhall be atteſted by the Officer or Officers, who adminiſtrated the ſame. And being regiſtred by the ſaid Officer or Officers, ſhall be delivered to the Maſter of the Ship for Security of her Navigation; and a Duplicate thereof ſhall be tranſmitted by the ſaid Officer or Officers, to the chief Officer or Officers of the Cuſtoms in the Port of *Edinburgh*, to be there entred in a Regiſter, and from thence to be ſent to the Port of *London*, to be there enter'd in the General Regiſter of all trading Ships belonging to *Great Britain.*

VI. That all Parts of the united Kingdom, for ever, from and after the Union, ſhall have the ſame Allowances, Encouragements, and Draw-backs, and be under the ſame Prohibitions, Reſtrictions, and Regulations of Trade, and the Cuſtoms and Duties on Import and Export ſettled in *England*, when the Union commences, ſhall, from, and after the Union, take place throughout the whole united Kingdom: *Excepting and reſerving the Duties upon Export and Import, of ſuch particular Commodities, from which any Perſons, the Subjects of either Kingdom, are ſpecially liberated and exempted by their private Rights, which after the Union, are to remain ſafe and entire to them in all Reſpects, as before the ſame. And that from, and after the Union, no* Scots *Cattle carried into* England, *ſhall be liable to any other Duties, either on the publick or private Accounts, than thoſe Duties to which the Cattle of* England *are, or ſhall be liable within the ſaid Kingdom. And ſeeing by the Laws of* England, *there are Rewards granted upon the Exportation of certain Kinds of*

A. D. 1707. *Grain, wherein Oats grinded or ungrinded, are not expreſſed, that from and after the Union, when Oats ſhall be ſold at Fifteen Shillings and Six Pence* Sterling, *for every Quarter of the Oat Meal exported, in the Terms of the Law, whereby, and ſo long as Rewards are granted for Exportation of other Grains; and that the Bear of* Scotland *have the ſame Rewards as Barley: And in reſpect the Importation of Victual into* Scotland, *from any Place beyond Sea, would prove a Diſcouragement to Tillage, therefore that the Prohibition, as now in Force by the Law of* Scotland, *againſt Importation of Victual from* Ireland, *or any other Place beyond Sea into* Scotland, *do, after the Union, remain in the ſame Force as now it is, until more proper and effectual Ways be provided by the Parliament of* Great Britain, *for diſcouraging the Importation of the ſaid Victual from beyond Sea.*

VII. That all Parts of the united Kingdom be for ever, from, and after the Union, liable to the ſame Exciſes upon all exciſeable Liquors, *Excepting only that the Thirty four Gallons,* Engliſh *Barrel of Beer or Ale, amounting to Twelve Gallons* Scots, *preſent Meaſure, ſold in* Scotland *by the Brewer at nine Shillings Six Pence* Sterling, *excluding all Duties, and retailed, including Duties, and the Retailers Profit at Two Pence the* Scots *Pint, or Eighth Part of the* Scots *Gallon, be not after the Union liable on account of the preſent Exciſe upon exciſeable Liquors in* England, *to any higher Impoſition than two Shillings* Sterling, *upon the foreſaid Thirty four Gallons,* Engliſh *Barrel being twelve Gallons the preſent* Scots *Meaſure.* And that the Exciſe ſettled in *England* on all other Liquors, when the Union commences, take place throughout the whole united Kingdom.

VIII. That from and after the Union, all Foreign Salt which ſhall be imported into *Scotland*, ſhall be charg'd at the Importation there, with the ſame Duties as the like Salt is now charg'd with being imported into *England*, and to be levied and ſecured in the ſame Manner. *But in regard the Duties of great Quantities of Foreign Salt imported may be very heavy upon the Merchants Importers, that therefore all Foreign Salt imported into* Scotland, *ſhall be celler'd and lock'd up under the Cuſtody of the Merchant Importer, and the Officers employ'd for levying the Duties upon Salt; and that the Merchant may have what Quantities thereof his Occaſion may require, not under a Weigh or Forty Buſhels at a Time, giving Security for the Duty of what Quantities he receives payable in Six Months.* But *Scotland* ſhall, for the Space of Seven Years, from the ſaid Union, be exempted from paying in *Scotland*, for Salt made there, the Duty or Exciſe now payable for Salt made in *England*; but from the Expiration of the ſaid Seven Years, ſhall be ſubject and liable to the ſame Duties for Salt made in *England*, to be levied and ſecured in the ſame Manner, and with proportional Drawbacks and Allowances as in *England*, with this Exception. *That* Scotland *ſhall, after the ſaid ſeven Years, remain exempted from the Duty of two Shillings and four Pence the Buſhel on home Salt, impoſed by an Act made in* England, *in the ninth and tenth Years of King* William III. *of* England; *and if the Parliament of* Great Britain *ſhall at, or before the expiring of the ſaid ſeven Years, ſubſtitute any other Fund in place of the ſaid two Shillings and four Pence of Exciſe upon the Buſhel of home Salt,* Scotland *ſhall, after the ſaid ſeven Years, bear a Proportion of the ſaid Fund, and have an Equivalent in the Terms of this Treaty.* And that during the ſaid ſeven Years, there ſhall be paid in *England*, for all Salt made in *Scotland*, and imported from thence into *England*, the ſame Duties upon the Importation as ſhall be payable for Salt made in *England*, to be levied and ſecured in the ſame Manner as the Duties on Foreign Salt are to be levied and ſecured in *England*. And after the ſaid ſeven Years, how long the ſaid Duty of two Shillings and four Pence a Buſhel upon Salt is continued in *England*, the ſaid two Shillings and four Pence a Buſhel ſhall be payable for all Salt made in *Scotland*, and imported into *England*, to be levied and ſecured in the ſame Manner; and that during the Continuance of the Duty of Two Shillings Four Pence a Buſhel, upon Salt made in *England*, no Salt whatſoever be brought from *Scotland* to *England* by Land, in any Manner, under the Penalty of forfeiting the

the Salt and the Cattle and Carriages made uſe of in bringing the ſame, and paying twenty Shillings for every Buſhel of ſuch Salt, and proportionably for a greater or leſſer Quantity, for which the Carrier as well as the Owner ſhall be liable, jointly and ſeverally, and the Perſons bringing or carrying the ſame, to be impriſon'd by any one Jucice of the Peace, for the ſpace of ſix Months without Bail, and until the Penalty be paid. And for eſtabliſhing an Equality in Trade, that all Fleſh exported from *Scotland* to *England*, and put on Board in *Scotland*, to be exported to Ports beyond the Sea; and Proviſions for Ships in *Scotland*, and for Foreign Voyages, may be ſalted with *Scots* Salt, paying the ſame Duty for what Salt is ſo employ'd, as the like Quantity of ſuch Salt pays in *England*; and under the ſame Penalties, Forfeitures and Proviſions, for preventing of Frauds, as are mention'd in the Laws of *England*. And that from and after the Union, the Laws and Acts of Parliament in *Scotland*, for pineing, curing and packing of Herrings, white Fiſh and Salmon, for Exportation with Foreign Salt only, *without any Mixture of* Britiſh *or* Iriſh *Salt*; and for preventing of Frauds, and curing and packing of Fiſh, be continued in Force in *Scotland*, ſubject to ſuch Alterations as ſhall be made by the Parliament of *Great Britain*; and that all Fiſh exported from *Scotland* to Parts beyond Seas, which ſhall be cured with Foreign Salt only, and without Mixture of *Britiſh* or *Iriſh* Salt, ſhall have the ſame Eaſes, Premiums and Draw-backs, as are or ſhall be allow'd to ſuch Perſons as export the like Fiſh from *England*; and that for Encouragement of the Herring Fiſhing, there ſhall be allowed and paid to the Subjects, Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, during the preſent Allowances for other Fiſhes, Ten Shillings five Pence Sterling for every Barrel of White Herring, which ſhall be exported from *Scotland*; and that they ſhall be allow'd five Shillings Sterling for every Barrel of Beef or Pork ſalted with Foreign Salt, without Mixture of *Britiſh* or *Iriſh* Salt, and exported for Sale from *Scotland* to Parts beyond Sea, alterable by the Parliament of *Great Britain*. And if any Matters of Frauds, relating to the ſaid Duties on Salt, ſhall hereafter appear which are not ſufficiently provided againſt by this Article, the ſame ſhall be ſubject to ſuch further Proviſions as ſhall be thought fit by the Parliament of *Great Britain*. *A. D.* 1706.

IX. That whenever the Sum of One Million, Nine Hundren Ninety Seven Thouſand, Seven Hundred and Sixty Three Pounds, Eight Shillings, Four Pence Half-penny, ſhall be enacted by the Parliament of *Great Britain*, to be raiſed in that Part of the united Kingdom, now called *England*, on Land and other Things uſually charged in Acts of Parliament there, for granting an Aid to the Crown by a Land-Tax; that Part of the united Kingdom, now call'd *Scotland*; ſhall be charged by the ſame Act, with a further Sum of Forty eight thouſand Pounds, free of all Charges, as the Quota of *Scotland* to ſuch Tax, and ſo proportionably for any greater or leſſer Sum raiſed in *England*, by any Tax on Land, and other Things uſually charged, together with the Land; and that ſuch Quota for *Scotland*, in the Caſes aforeſaid, be raiſed and collected in the ſame manner as the Ceſs now is in *Scotland*, but ſubject to ſuch Regulations in the manner of collecting, as ſhall be made by the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

X That during the Continuance of the reſpective Duties on ſtamp'd Paper, Vellom and Parchment, by the ſeveral Acts now in Force in *England*, *Scotland* ſhall not be charged with the ſame reſpective Duties.

XI. That during the Continuance of the Duties payable in *England* on Windows and Lights, which determines on the firſt Day of *Auguſt*, One thouſand ſeven hundred and ten, *Scotland* ſhall not be charged with the ſame Duties.

XII. That during the Continuance of the Duties payable in *England* on Coals, Culm and Cynders, which determines the thirtieth Day of *September*, One thouſand ſeven hundred and ten, *Scotland* ſhall not be charged therewith for Coals, Culm and Cynders conſumed there, but ſhall be charged with the ſame Duties as in *England* for Coals, Culm and Cynders not conſumed in *Scotland*.

A. D. 1707. XIII. That during the Continuance of the Duty payable in *England* on Malt, which determines the Twenty fourth Day of *June*, One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven, *Scotland* ſhall not be charged with that Duty.

XIV. That the Kingdom of *Scotland* be not charged with any other Duties laid on by the Parliament of *England* before the Union, except thoſe conſented to in this Treaty; in regard it is agreed, That all neceſſaey Proviſion ſhall be made by the Parliament of *Scotland*, for the publick Charge and Service of that Kingdom, for the Year One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven; providing nevertheleſs, That if the Parliament of *England* ſhall think fit to lay any further Impoſitions, by way of Cuſtom, or ſuch Exciſes, with which, by Virtue of this Treaty, *Scotland* is to be charged equally with *England*; in ſuch caſe, *Scotland* ſhall be liable to the ſame Cuſtoms and Exciſes, and have an Equivalent to be ſettled, by the Parliament of *Great Britain*, with this further Proviſion, *That any Malt to be made and conſumed in that Part of the united Kingdom now called* Scotland, *ſhall not be charged with any Impoſition on Malt during this War*. And ſeeing it cannot be ſuppoſed that the Parliament of *Great Britain* will ever lay any ſorts of Burdens upon the united Kingdom, but what they ſhall find of Neceſſity, at that time, for the Preſervation and Good of the Whole; and with due Regard to the Circumſtances and Abilities of every Part of the united Kingdom; therefore, *It is agreed*, That there be upon further Exemption inſiſted on for any Part of the united Kingdom, but that the Conſideration of any Exemptions beyond what is already agreed on in this Treaty, ſhall be left to the Determination of the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

XV. That whereas by the Terms of this Treaty, the Subjects of *Scotland* for preſerving an Equality of Trade throughout the united Kingdom, will be liable to ſeveral Cuſtoms and Exciſes now payable in *England*, contracted before the Union; *It is agreed*, That *Scotland* ſhall have an Equivalent for what the Subjects thereof ſhall be ſo charged, towards payment of the Debts of *England*, in all Particulars whatſoever, in manner following, *viz.* That before the Union of the ſaid Kingdoms, the Sum of Three hundred, Ninty eight thouſand, and eighty five Pounds ten Shillings, be granted to her Majeſty by the Parliament of *England*, for the Uſes afore-mention'd, being the Equivalent, to be anſwer'd in *Scotland*, for ſuch Parts of the ſaid Cuſtoms, and Exciſes upon all exciſeable Liquors, with which that Kingdom is to be charg'd upon the Union, as will be applicable to the Payment of the ſaid Debts of *England*, according to the Proportions which the preſent Cuſtoms in *Scotland*, being thirty thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, do bear to the Cuſtoms in *England*, computed at One million, three hundred forty one thouſand, five hundred and fifty nine Pounds *per Annum*: And which the preſent Exciſes on exciſeable Liquors in *Scotland*, being thirty three thouſand and five hundred Pounds *per Annum*, do bear to the Exciſes on exciſeable Liquors in *England*, computed at Nine hundred forty ſeven thouſand, ſix hundred and two Pounds *per Annum*; which Sum of three hundred ninety eight thouſand, eighty five Pounds ten Shillings, ſhall be due, and payable from the time of the *Union*: And in regard, that after the Union, *Scotland* becoming liable to the ſame Cuſtoms and Duties payable on Import and Export, and the ſame Exciſes on all exciſeable Liquors, as in *England*, as well upon that Account, as upon the Account of the Encreaſe of Trade and People, (which will be the happy Conſequence of the Union) the ſaid Revenues will much improve beyond the before-mention'd Annual Values thereof, of which no preſent Eſtimate can be made; yet, nevertheleſs, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, there ought to be a proportionable Equivalent anſwer'd to *Scotland*; *It is agreed*, That after the Union, there ſhall be an Account kept of the ſaid Duties ariſing in *Scotland*, to the end it may appear, what ought to be anſwer'd to *Scotland*, as an Equivalent for ſuch Proportion of the ſaid Encreaſe, as ſhall be applicable to the Payment of the Debts of *England*. And for the further, and more effectual anſwering the ſeveral Ends hereafter mention'd, *it is agreed*, That, from and after the Union, the whole Encreaſe of the Revenues of Cuſtoms, and Duties

The Equivalent paid to *Scotland*.

no

on Import and Export, and Exciſes upon exciſeable Liquors in *Scotland*, over and above the Annual Produce of the ſaid reſpective Duties, as above ſtated, ſhall go, and be apply'd, for the Term of ſeven Years, to the Uſes hereafter metion'd; And that upon the ſaid Account there ſhall be anſwer'd to *Scotland*, annually, from the end of ſeven Years after the Union, an Equivalent in Proportion to ſuch Part of the ſaid Encreaſe, as ſhall be applicable to the Debts of *England*: *And generally, that an Equivalent be anſwer'd to* Scotland *for ſuch Parts of the* Engliſh *Debts as* Scotland *may hereafter become liable to pay by reaſon of the Union, other than ſuch for which Appropriations have been made by Parliament in* England, *of the Cuſtoms or other Duties on Export or Import, Exciſes, on all exciſable Liquors, In reſpect of which Debts, Equivalents are herein before provided.* And as for the Uſes to which the ſaid Sum of Three hundred ninety eight thouſand, eighty five Pounds ten Shillings, to be granted as aforeſaid, and all other Monies which are to be anſwer'd or allow'd to *Scotland*, as ſaid is, are to be apply'd, It is agreed, *That in the firſt Place out of the foreſaid Sum*, what Conſideration ſhall be found neceſſary to be had for any Loſſes which private Perſons may ſuſtain, by reducing the Coin of *Scotland*, to the Standard and Value of the Coin of *England*, may be made good. In the next Place, that the Capital Stock, or Fund of the *African* and *Indian* Company of *Scotland*, advanced together with the Intereſt for the Capital Stock after the Rate of 5 *per Cent. per Annum*, from the reſpective Times of the Payment thereof, ſhall be paid; upon Payment of which Capital Stock and Intereſt, *It is agreed*, The ſaid Company be diſſolved and ceaſe; aad alſo, that from the time of paſſing the Act of Parliament in *England* for raiſing the ſaid Sum of Three hundred ninety eight thouſand, eighty five Pound ten Shilling, the ſaid Company ſhall neither trade, nor grant Licenſe to trade, providing, *That if the ſaid Stock and Intereſt ſhall not be paid in twelve Months after the Commencement of the Union, that then the ſaid Company may from thence forward trade, or give Licenſe to trade, until the ſaid whole Capital Stock and Intereſt ſhall be paid.* And as to the Overplus of the ſaid Sum of Three hundred ninety eight thouſand, five Pound ten Shillings, after Payment of what Conſideration ſhall be had for Loſſes, in repairing the Coin, and paying the ſaid capital Stock and Intereſt; and alſo, the whole Encreaſe of the ſaid Revenues of Cuſtoms, Duties and Exciſes, above the preſent Value, which ſhall ariſe in *Scotland*, during the ſaid Term of ſeven Years, together with the Equivalent which ſhall become due, upon the Improvement thereof in *Scotland* after the ſaid Term *of ſeven Years*: And alſo, as to all other Sums, which, according to the Agreements aforeſaid, may become payable to *Scotland*, by way of Equivalent, for what that Kingdom ſhall hereafter become liable, towards Payment of the Debts of *England*, *It is agreed*, That the ſame may be apply'd in the manner following, *viz.* That all the Publick Debts of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as ſhall be adjuſted by this preſent Parliament, ſhall be paid: And that two thouſand Pounds *per Annum* for the Space of ſeven Years, ſhall be applied towards encouraging and promoting the Manufacture of courſe Wool within thoſe Shires which produce the Wool; and that the firſt two thouſand Pounds *Sterling* be paid at *Martinmaſs* next, and ſo yearly at *Martinmaſs*, during the ſpace aforeſaid. And afterwards the ſame ſhall be wholly applied towards the encouraging and promoting the Fiſheries, and ſuch other Manufactories and Improvements in *Scotland*, as may moſt conduce to the general Good of the united Kingdom. *And it is agreed*, That her Majeſty be impowered to appoint Commiſſioners, who ſhall be accountable to the Parliament of *Great Britain*, for diſpoſing the ſaid Sum of Three hundred ninety eight thouſand, and eighty five Pounds ten Shillings; and all other Monies which ſhall ariſe to *Scotland*, upon the Agreements aforeſaid, to the Purpoſes before-mention'd: Which Commiſſioners ſhall be impowered to call for, receive, and diſpoſe of the ſaid Monies in manner aforeſaid; and to inſpect the Books of the ſeveral Collectors of the ſaid Revenues, and of all other Duties, from whence an Equivalent may ariſe, and that the Collectors and Managers of the ſaid Re-

A. D. 1707.

A. D. 1706. venues and Duties, be obliged to give to the ſaid Commiſſioners, ſubſcrib'd authentick Abbreviates of the Produce of ſuch Revenues and Duties ariſing in their reſpective Diſtricts: And that the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall have their Office within the Limits of *Scotland*, and ſhall in ſuch Office keep Books, containing Accounts of the Amount of the Equivalents, and how the ſame ſhall have been diſpoſed of from Time to Time; which may be inſpected by any of the Subjects who ſhall deſire the ſame.

XVI. That from and after the Union, the Coin ſhall be of the ſame Standard and Value throughout the united Kingdom, as now in *England*; and a Mint ſhall be continu'd in *Scotland*, under the ſame Rules as the Mint in *England*, *and the preſent Officers of the Mint continued*, ſubject to ſuch Regulations and Alterations as her Majeſty, her Heirs or Succeſſors, or the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall think fit.

XVII. That from and after the Union, the ſame Weights and Meaſures ſhall be uſed throughout the united Kingdom, as are now eſtabliſh'd in *England*; and Standards of Weights and Meaſures ſhall be kept by thoſe Burghs in *Scotland*, to whom the keeping the Standards of Weights and Meaſures, now in uſe there, does of ſpecial Right belong. All which Standards ſhall be ſent down to ſuch reſpective Burghs from the Standards kept in the Exchequer at *Weſtminſter*, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch Regulations as the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall think fit.

XVIII. That the Laws concerning Regulation of Trade, Cuſtoms, and ſuch Exciſes to which *Scotland* is, by Virtue of this Treaty, to be liable, be the ſame in *Scotland*, from and after the Union, as in *England*; and that all other Laws in Uſe within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, do after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof, remain in the ſame Force as before, (except ſuch as are contrary to, or inconſiſtent with this Treaty) but alterable by the Parliament of *Great Britain*, with this Difference betwixt the Laws concerning Publick Right, Policy, and Civil Goverment, and thoſe which concern Private Right; That the Laws which concern Publick Right, Policy, and Civil Government, may be made the ſame throughout the whole united Kingdom; but that no Alteration be made in Laws which concern Private Right, except for evident Utility of the Subjects within *Scotland*.

XIX. That the Court of Seſſion, or College of Juſtice, do after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof, remain in all time coming within *Scotland*, as it is now conſtituted by the Laws of that Kingdom, and with the ſame Authority and Privileges as before the Union, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch Regulations for the better Adminiſtration of Juſtice, as ſhall be made by the Parliament of *Great Britain*: *And that hereafter none ſhall be nam'd by her Majeſty and her Royal Succeſſors, to be Ordinary Lords of Seſſion, but ſuch who have ſerv'd in the College of Juſtice as Advocates, or Principal Clerks of Seſſion for the ſpace of Five Years; or as Writers to the Signet, for the ſpace of ten Years; with this Proviſion, that no Writer to the Signet be capable to be admitted a Lord of the Seſſion, unleſs he undergo a private and publick Trial on the Civil Law before the Faculty of Advocates, and be found by them qualify'd for the ſaid Office, two Years before he be nam'd to be a Lord of the Seſſion: Yet ſo, as the Qualification made, or to be made, for capacitating Perſons to be nam'd Ordinary Lords of Seſſion, may be altered by the Parliament of* Great Britain. And that the Court of Juſticiary, do alſo, after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof, remain in all time coming within *Scotland*, as it is now conſtituted by the Laws of that Kingdom, and with the ſame Authority and Privileges as before the Union, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch Regulations as ſhall be made by the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and without Prejudice of other Rights of *Juſticiary*; And that all Admiralty Juriſdictions be under the Lord High Admiral, or Commiſſioners for the Admiralty of *Great Britain*, for the time being; And that the Court of Admiralty, now eſtabliſh'd in *Scotland*, be continu'd, and that all Reviews, Reductions, or Suſpenſions, of the Sentences in Maritime Caſes, competent to the Juriſdiction of that *Court*, remain in the ſame manner after the Union, as now in *Scotland*, until the Parlia-

Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall make ſuch Regulations and Alterations, as ſhall be judg'd expedient for the whole united Kingdom, ſo as there be always continued in *Scotland*, a Court of Admiralty, ſuch as in *England*, for Determination of all Maritime Caſes, relating to private Rights in *Scotland*, competent to the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty Court, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch Regulations and Alterations, as ſhall be thought proper to be made by the Parliament of *Great Britain*: And that the heritable Rights of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralties in *Scotland*, be reſerved to the reſpective Proprietors as Rights of Property, ſubject nevertheleſs as to the Manner of exerciſing ſuch heritable Rights, to ſuch Regulations and Alterations, as ſhall be thought proper to be made by the Parliament of *Great Britain*; and that all other Courts now in being, within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, do remain, but ſubject to Alterations by the Parliament of *Great Britain*; and that all inferior Courts within the ſaid Limits, do remain ſubordinate, as they are now to the ſupream Courts of Juſtice within the ſame in all Time coming; and that no Cauſes in *Scotland* be cognoſcable by the Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, or any other Court in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and that the Courts, or any other of the like Nature, after the Union, ſhall have no Power to cognoſce, review, or alter the Acts or Sentences of the Judicatures within *Scotland*, or ſtop the Execution of the ſame. And that there be a Court of Exchequer in *Scotland*, after the Union, for deciding Queſtions concerning the Revenues of Cuſtoms and Exciſes there, having the ſame Power and Authority in ſuch Caſes, as the Court of Exchequer has in *England*; and that the ſaid Court of Exchequer in *Scotland*, have Power of paſſing Signatures, Gifts, Tutories, and in other Things, as the Court of Exchequer at preſent in *Scotland* hath; and that the Court of Exchequer that now is in *Scotland*, do remain, until a new Court of Exchequer be ſettled by the Parliament of *Great Britain* in *Scotland*, after the Union; and that, after the Union, the Queen's Majeſty, and her Royal Succeſſors, may continue a Privy Council in *Scotland*, for preſerving the publick Peace and Order, until the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall think fit to alter it, or eſtabliſh any other effectual Method for that End. *A. D.* 1707.

XX. That all heritable Offices, Superiorities, heritable Juriſdictions, Offices for Life, and Juriſdictions for Life, be reſerved to the Owners thereof, as Rights of Property, in the ſame Manner as they are now enjoy'd by the Laws of *Scotland*, notwithſtanding this Treaty.

XXI. That the Rights and Privileges of the Royal Burroughs in *Scotland*, as they now are, do remain entire after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof.

XXII. That by virtue of this Treaty of the Peers of *Scotland*, at the Time of the Union, Sixteen ſhall be the Number to ſit and vote in the Houſe of Lords, and Forty five the Number of the Repreſentatives of *Scotland* in the Houſe of Commons, of the Parliament of *Great Britain*: And that when her Majeſty, her Heirs or Succeſſors, ſhall declare her or their Pleaſure, for holding the firſt or any ſubſequent Parliament of *Great Britain*, until the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall make further Proviſion therein, a Writ do iſſue under the Great Seal of the united Kingdom, directed to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, commanding them to cauſe Sixteen Peers, who are to ſit in the Houſe of Lords, to be ſummoned to Parliament, and Forty five Members to be elected to ſit in the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of *Great Britain*, according to the Agreement in this Treaty, in ſuch Manner as by an Act of this preſent Seſſion of the Parliament of *Scotland*, is, or ſhall be ſettled; *Which Act is hereby declared to be as valid as if it were a Part of, and ingroſſed in this Treaty*: And that the Names of the Perſons ſo ſummon'd and elected ſhall be return'd by the Privy Council of *Scotland*, into the Court from whence the ſaid Writ did Iſſue. And that if her Majeſty, on, or before the firſt Day of *May* next, on which Day the Union is to take place, ſhall declare under the Great Seal of *England*, that it is expedient, that the Lords of the Parliament of *England*, and Commons of the preſent Parliament of

A. D. 1707. *England*, ſhould be the Members of the reſpective Houſes of the firſt Parliament of *Great Britain*, for, and on the Part of *England*, then the ſaid Lords of Parliament of *England*, and Commons of the preſent Parliament of *England*, ſhall be the Members of the reſpective Houſes of the firſt Parliament of *Great Britain*, for, and on the Part of *England*. And her Majeſty may, by her Royal Proclamation, under the Great Seal of *Great Britain*, appoint the ſaid firſt Parliament of *Great Britain*, to meet at ſuch Time and Place as her Majeſty ſhall think fit, which Time ſhall not be leſs than fifty Days after the Date of ſuch Proclamation, and the Time and place of the Meeting of ſuch Parliament being ſo appointed, a Writ ſhall be immediately iſſued under the Great Seal of *Great Britain*, directed to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, for the ſummoning the Sixteen Peers, and for electing Forty five Members, by whom *Scotland* is to be repreſented in the Parliament of *Great Britain*: And the Lords of Parliament of *England*, and the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, ſuch Sixteen Peers being ſummon'd and return'd in the Manner agreed in this Treaty; and the Members of the Houſe of Commons of the ſaid Parliament of *England*, and the Forty five Members for *Scotland*, ſuch Forty five Members being elected, and return'd in the Manner agreed in this Treaty, ſhall aſſemble and meet reſpectively in their reſpective Houſes of the Parliament of *Great Britain*, at ſuch Time and Place as ſhall be ſo appointed by her Majeſty, and ſhall be the two Houſes of the firſt Parliament of *Great Britain*, and that Parliament may continue for ſuch Time only as the preſent Parliament of *England* might have continued, if the Union of the two Kingdoms had not been made, unleſs ſooner diſſolved by her Majeſty; and that every one of the Lords of Parliament of *Great Britain*, and every Member of the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of *Great Britain* in the Firſt, and all ſucceeding Parliaments of *Great Britain*, until the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall otherwiſe direct, ſhall take the reſpective Oaths appointed to be taken inſtead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, by an Act of Parliament made in *England*, in the Firſt Year of the Reign of the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Entituled, *An Act for the abrogating of the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other Oaths*, and make, ſubſcribe, and audibly repeat the Declaration mentioned in an Act of Parliament made in *England*, in the Thirtieth Year of the Reign of King *Charles* II. Entituled, *An Act for the more effectual preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling Papiſts from ſitting in either Houſe of Parliament*; and ſhall take and ſubſcribe the Oath mention'd in an Act of Parliament made in *England*, in the Firſt Year of her Majeſty's Reign, Entituled, "An Act to declare the Alterations in the Oath appointed to be taken by the Act, *Entituled*, An Act for the further Security of her Majeſty's Perſon, and the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line, and for extinguiſhing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all other Pretenders, and their open and ſecret Abettors, and for the declaring the Aſſociation, to be determined at ſuch Time, and in ſuch manner, as the Members of both Houſes of Parliament of *England*, are by the ſaid reſpective Acts, directed to take, make, and ſubſcribe the ſame, upon the Penalties and Diſabilities in the ſaid reſpective Acts contained." And it is declared and agreed, that theſe Words, This Realm, the Crown of this Realm, and the Queen of this Realm, mentioned in the Oaths and Declaration contained in the aforeſaid Acts, which were intended to ſignify the Crown and Realm of *England*, ſhall be underſtood of the Crown and Realm of *Great Britain*; and that in that Senſe, the ſaid Oaths and Declaration be taken and ſubſcribed by the Members of both Houſes of the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

XXIII. That the aforeſaid Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, mentioned in the laſt preceeding Article, to ſit in the Houſe of Lords of the Parliament of *Great Britain*, ſhall have all Privileges of Parliament, which the Peers of *England* now have, and which they, or any Peers of *Great Britain*, ſhall have after the Union; and particularly the Right of ſitting upon the Trials of Peers: And in caſe of the Trial of any Peer, in Time of Adjournment or Prorogation

on of Parliament, the ſaid Sixteen Peers ſhall be ſummon'd in the ſame manner, and have the ſame Powers and Privileges at ſuch Trials, as any other Peers of *Great Britain*: And that, in caſe any Trials of Peers ſhall hereafter happen, when there is no Parliament in being, the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, who ſat in the laſt preceeding Parliament, ſhall be ſummon'd in the ſame manner, and have the ſame Powers and Privileges at ſuch Trials, as any other Peers of *Great Britain*; and that all other Peers of *Scotland*, and their Succeſſors to their Honours and Dignities, ſhall, from and after the Union, be Peers of *Great Britain*, and have Rank and Precedency next, and immediately after the Peers of the like Orders and Degrees in *England*, at the Time of the Union, and before all Peers of *Great Britain*, of the like Orders and Degrees, who may be created after the Union, and ſhall be try'd as Peers of *Great Britain*, and ſhall enjoy all Privileges of Peers as fully as the Peers of *England* do now, or as they or any other Peers of *Great Britain*, may hereafter enjoy the ſame, except the Right and Privilege of ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, and the Privileges depending thereon, and particularly the Right of ſitting upon the Trials of Peers. *A. D.* 1707.

XXIV. That from and after the Union, there be one Great Seal for the united Kingdom of *Great Britain*, which ſhall be different from the Great Seal, now us'd in either Kingdom; and that the quartering the Arms, and the Rank and Precedency of the Lyon King of Arms of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as may beſt ſuit the Union, be left to her Majeſty: And that in the mean Time, the Great Seal of *England*, be uſed as the Great Seal of the united Kingdom; and that the Great Seal of the united Kingdom, be uſed for ſealing Writs to elect and ſummon the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and for ſealing all Treaties with Foreign Princes and States, and all publick Acts, Inſtruments and Orders of State, which concern the whole united Kingdom, and in all other Matters relating to *England*, as the Great Seal of *England* is now uſed; and that a Seal in *Scotland*, after the Union, be always kept, and made uſe of in all Things relating to private Rights or Grants, which have uſually paſſed the Great Seal of *Scotland*, and which only concern Offices, Grants, Commiſſions, and private Rights within that Kingdom: And that until ſuch Seal ſhall be appointed by her Majeſty, the preſent Great Seal of *Scotland* ſhall be uſed for ſuch Purpoſes: And that the Privy Seal, Signet Caſſet. Signet of the Juſticiary Court, Quarter-Seal, and Seals of Courts now uſed in *Scotland* be continued: But that the ſaid Seals be altered and adapted to the State of the Union, as her Majeſty ſhall think fit; and the ſaid Seals, and all of them, and the Keepers of them, ſhall be ſubject to ſuch Regulations as the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall hereafter make: "And that "the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State, the Records of Parliament, "and all other Records, Rolls and Regiſters whatſoever, both publick and "private, general and particular, and Warrants thereof, continue to be kept "as they are within that Part of the united Kingdom now called *Scotland*; "and that they ſhall ſo remain in all Time coming, notwithſtanding of the "Union."

XXV. That all Laws and Statutes in either Kingdom, ſo far as they are contrary to, or inconſiſtent with the Terms of theſe Articles, or any of them, ſhall, from and after the Union, ceaſe and become void, and ſhall be ſo declar'd to be, by the reſpective Parliaments of the ſaid Kingdoms.

The Lord *Belhaven* oppoſes the Union.

While theſe Articles were under Conſideration, ſeveral Proteſtations were enter'd, and many Speeches were made by the Members, eſpecially by the Lord *Belhaven*, who made a very long Speech, wherein he expreſs'd the utmoſt Grief and Concern for the lamentable and miſerable Condition into which *Scotland* was like to fall, by being united with *England*; as thereby the Parliament and ancient Prerogatives of the Kingdom were to be entirely taken away, and that the great Advantage which the Nation had by their Freedom of Parliaments and other Judicatories, would be ſuch a general Loſs

A. D. 1707. that no Profit or Advantage to be reap'd by the Union could recompenſe; which, with many more Diſadvantages he, in the moſt moving Rhetorick, urg'd the Parliament to conſider. But notwithſtanding of all his Perſuaſions, thoſe who propos'd ſuch great Advantages by the Union, were no wiſe affected with the Speech, but proceeded according to their Intentions.

The Duke of *Athole* proteſts againſt the Union.

At the ſame time the Duke of *Atholl* gave in a Proteſtation againſt an incorporating Union, as contrary to the Honour, Intereſt, Fundamental Laws, and Conſtitution of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Birth-right of the Peers, the Right and Privileges of the Barons and Burghs, and to the Claim of Right, Property and Liberty of the Subjects: Which Proteſt being read, his Grace took Inſtruments thereon; and the ſame was adher'd to by his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Marquiſs of *Annandale*, the Earls of *Errol*, *Mariſhall*, *Wigton*, *Strathmore*, *Selkirk*, and *Kincairn*; the Viſcounts *Stormount* and *Kilſyth*; the Lords *Semple*, *Oliphant*, *Balmerinoch*, *Blantyre*, *Bargeny*, *Belhaven*, *Colvil*, *Duffus* and *Kinaird*; *George Lockhart* of *Carnwath*, Sir *James Fowlis* of *Collington*, *Andrew Fletcher* of *Salton*, Sir *Robert Sinclair* of *Longformacus*, Sir *Patrick Hume* of *Rentoun*, *John Sinclair* of *Stevenſon*, junior, *John Sharp* of *Hoddam*, Mr. *Alexander Ferguſon* of *Iſle*, *John Brisbane* of *Biſhoptoun*, Mr. *William Cochran* of *Kilmaronock*, Sir *Humphry Colquhoun* of *Luſs*, *John Graham* of *Killearn*, *James Graham* of *Bucklivie*, *Thomas Sharp* of *Houſton*, Sir *Patrick Murray* of *Auchtertyre*, *John Murray* of *Strowan*, *James More* of *Stoniewood*, *David Beaton* of *Balfour*, Mr. *Thomas Hope* of *Rankeilor*, Mr. *Patrick Lyon* of *Auchterhouſe*, Mr. *Carnegie* of *Phirhaven*, *David Graham*, younger, of *Fintry*, *James Ogilvie*, younger, of *Boyne*, Mr. *George Mackenzie* of *Inncoulter*, *Alexander Robertſon*, *Walter Stewart*, *Alexander Watſon*, *Alexander Edgar*, *John Black*, *James Oſwald*, *Robert Johnſton*, *Alexander Duff*, *Francis Molliſon*, *Walter Scott*, *George Smith*, *Robert Scott*, *Robert Kellie*, *John Hutchiſon*, Mr. *William Sutherland*, *Archibald Sheills*, Mr. *John Lyon*, *George Spence*, Mr. *William Johnſton*, Mr. *John Caruthers*, *George Hume*, *John Bayne*, and Mr. *Robert Fraſer*.

Thoſe that adher'd to his Proteſtation.

Yet notwithſtanding of the ſeveral Proteſtations againſt the Articles of the Union by the above nam'd Perſons, and ſeveral of the Nobility and Commoners; yet they were at all times out-voted by a Majority of Voices of thoſe that were for the Union; ſo that all the before-mention'd Articles were paſt and ratify'd, being carry'd by 110 Voices againſt 69, except the Malt-Tax Article, being only carried by one Voice. After which the Parliament proceeded to prepare an Act for ſettling 16 Peers and 45 Commoners, to repreſent *Scotland* in the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

The Duke of *Hamilton* and Mr. *Cochran* of *Kilmaronock*, *&c.* proteſt againſt the Election of Peers and Commons.

When the Draught of that Act was in Conſideration, the Duke of *Hamilton* and Mr. *Cochran* of *Kilmaronock*, did each of them proteſt againſt their being choſen out of the Parliament, by the Members of the Houſe, as being contrary to the 22d Article of the Union; wherein the Method of electing the Peers is regulated and determin'd, and inconſiſtent with the Birth-rights and Privileges of the Barons and Burghs, and contrary to the Principles of Common Law and ſeveral Acts of Parliament. To which Proteſtation the Earls of *Errol*, *Mariſhal*, *Buchan*, *Eglington*, *Galloway*, and ſeveral other Noblemen and Commoners adher'd, yet notwithſtanding of all theſe Proteſtations, and other Means us'd to oppoſe the Promoters of the Union; the Act of ſettling the Election was agreed upon, and paſt the 31ſt of *January*: And on the ſame Day the Parliament proceeded upon the Motion for allowing the Commiſſioners for the Treaty of the Union their Expences; and thereupon a Reſolution was brought in, for allowing each Nobleman 12000 *L. Scots*, and each other Commiſſioner 6000 *L. Scots*, their Secretary 4800 Pounds, and to each of the Three Accountants 2400 *L. Scots*, out of the Equivalent *pari paſſu*, with publick Debts after the *African* Company. After ſome Debates the Reſolve was approv'd, and order'd to be printed; and at the ſame Time Lord *Archibald Campbell*, Brother to the Duke of *Argyle*, (who had been created Earl of *Ilay* in *October* before) was allow'd his Expence as a Nobleman.

Expences allow'd to the Commiſſioners, *&c.*

Next

Next it was mov'd, that the Commiſſioners for the Treaty in 1702, ſhould have Allowance of their Expences, as follows, each Nobleman 500 *L. Sterling*, each Baron 300 *l.* and each Commiſſioner of Boroughs 200 *L.* which Motion, after ſome Debate was likewiſe approv'd. *A. D.* 1707.

It was at the ſame Time mov'd, that no Repreſentative to the Parliament of *Great Britain*, either for Shire or Borough, have any Allowance for their Charges and Expences in attending the ſame; which Motion, after ſome Delay, was put to the Vote, and carried in the negative.

Regulations for chuſing the 16 Peers.

After this it was agreed, that at all Meetings of the Peers for electing their Repreſentatives, ſuch Peers as were abſent ſhould be allow'd to vote in the ſaid Election by their Proxies, being Peers, and qualified by taking the Oaths required by Law; and that the ſaid abſent Peers might either vote by their Proxies, or ſend up a Liſt ſubſcrib'd by them.

It was alſo agreed, that the Meeting of the Peers for the ſaid Elections, ſhould be at any Place her Majeſty ſhould appoint within the Kingdom of *Scotland*. And that in caſe of the Deceaſe of any of the 16 Peers, the Peers of *Scotland* ſhould upon all Occaſions meet and elect another in place of the deceaſt, upon a Writ directed to them for that Effect: As alſo in caſe of the Deceaſe or Promotion of any of the 45 Commoners, repreſenting the Shires and Boroughs; the Shires or Boroughs for which he was a Member, upon a Writ directed to them for that Effect, ſhould meet and elect another in his place.

Regulations for chuſing 45 Commoners.

Then it was agreed, that ſuch Peers of *Scotland*, who were alſo Peers of *England*, who, after the Union, ſhould be created Peers of *Great Britain*, ſhould have no Vote in the Election of the 16 Peers from *Scotland*. After this it was agreed, that when the Commiſſioners for Shires and Boroughs, ſhould meet for electing their Repreſentatives, and ſhould happen to be equal in their Votes, the Preſident of the Meeting ſhould have the caſting Vote; and that the Commiſſioner for the eldeſt Borough, ſhould preſide at the firſt Meeting, and the Commiſſioners of the other Boroughs by Turns, as thoſe Boroughs were then called in the Rolls of Parliament.

Peers choſen to repreſent in the firſt Parliament of *Great Britain*.

On the 12th of *February*, the Parliament proceeded to elect 16 Peers, and 45 Commoners, to ſit in the firſt Parliament of *Great Britain*, and the three Eſtates having ſeparated to their uſual Places, they returned, and reported their reſpective Elections, which were as follows. The Peers were, the Duke of *Queensberry* High Commiſſioner, the Earl of *Seafield* Chancellor, Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, Marquiſs of *Twedale*, Marquiſs of *Lothian*, Earls of *Marr*, *Loudon*, *Crawford*, *Sutherland*, *Roxburgh*, *Wyeems*, *Leven*, *Stairs*, *Roſeberry*, *Glaſgow*, *Tila*. For the Shires, *William Nisbet* of *Dirleton*, *John Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*, Sir *William Ker* of *Greenhead*, Sir *John Swinton* of *Swinton*, *William Bennet* of *Grubbet*, *Archibald Douglaſs* of *Cavers*, Mr. *John Murray* of *Bowhill*, Mr. *Pringle* of *Haining*, *William Moriſon* of *Preſtongrange*, *George Bailie* of *Jerviſwood*, Sir *John Johnſton* of *Weſterhall*, Mr. *James Stewart* of *Sorbie*, Mr. *Francis Montgomery* of *Giffan*, Mr. *William Dalrymple* of *Glenmure*, Sir *Robert Pollock* of *Pollock*, *John Halden* of *Gleneagies*, *Mungo Graham* of *Gorthy*, Sir *David Ramſay* of *Balmain*, Sir *Thomas Burnet* of *Lees*, *William Seaton* younger of *Pitmedden*, *Alexander Grant* of *Grant*, *Hugh Roſs* of *Kilravock*, Sir *Kenneth Mackenzie* of *Cromarty*, Mr. *John Campbell* of *Mamore*, Sir *James Campbell* of *Ardkinglaſs*, Sir *James Campbell* of *Auchinbreck*, *James Halyburton* of *Pitcur*, *Alexander Abercromby* of *Glaſſoch*, *A. Douglaſs* of *Eagleſhaw*, *John Bruce* of *Kinroſs*. For the Boroughs, Sir *Patrick Johnſton*, Lieutenant Collonel *John Erskine*, *Hugh Mountgomery*, *James Scott*, Sir *John Erskine*, Mr. *P. Moncrieff* of *Ready*, Sir *Andrew Hume*, Sir *Peter Hacket*, Sir *James Smollet*, Sir *David Dalrymple*, Mr. *John Clark*, Mr. *Patrick Ogilvy*, *Geo. Allardice*, *Daniel Campbell*, Mr. *Alexander Maitland*.

Commiſſioners for Shires choſen.

Commiſſioners for Borroughs choſen.

A. D. 1707. The remaining Part of this Seſſion was ſpent in paſſing of ſome Private Acts; and upon the 23d of *March* ended the laſt Parliament of SCOTLAND, to the great Joy of thoſe who had promoted the *Union*, as they thereby propos'd ſuch great Advantages to themſelves and Fellow Subjects; tho' at the ſame time many of all Ranks of People, upon that Occaſion, expreſs'd their great Affliction and Grief for the Loſs of thoſe Liberties and Privileges which their Anceſtors had preſerv'd and defended for many Ages.

END *of the Hiſtory of* SCOTLAND.

APPENDIX

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY *of* SCOTLAND:

CONTAINING

An Impartial Account of the moſt Remarkable Tranſactions of that Nation, from the Commencement of the UNION, to the Year 1726.

HAVING concluded the General Hiſtory of *Scotland*, where that Nation became united with *England*; I conſider, that it will be more proper to ſubjoyn the Hiſtorical Tranſactions of that Part of the united Kingdom as an *Appendix*; leſt I ſhould give Offence by, continuing it under the former Denomination. Nor ſhall I take upon me to encroach on the Privileges of thoſe who have collected the Annals of the ſeveral Years, further than what entirely relates to *Scotland*; which, in my humble Opinion, may be acceptable to ſuch as are not ſupply'd with all the Annals of the late and preſent Reign. *A. D.* 1707.

Altho' the Hiſtorical Tranſactions of *Scotland* ſince the Union are but few, yet greater Difficulty attends the Relation of them, than any preceding Part of the Hiſtory. For as all the Paſſages are ſo well known to ſuch as live in this immediate Age, I conſider my ſelf the more liable to the Examination and Cenſure of ſuch as were the principal Actors, or in ſome Reſpect concern'd in moſt, or all the material Tranſactions herein mention'd. However as it is not my Buſineſs to ſearch into the more intricate and ſecret Actions of my Superiors, I ſhall (in this as I have done all along) avoid all ſuch Narrations as may ſeem to reflect on any Party or particular Perſon: And hope that the Account I have given will appear really impartial, to all ſuch as will read and Judge it without Party or Private Prejudice.

SCOTLAND being now united with *England*, under the Denomination of *Great Britain*, the Union commenced on the 1ſt Day of *May*, 1707. And in *June* after a Proclamation was publiſh'd, ordering the Peers The Commencement of the Union.

A. D. 1707. and Members for *Scotland* to meet at *Weſtminſter* upon the 23d of *October* after, which was the time appointed for the meeting of the firſt Parliament of *Great Britain*.

Mean time, as it was agreed, That there ſhould be the ſame Regulations and Impoſitions, according to the Articles of the Union, throughout the united Kingdom; Commiſſioners were appointed for the following Offices in *Scotland*, Viz.

Commiſſioners appointed for the Cuſtoms, Exciſe, and Equivalent.

The Honourable *William Boyle*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Dickſon*, Baronet, Sir *Alexander Rigby*, *James Iſaacſon*, Eſq; and *Lyonel Norman*, Eſq; as Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms: And *Alexander Wedderburn*, *John Mountgomery*, *John Whittham*, *David Roſs*, *Alexander Forbes*, Eſqrs; were appointed Commiſſioners of the Exciſe: And Sir *Andrew Hume*, Sir *Robert Sinclair* of *Stevenſon*, Sir *Thomas Burnet* of *Leys*, Sir *John Ereskine* of *Alva*, Sir *James Campbell* of *Abberuchel*, Sir *John Swinton* of *Swinton*, Sir *James Smollet*, Sir *Patrick Johnſton*, Sir *Francis Grant*, Advocate, *George Baillie* of *Jerviſwood*, *John Halden* of *Glenageis*, *John Bruce* of *Kinroſs*, *William Seaton* of *Pitmedden*, junior, *Alexander Abercromby* of *Glaſſoch*, *John Clerk* of *Pennycook*, junior, *Mungo Graham* of *Gorthie*, *John Pringle* of *Haining*, *John Graham* of *Dowglaſton*, *William Dowglaſs* of *Killhead*, *Daniel Campbell* of *Ardingtenny*, *George Dalrymple*, Sir *John Cope*, *Jacob Sanderſon*, *John Bridges*, *James Hublon*, Eſqrs; were appointed Commiſſioners to manage the Equivalent, agreed upon by the Articles of Union.

Inferior Officers ſettled for the Cuſtoms and Exciſe.

When the Commiſſioners of the ſeveral Offices had met and ſettled Matters amongſt themſelves, they forthwith gave Commiſſions to Collectors, Surveyors, Superviſors, Waiters, Gaugers, and all other neceſſary Officers, who were diſtributed over the ſeveral Sea Ports and Diſtricts of the Nation. And as moſt of theſe Officers were *Engliſhmen*, they were the leſs acceptable to the Inhabitants where their Commiſſions directed them; which gave Occaſion to ſuch as had been againſt the Union, to exclaim againſt thoſe who had conſented to the Treaty. But as thoſe Officers had the Laws in Force on their Side, the diſcontented People were oblig'd to ſubmit, and the Officers, according to their ſeveral Commiſſions, proceeded in their Duty. Yet in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom the inferior Officers (eſpecially of the Exciſe) were very roughly uſed; particularly in the Iſles of *Orkney*, the Officers were ſo frighten'd by the Country People, that ſcarce any could be found for ſome time to ſurvey the Diſtricts.

When Matters were thus ſettled in *Scotland*, the Chancellor and Treaſurer of *England* were diveſted of their Offices; and immediately after Patents were given, whereby they were re-inveſted in the ſame Offices, by the Titles of, *Lord High Chancellor*, *and Lord High Treaſurer*, *of* Great Britain.

The firſt Parliament of *Great Britain*, 23d *October*, 1707.

Little Matter worth mentioning happen'd in *Scotland* the firſt Year after the Union; but that the 16 Peers and 45 Commoners repair'd to *London* at the time appointed by the Proclamatiom. And when the Parliament met, the Peers of *Scotland* were each of them introduc'd by two Peers of the ſame Rank of *England*, into the Houſe of Lords, and took their Places according to their Degrees; and the Commons were admitted to Places in the Houſe with thoſe of *England*. As to the Proceedings of this, and the following Parliaments of *Great Britain*, I am not to take any further Notice, than where ſuch Matters came before them, as relate to the Affairs of *Scotland*, now called *North Britain*; ſince the moſt material Tranſaction of *England*, now called *South Britain*, are more particularly related in the ſeveral Annals, than may be expected in a General Hiſtory.

Nothing of Moment, with Relation to *Scotland*, was taken Notice of in this Parliament before the 22d of *November*, that ſome *Scots* Merchants, repreſented in a Petition to the Houſe, that ſeveral Goods and Merchandizes, brought by them into *England*, ſince the firſt Day of *May* laſt, had been ſeized, and they were then under a Proſecution in the Exchequer, for the Value of theſe Goods. Their Petition being conſider'd by the grand Committee, Orders were given to the Attorney General to enter a *Noli proſequi*, and

to

to discharge the several Informations exhibited in the Court of Exchequer, relating to the Goods imported, as before mentioned. The chief Persons, who had managed the Treaty of the Union, finding many discontented People in *Scotland*; as also some of the *English* complain'd of the Disadvantages which they would in Time find by it, therefore did not think proper to meddle with such Affairs as might disoblige the discontented Party: But only represented such Means as would be most conducive to preserve Peace in that Part of the Nation; and on the 4th of *December* a Bill was ordered to repeal an Act past in the first Parliament of that Reign in *Scotland*, Entituled, *An Act for the Security of the Kingdom*. As also to repeal an Act, Entituled, *An Act anent Peace and War*, made in the first Session of Parliament of the said Reign in *Scotland*. Upon the 11th of the said Month, it was resolved, reported, and agreed to by the House of Commons. "1. That there "be but one Privy Council in the Kingdom of *Great Britain*. 2. That the "Militia of that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, be regulated after "the same Manner, as the Militia of that Part of *Great Britain* called *Eng-* "*land*. 3. That the Privileges of the Justices of Peace, for preserving the "publick Peace, be the same throughout the whole united Kingdom. 4. That "for the better Administration of Justice, and Preservation of the pub- "lick Peace, the Lords of Justiciary should be appointed to go Circuits "twice every Year. 5. That the Writs for electing Members to serve in the "House of Commons, for that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, be di- "rected to the Sheriffs of the respective Counties; and that the Returns be "made of such Writs in like Manner, as the Returns of Writs are made in "that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*"; and accordingly a Bill was brought in upon the said Resolutions.

A. D. 1707.

Proceedings of the *British* Parliament with Relation to *Scotland*.

Upon the 5th of *February* after, there was a great Debate in the grand Committee of the House of Lords, occasion'd by the Bill, passed by the Commons, and sent to their Lordships, *for rendring the Union of the Two Kingdoms more entire and compleat*, whereby it was enacted, "That from "the 1st of *May* 1708, there should be but one Privy Council in the King- "dom of *Great Britain*"; whereupon several Peers opposed that Bill, representing the great Hardship and Indignity offered to that Part of the united Kingdom called *Scotland*, by abolishing their Privy Council; and mov'd that it might be continued at least till the Month of *October* after: But their Arguments were rejected, and the Question was put, whether they should agree with the Commons, and when it was put to Votes, 50 Peers were for the affirmative, and but 45 for the negative. The chief Persons of the *English* Peers, who insisted on the Dissolution of the Privy Council of *Scotland*, were the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Halifax*, and the Lord *Somers*, who were seconded by many of the other Lords.

1708.

The Privy Council of *Scotland* abolish'd.

The Nation being depriv'd of this last remaining Part of Government, it contributed so much the more to encrease the Animosities of the People, so that now the discontented Party think of nothing but Revenge, and redressing their Grievances (if possible) by Force; and to that Purpose employ their private Agents at the Court of St. *Germans*, to represent their Designs to the Chevalier *de St. George*, whom those of his Friends freely Address by the Name and Title of King *JAMES* VIII. of *Scotland*, and assure him of their Assistance to recover his Kingdoms: Nor was the Chevalier wanting in speedy and earnest Sollicitations to the *French* King, to perform some of his repeated Promises to assist him upon any Opportunity, when there might appear any Prospect of Success in his Designs.

Which occasions Animosities in the Nation.

The *French* King, at that time, being very much troubled on Account of the late Attempts upon *Toulon*, which caus'd great Distractions throughout his Kingdom, seem'd to embrace that Opportunity, as thereby he might carry the War into *Great Britain*; and as he had great Hopes that the discontented Party in *Scotland* would be assisted by a considerable Number of their Friends in *England*, he freely agreed to prepare an Army and Fleet with all necessary Provisions to be ready at *Dunkirk*, for an Expedition in Favour

The *French* intend to invade *Scotland*.

A. D. 1708. of the *Chevalier*: And as the *Scots* appear'd ready to declare for him to come and diſſolve the late concluded Union; it was determin'd that their firſt landing ſhould be in the moſt convenient Sea Ports of *Scotland*. The *French* not having carried on their Preparations with Secreſy and Prudence, the watchful *Dutch* had ſpeedy Intelligence; tho' at firſt they were uneaſy on Account of ſome Apprehenſion they had of an Attempt upon the Province of *Zeland*, and accordingly us'd expeditious Means to put that Iſland in a Condition of Defence: But in a few Days after they had more certain Intelligence; for the *Chevalier* ſetting out from his Court of St. *German*'s towards *Dunkirk*, with other Accounts, made it appear, that their Deſign was to land in *Scotland*, or at leaſt in ſome Part of the Iſle of *Britain*.

Upon the 4th of *March*, O. S. Mr. Secretary *Boyle* receiv'd certain Accounts of the Preparations at *Dunkirk* and the intended Deſcent upon *Scotland*; which being laid before the Houſes of Parliament, a Proclamation was furthwith publiſh'd throughout the whole Kingdom, "Declaring the Perſon, "who during the Lifetime of the late King *James* II. pretended to be Prince "of *Wales*, and ſince his Death had taken the Title of King *James* III. King "of *England*, and VIII. of *Scotland*, and all his Adherents and Abettors to be "Traitors and Rebels: Commanding all good Subjects to ſeize and apprehend them; ſtrictly charging all Popiſh Recuſants to repair to the Places "of their Abode, and not to remove from thence above the Diſtance of five "Miles; and alſo to depart out of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, "and from all Places within ten Miles Diſtance of the ſame: And commanding all Juſtices of the Peace to ſeize all the Horſes and Arms belonging to "the Papiſts or diſaffected Perſons." Which laſt Direction was forthwith put in Execution in all Parts of the Kingdom.

A Proclamation.

Upon the firſt Account of the *French* Preparations at *Dunkirk*, Major-General *Cadogan* repair'd to *Bruſſels*, and concerted with Monſieur *d'Auverquerque*, to march ten Batalions of the *Britiſh* Forces to be in Readineſs to Ship them for *Britain* with all poſſible Expedition; and accordingly they march'd to *Oſtend*. Mean time the Admiralty fitted out a Fleet of 12 *Britiſh* and 5 *Dutch* Ships of War, under the Command of Sir *John Lake*, Sir *George Bing*, and the Lord *Durſley*. 'Tis obſerv'd, that when the *French* King begun the Armament for this Expedition, that he wrote the following Circular Letter to his Miniſters in *Rome*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, and other Places.

The *French* King's Circular Letter to his Miniſters.

"HAVING long been of Opinion, That aſſiſting the King of *England* "to poſſeſs the Throne of his Anceſtors, would be for the general Good of all "*Europe*. I believe that a Peace would be the Conſequence of his Succeſs; and "that this Prince's Subjects will eſteem themſelves equally happy in contributing to eſtabliſh him in the Place of his Predeceſſors, and in being deliver'd "from thoſe continual Impoſitions wherewith they are overwhelm'd, to "maintain a War altogether forreign to them. As the *Scots* have more Reaſon than the *Engliſh* to be diſſatisfy'd with the preſent Government of *England*; it appears to me a convenient Opportunity to reſtore to that Nation "their lawful Sovereign; and to enable this Prince to deliver it from the "Oppreſſion it has ſuffer'd ſince the Revolution, which happen'd under the "late King *James*, his Father.

"Theſe are the Reaſons which have made me determine to equip a Squadron of my Ships at *Dunkirk*, to furniſh the King of *England* with Troops "to accompany him to *Scotland*, to ſupport his faithful Subjects who ſhall "declare for him. He left this Place Yeſterday, to go to *Dunkirk*, in order "to embark, and get with all Expedition to *Scotland*. His Intention is not "to enter the Kingdom by Right of Conqueſt; but to oblige them to receive him as legal Poſſeſſor of it. He will behave himſelf in like Manner "with reſpect to all his other Dominions, who ſhall pay him the Obedience "they owe him: And his Subjects will only be diſtinguiſh'd according to "the Zeal and Affection they ſhew for him, without examining what Religion they profeſs; in which he leaves them entirely to their own Liberty.

"I

" I have not Thoughts of enlarging my Power by aſſiſting to re-eſtabliſh " this Prince. 'Tis ſufficient I do an Act of Juſtice, in vindicating crown'd " Heads, highly affronted in the Perſon of the late King his Father: And " my Wiſhes will be entirely accompliſh'd, if (by GOD's Bleſſing on the " Endeavours) the Succeſs become a Means of procuring a laſting Peace, ſo " neceſſary to all *Europe*. *A. C.* 1708.

" As this my Reſolution will ſoon ſpread it ſelf over all *Europe*, my Will is, " that you ſpeak of it in the Manner I direct you. *Given at our Court of* " Verſailles, *this 8th of* March, 1708.

By this Letter it would ſeem that the *French* King was really reſolv'd to aſſiſt the Chevalier in that Attempt; yet ſome will alledge, that the Deſcent was only a Faint, to divert the *Britiſh* Forces and Fleet.

Mean time, Sir *George Bing* with the Fleet ſail'd, and came to an Anchor in *Gravling-Pits*, and immediately after went into a ſmall Frigot, and ſail'd within two Miles of the *Flemiſh Road*, from whence he had a Proſpect of the Ships that lay there; and the next Day learn'd from a Fiſherman taken off the Shore, the Number and Strength of the *French* Ships; that about 10000 Men were in and about *Dunkirk*, ready to embark; and that they expected every Day Ships from *Breſt*: The Chevalier being then on his Way to *Dunkirk*, where he arriv'd the 9th of *March*, N. S. in the Morning. The Proceedings of the *French* Invaſion.

The Count *de Fourbin* who commanded the *French* Squadron, hearing of the *Engliſh* Fleet, put a Stop to his Embarkation, and ſent frequent Expreſſes to *Paris* for new Orders. And 'tis ſaid, that *Fourbin* repreſented to the *French* King, that he might get out of the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and perhaps might land the Troops, but could not anſwer for his Majeſty's Ships. Whereupon the King gave him Orders to re-embark, and put to Sea with the firſt fair Wind. But it was reported, that the Chevalier was indiſpos'd of the Meaſles, attended with an Ague; yet when Count *de Fourbin* receiv'd his Orders, and hearing by an Expreſs from *Bolloign*, that the *Britiſh* Fleet were driven by high Winds, and ſeen off of the *Downs* upon the 13th Day; they re-embark'd their Forces, and on the 17th of *March*, N. S. about 4 in the Afternoon they ſet Sail with a fair Wind; but changing about 10 at Night, they were oblig'd to come to an Anchor in *Newport-Pits*, where they continu'd till the 19th, at Ten at Night, the Wind then proving fair, they ſet Sail and ſteer'd their Courſe towards *Scotland*.

On the other Hand, Sir *George Bing*, having come back with his Fleet to the *Downs*, being now conſiderably reinforced, having about 40 Ships of War in the Line of Battle, beſides Frigots and Fire-ſhips, ſet Sail on the 17th Day, and on the 20th, by Ten in the Morning, came between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, where he receiv'd Intelligence by an *Oſtend* Ship, ſent by Major General *Cadogan*, that the *Dunkirk* Squadron were ſailed from *Newport-pits*: Upon which Sir *George* called a Council of War, wherein they reſolved to ſail in Purſuit of the *French* Squadron, and to leave a Detachment of Ships under the Command of Admiral *Baker*, to tranſport the Troops that were to be embark'd at *Oſtend*. About the Time that the Fleet was ready to ſail, 'tis ſaid, that the Chevalier diſpatched Mr. *Charles Fleming*, (Brother to the Earl of *Wigton*) to his Friends in *Scotland*, to acquaint them with his Deſign, and ſent by him ſeveral Copies of Inſtructions how they were to behave themſelves upon this Occaſion, as that they ſhould not ſtir till they were ſure that he was landed, but that they might ſecure all the Horſes, Arms, and Proviſions they could; and that they ſhould provide Pilots to accompany Mr. *Fleming*, to pilot his Fleet up the River *Forth*, as he was reſolved to land on the South Side thereof, either at or near *Dunbar*. It is reported, that Mr. *Fleming* at his landing went to the Earl of *Errol*'s Houſe at *Slains*, and that a Meſſenger was diſpatched to *Perthſhire*, and another to *Edinburgh*, to diſperſe the Inſtructions brought by Mr. *Fleming*, among their Friends; and that a Skipper was ſent from *Aberdeen* to wait upon *James Malcolm* Laird of *Grange*, to pilot the Fleet up the *Firth*; but the Skipper having Orders to take a Trip over to *Edinburgh*, ſtay'd ſo long with his

A. D. 1707. Friends there, that he could not repaſs the Ferry: For by this Time the News Papers were full of the Account of the *French* Fleet being ſailed, and daily expected to land; and accordingly they having left *Newport-pits* on the 8th, they were ſeen making towards the *Firth* of *Forth*, on the 12th in the Afternoon; and that Night they arrived in the *Firth*, and anchored oppoſite to *Cryle*, intending to have ſailed up the River next Day, to land their Men and Ammunition: But early next Morning, perceiving the *Engliſh* Fleet was coming upon them, they, with all poſſible Expedition, unmored, and ſtood out to the Ocean, ſo that they being for moſt Part light Ships, out ſailed the *Britiſh* Fleet: But in the Purſuit, (which laſted all Day the 13th, the *Salisburry* (a Ship formerly taken from the *Engliſh*) fell into Sir *George Bing*'s Fleet, and was taken: On board of her were the Lord *Griffin*, the Lord *Clarmount*, and Mr. *Middleton* his Brother, both Sons to the Earl of *Middleton*, Collonel *Francis Wauchop*, Monſieur *La-vie*, a *French* Major General, with ſeveral *Iriſh* Officers, and about 400 Soldiers. The *French* Fleet by the Chaſe, being ſeparated, did not meet till the 14th in the Evening; and being then at a good Diſtance from the *Britiſh* Fleet, they called a Council of War, wherein Monſieur *de Gace*, after called Marſhal *Montignon*, who was appointed Commander of the Land Forces on board the Fleet, propoſed to Count *de Fourbin* the Admiral, that ſince they had been prevented landing in the *Firth* of *Forth*, they ſhould land elſewhere, and they concluded to land at *Inverneſs*, to which the Chevalier readily agreed, and Pilots were ſent for them aſhore: But as they alledge, there aroſe ſuch a violent Storm, that they could not come near the Land to have the Pilots, and fearing many other Inconveniencies, in caſe they ſhould be again ſeparated, they ſet Sail to return to *Dunkirk*, notwithſtanding of the earneſt Deſire of the Chevalier to ſet him aſhore, with ſuch as were his Friends of the Natives of *Britain* or *Ireland*.

But upon Sight of the *Britiſh* Fleet they ſet Sail.

Sir *George Bing* takes a *French* Ship.

While we have taken Notice of the Two Fleets, 'tis proper to give ſome Account of the Affairs of *Scotland* on ſhore; for ſo ſoon as the *French* Fleet appeared in the *Firth*, an Expreſs was diſpatched from *Dunbar* to *Edinburgh*, to the Earl of *Leven* then Commander in chief of the Forces in *Scotland*, who communicated the ſame to Sir *Samuel Mackletlan*, then Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, who immediately convened all the Magiſtrates, with the chief Perſons of all the Corporations; and after Conſultation, they convened the Freemen of each Corporation, who told the Lord Provoſt, that they would keep Guard by Turns, in their reſpective Halls, and be ready upon the firſt Notice of any Diſorder, to raiſe a Body of 1200 Men to ſerve under the Earl of *Leven*. Mean Time Orders were given to apprehend all ſuch as were known to be diſaffected to the Government, or might be ready to aſſiſt the *French* in caſe they landed in any Part of *Scotland*.

Tho' the Earl of *Leven*, and many others, were very much perplexed upon the Appearance of the *French* Fleet; and ſeeing many Perſons very chearful upon that Occaſion, (as it is believed, if they had landed, they had found ſeveral Friends in *Scotland* at that Time) and their own Forces ſo very few; yet their Fears and Concern were ſoon ſuſpended, by the News of Sir *George Bing*'s Fleet having given Chaſe to the *French*, and driving them out of the River *Forth*. And the Lord Provoſt and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, in Return of this timely Relief, complemented the Admiral, by ſending in their Name Sir *Patrick Johnſton* (their late Repreſentative in Parliament) with an Inſtrument called a Burgeſs Ticket, which he encloſed in a Gold Box, with the City Arms on the Side, and upon the Cover was engrav'd theſe Words, *The Lord Provoſt, Bailies and Town-Council of* Edinburgh, *did preſent theſe Letters of Burgeoiſe, to Sir* George Bing *Admiral of the Blue, in Gratitude to him for delivering this Iſland from a Foreign Invaſion, and defeating the Deſigns of a French Fleet, at the Mouth of the* Firth *of* Edinburgh, *the 13th of* March 1708. This Preſent was accompany'd by a Letter from the Lord Provoſt, wherein he deſired the Admiral to accept of it, as a Mark of their high Reſpect to him, who had deliver'd them from ſuch great Fear

The City of *Edinburgh*'s Complement to Sir *George Bing*.

and

and Apprehenſions of Danger, for which his Memory ſhould be honoured by them. *A. D.* 1708.

As to the Particulars of this Expedition, it is variouſly reported, for whatever the *French* King's ſecret Intentions were, never came to the Knowledge of any but ſuch as were private to it. The Journal of it being contain'd in a Letter written by Monſieur *de Gace*, who commanded the Land Forces, and after that Expedition was made a Marſhal of *France*, by the Title of Marſhal *de Montignon*, wherein he gives the following Account to Monſieur *de Chamilard*; and as that Letter may be of ſome Satisfaction to the Publick, I here mention it in his own Words, as follows:

SIR,

Monſieur *de Gace*'s Letter to Monſieur *Chamilard*, dated at *Dunkirk* *April* 17th, N. S.

" I had the Honour to acquaint you with our Embarkation at *Dunkirk*, " the 17th paſt, at 4 in the Afternoon, the Chevalier *de Fourbin* ſet Sail with " the Fleet; about Ten in the Evening, the Wind proving contrary, we " were obliged to caſt Anchor in the *Downs*, off of *Newport*, where we " were detain'd the 18th and 19th. The *Proteus* on board, of which were " 400 Land Forces, the *Gurier* and the *Barentin*, with 200 Men each, " were obliged by the high Winds to put back into *Dunkirk*. The ſame Day " 19th, at Ten in the Evening, the Wind chopp'd about, we ſet Sail again, " and having purſued our Courſe, the 20th, 21ſt, and 22d, with a ſtrong " Gale we made the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, the 23d in the Morning, and in the " Evening caſt Anchor in the Mouth of it. The 24th in the Morning, as " we made ready to enter the *Firth*, we diſcover'd a great Number of Ships " which we ſoon found to be the *Engliſh* Squadron, to the Number of 28 " Sail, whom we judg'd to be the ſame that had appeard off of *Dunkirk*; " whereupon Monſieur *de Fourbin*, reſolved to bear off by the Favour of a " Land Breeze, which very luckily carried us from the Enemy: Tho' they " purſued us pretty cloſe all that Day, and Four of their beſt Sailers being " come up with ſome of our ſternmoſt Ships, their foremoſt Ship attack'd " (about Four in the Afternoon) the *Auguſt*, with whom ſhe exchang'd " ſome Guns for ſome Time; after which the *Engliſh* bore down upon the " *Salisburry*, which was more a ſtern, and endeavour'd to cloſe her between " herſelf and another *Engliſh* Ship, that was coming up to her. The Fight " between theſe Two Ships, and ſome others on both Sides, laſted till Night, " during which Time the *Salisburry* made ſtout Reſiſtance, with their ſmall " Arms, but was taken. Our Fleet being diſpers'd, and the Enemy near us, " Monſieur *Fourlin* ſteer'd falſe during the Night, which had a good Effect; " for the next Day (the 25th) we found ourſelves with 20 Sail, at a conſi- " derable Diſtance from the Enemy; whereupon I diſcours'd Monſieur *de* " *Fourbin*, to know of him, whether, having miſſed our landing in the *Firth* " of *Edinburgh*, we might not attempt it in another Place? He propoſed to " me *Inverneſs*, which being a remote Part in the North of *Scotland*, and " we went immediately to ſpeak of it to the King of *England*, who ſeem'd " pleaſed, and told us, *We ought to concert together the Meaſures that were* " *to be taken, and he would agree to our Reſolutions.* The Queſtion then " was to get Pilots to conduct us thither, and give us neceſſary Intelligence: " But there being none in our Squadron, that was acquainted with that " Part, Monſieur *Fourbin* detach'd a Frigot with the Sieurs *Caron* and *Bouyn*, " to fetch ſome from the Cape of *Buchanneſs*. All this 25th Day we ſteer'd " with a pretty favourable Wind towards the North of *Scotland*, but about " Eleven at Night, there aroſe a ſtrong contrary Wind, which having con- " tinued all the next Day with Violence, Monſieur *de Fourbin* told me, it was " high Time to acquaint the King with the Inconveniencies of purſuing our " Courſe, which would be the inevitable Diſperſion of our Fleet; the Danger " of the Ships that ſhould be ſeparated, would be in Danger either of falling

A. D. 1708. " into the Enemies Hands, or of periſhing on the Coaſt if they were driven " thither, and even the wanting of Proviſions.

" The Impoſſibility the Sieurs *Caron* and *Bouyn*, found of approaching " the Shoar, by reaſon of the ſtormy Weather, and conſequently of bringing " Pilots to guide us; the Uneaſineſs of landing in a Port we were Strangers " to, and where the Enemy might again come up with us, together with o- " ther Hazards and Difficulties, being repreſented to the King by Monſieur " *Fourbin*, in the Preſence of the Duke of *Perth*, the Earl of *Middleton*, my " Lord *Galmoy*, Mr. *Hamilton*, and Meſſieurs *de Beucharnois* and *d' Andre-* " *zel*, he, with the unanimous Advice of all thoſe Perſons, reſolv'd to return " to *Dunkirk*, where we could not arrive till this Day, by reaſon of the " Calms and contrary Winds." I am, *&c.*

I find an Account much to the ſame Effect, ſaid to be written by Sir *George Bing*, from on board the *Medway* Man of War, dated the 13th of *March*, O. S. wherein he ſays, " According to the Opinion we had fram'd " when we left the Station of *Dunkirk*, it has prov'd, that the Enemy were " deſign'd for *Edinburgh*. This Morning we ſaw the *French* Fleet in the " Mouth of the *Firth*, off of which Place we anchor'd laſt Night, and ſent " a Boat aſhoar to the Iſle of *May*, from whence we had an Account, that " the *French* came to an Anchor yeſterday in the Afternoon. They ſent one " Ship up into *Leith* Road, which had a Flag at the Main-top-maſt-head. " They report it a blue one, but we are rather of Opinion, that it is the " Standard. The People of the Iſland ſay, that by the Time that Ship could " get up before the Town, they heard ſeveral Guns fire, which were in the " manner of a Salute. The ſame Ship that went up yeſterday, came down " this Morning, and is now within Two Leagues of us. She appears to be " a Ship of 60 Guns, but has now no Flag on board. We ſaw this Mor- " ning when ſhe weigh'd, a Flag at the Main-top-maſt-head, one board of " their Ships, they ſteer from us, and we after them with all the Sail we " can."

After this firſt Account by Sir *George Bing*, I find another ſaid to be con- tain'd in another Letter from him, on the 15th of *March*, which was as follows: " We chaſed the Enemy to the Northward of *Buchanneſs*, ſome- " times with reaſonable Hopes of coming up with them. The *Dover* and *Lud-* " *low-Caſtle*, being the only clean ſailing Ships we had, they were the firſt " which came up with Part of the Enemies Squadron, paſſing by ſome of " the ſmaller to engage ſome of the larger Ships, and to ſtop them till they " could be reliev'd. They attack'd Two or Three of their Ships, among " which was the *Salisburry*. They did not part with them till more of our " Ships were arriv'd, but work'd their Ships in a handſome Manner, to cut " them off from the reſt of the Fleet: But in the Darkneſs of the Night, " they all got off out of Sight, except the *Salisburry*, who falling in amongſt " our headmoſt Ships, the *Leopard* enter'd Men on board of her. We are " inform'd by the Officers who were taken on board of this Ship, that there " were 12 Battallions on board their Squadron commanded by the Count " *de Gace*, a Marſhal of *France*. The Number and Strength of their Ships " are very near the Account we lately receiv'd from *Dunkirk*, nor were they " join'd by the *Breſt* Men of War: And they further aſſure us, that the " Ships which our Scouts ſaw off of *Calis*, were Privateers, and their Prizes " going into *Dunkirk*. The Morning after this Chaſe, we ſaw but 18 of " the Enemies Ships, as far as we could perceive them from the Maſt-head " in the E. N. E. of us. Having no Proſpect of coming up with them, we " lay off and on *Buchanneſs* all Day yeſterday, to gather our Ships together; " and this Day it blowing hard at N. E. with a great Sea, judging the Ene- " my could not reach the Shore to make any Attempt, we bore up for this " Place, which was thought moſt reaſonable, not only to ſecure, but to give " Countenance and Spirit to her Majeſty's Subjects, and diſcourage thoſe " that might have Thoughts of being our Enemies."

Here

Here it is to be obſerved, that Sir *George Bing*'s Intelligence was, that the *French* Fleet were reſolved not to land at all, if they could not in the *Firth* of *Forth*, and that their chief Deſign was to attack the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, therefore he returned with the Fleet under his Command to the *Firth*, where he ſtaid till he was inform'd of their Return to *Dunkirk*, whereupon Sir *George* ſailed with his Fleet, and in a few Days after he arriv'd at Court, where he was receiv'd with all Marks of Favour and Applauſe, for this great Service. *A. D.* 1708.

After the *French* Fleet were returned to *Dunkirk*, Warrants were iſſued to apprehend all ſuſpected Perſons, according to the before mention'd Proclamation; and as at that Time ſeveral Gentlemen had appeared ready to favour the Deſign, and had prepared to meet them upon their firſt landing. Some *Stirling* Shire Gentlemen, *viz.* the Lairds of *Keir*, *Touch*, *Carden*, and others, were ſeized as they were coming on their Journey to *Edinburgh*, whether upon that Account, or about their own occaſional Affairs, I ſhall not take upon me to determine. Mean Time the Duke of *Gordon*, Earls of *Errol*, *Mariſhal*, *Seaforth*, and *Nithſdale*, Viſcounts *Stormount*, *Kenmure*, and *Kilſyth*, the Lords *Drummond*, *Nairn*, Lord *James Murray*, and Sir *George Maxwell*, were apprehended and confined; as alſo about the ſame Time were the Earls of *Murray*, *Traquair*, *Aberdeen*, the Lords *Sinclair*, *Balmerinoch*, *Belhaven*, the Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, Sir *Walter Bruce*, Lieutenant Collonel *Balfour*, the Lairds of *Salton*, *Powrie*, *Polmaes*, *Auchterbouſe*, *Strowan*, *Lochyell*, *Keppoch*, *Appin*, *Tannachie*, *Gallachie*, Mr. *Dougal Stewart*, Brother to the Earl of *Bute*, Sir *John Macklean* of *Dowart*, *Edmiſton* of *Newton*, Major General *Buchan*, *Campbell* of *Glenderule*. And his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton*, who was then at his Seat of *Aſhton* in *Lancaſhire*, was confin'd by a Meſſenger, in whoſe Cuſtody his Grace continued till he went to *London*, where he was ſoon ſet at Liberty. The other Noblemen and Gentlemen above mention'd, were for ſome Time confin'd in the Caſtle, Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, and other Priſons of *Scotland*, till about the latter End of *April*. The Marquiſs of *Huntly*, Earls of *Errol*, *Mariſhal*, *Seaforth*, and *Nithſdale*, the Lords Viſcounts *Stormount* and *Kilſyth*, the Lords *Drummond* and *Nairn*, and Mr. *James Murray*, Sir *George Maxwell*, and others, were carried from *Edinburgh* Caſtle to *London*, guarded by a Party of Dragoons; and in *June* after, the other Peers and Gentlemen before mention'd, were brought to *London*, where ſome were committed to the Tower, and others to *Newgate* Priſon; and being ſoon after examin'd by the Lords of the Privy Council. Some were diſcharg'd, ſuch as the Earl of *Aberdeen*, the Lord *Belmirinoch*, the Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, Sir *Walter Bruce*, Lieutenant Collonel *Balfour*, Mr. *Fletcher* of *Salton*, Mr. *Dougal Stewart*, Brother to the Earl of *Bute*, and moſt of the reſt were admitted to Bail; of which the Lord *Belhaven* died on the 21ſt of that Month of *June*.

Peers and Gentlemen made Priſoners in *Scotland* upon Account of the Invaſion.

The *Scots* Peers, &c. arriv'd at *London*.

Some of them releas'd.

The Lord *Belhaven*'s Death.

According to a Proclamation, having been publiſh'd the 26th of *April*, commanding the Peers of *Scotland*, or *North Britain*, to meet at *Holy-rood-Houſe*, at *Edinburgh*, to nominate and chuſe, by open Election; the Sixteen of their Number to ſit and vote in the Houſe of Peers, in the enſuing Parliament of *Great Britain*. They met at *Edinburgh* on the 17th Day of *June*, and after continuing their cloſs Election for about 16 Hours, the following Peers were elected, *viz.* The Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Montroſe*, and *Roxburgh*; the Marquiſs of *Lothian*; the Earls of *Crawford*, *Rotheſs*, *Marr*, *Loudon*, *Waems*, *Northesk*, *Seaſield*, *Roſsberry*, *Leven*, *Orkney*, *Glaſgow*, and *Iſlay*: All of them, except the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Earls of *Rotheſs*, *Northesk* and *Orkney* having been in the Preceding Parliament. The Duke of *Hamilton* being then elected in the Room of the Duke of *Queensberry*, who ſat in the Houſe of Peers in *England*, as having been, upon the 26th of *May* before, created Baron of *Rippon*, Marquiſs of *Beverly*, and Duke of *Dover* in *England*.

Election of 16 Peers for *Scotland* at *Edinburgh*, *June* 17.

The Duke of *Queensberry* created Duke of *Dover* in *England*.

Before the Parliament met, there were ſeveral Proclamations iſſu'd, *viz.* one dated *July* 11th, *Directing and appointing the reſpective Times and*

A. D. 1708. *Places for keeping Circuit Courts in* Scotland, *for the better and more ſpeedy Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and further Preſervation of the publick Peace there, purſuant to an Act of the laſt Parliament, for rendering the Union of the two Kingdoms more entire and compleat.* The other two Proclamations were, one *againſt unlawful Intruders into Churches and Manſes, in* Scotland; the other, *For puting the Laws in Execution againſt Popery*, in that ſame Nation. And upon the 16th Day of *November* this Year, the ſecond Parliament of *Great Britain* met at *Weſtminſter*, and the ſame Day the Duke of *Queensberry* was introduced to the Houſe of Peers, by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Ormond*, and took Place as a Peer of *South Britain*, by the Title of, Duke of *Dover*.

December 3d, Debates in the Houſe of Commons, about the eldeſt Sons of the Peers of *Scotland.*

The firſt Matter of any Conſequence, relating to *Scotland*, that came to be mention'd in this Parliament, was upon the 3d of *December*, that the Houſe took into their Conſideration that Part of the Act for uniting the two Kingdoms, which relates to the Election of Members to ſerve in that Houſe, for that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*. Whereupon four Lawyers were heard in Council; and the Petitions and Repreſentations relating to the Incapacity of the Eldeſt Sons of the Peers of *Scotland*, to repreſent the Commons of that Nation in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, were again read. The Subſtance both of the Councils Arguments and of thoſe Repreſentations were, That by an Act of the *Scots* Parliament, Entitul'd, *An Act for ſettling the Manner of Electing* 16 *Peers, and* 45 *Commoners, to repreſent* Scotland *in the Parliament of* Great Britain; which Act was ratify'd by the Act for uniting the two Kingdoms, it is declar'd, That none ſhall be capable to Elect, or be Elected to repreſent a Shire or Burgh in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, for this Part of the united Kingdom, except ſuch as are now capable to Elect or be Elected as Commiſſioners for Shires or Burghs to the Parliament of *Scotland*. "That from hence it evidently follow'd, That the Peers "of *Scotland*'s Eldeſt Sons could not ſit in the Houſe of Commons of *Great* "*Britain*, unleſs it did appear, that they were capable to be elected, and to "ſit as Members of the Parliament of *Scotland*: But as a Proof of the con- "trary, ſeveral Inſtances were alledg'd of their being always rejected by the "Parliament of *Scotland*; and in particular of the Lord Viſcount of *Tarbet*'s "Eldeſt Son, in the Year 1689. That the *Fundamental Law* of the *Union* "had moſt expreſly reſerv'd to the Commons of *Scotland*, that valuable Pri- "vilege of Electing their Repreſentatives in Parliament, from among the "beſt qualify'd Gentlemen of their own Number and State, in the ſame "manner as they had formerly us'd to do. That in the Electing Members "of Parliament, the Choice of the Electors ought to be made as free as poſ- "ſible from the Influence either of Bribes or Threats; and in Juſtice ſhould "only be determin'd by the Honeſty and Candor of the Perſon to be choſen; "that his Character ſhould be ſuch, as would promiſe a faithful Diſcharge "of ſo great a Truſt: And that his Inclination be accompany'd with a ſuf- "ficient Capacity to ſerve the particular Intereſt of his Conſtituents, ſo well "as the general Intereſt of his Country: But that few in *Scotland* could be "ſuppos'd to be in a Condition to maintain this Character, the Commons "there being ſurrounded with a numerous and powerful Peerage, who like "ſo many Sovereigns, judge and determine within their reſpective Bounds, "in Criminal as well as Civil Matters; being veſted with vaſt Superiorities "and heritable Juriſdictions: So that a Commoner holding any Part of his "Lands, of a Peer, or even being in his Neighbourhood, could not be rec- "kon'd at Liberty to make a free Election of his Repreſentative: And that the "Commons of *Scotland*, whereof the Majority of their Parliament conſiſted, "had invincible Arguments for preſerving entire to themſelves that neceſſary "Privilege of excluding their Peers Eldeſt Sons from being Members of the "Houſe. That if the Parliament of *Scotland* which conſiſted of Peers and "Commoners ſitting together in the ſame Houſe, enjoying the ſame Liberty "of Speech, and the ſame common Privilege and judicative Capacity, be- "ing alſo reſtricted to the ſame Rules and Forms, had ſo many Reaſons for "excluding their Peers Eldeſt Sons. How many more Arguments of great

"Mo-

" Moment might be urged in the Houſe of Commons of *Great Britain*, who " ſubſiſted a ſeperate and diſtinct Houſe from the Peers; enjoying by them- " ſelves ſo many valuable Privileges and Immunities, which could not be en- " croach'd upon by the Houſe of Peers, without endangering the whole Con- " ſtitution of the Houſe of Commons? And as now that *Scotland* and *Eng-* " *land* being united, and their Intereſts inſeperably join'd; it ought to be a " Maxim with all the Subjects, that the Liberty of the Commons of *Scot-* " *land* would always be an Advantage of thoſe of *England*; and that the " Slavery of the one Nation cannot fail to end in the Deſtruction of the o- " ther." Little was offer'd on the other Side againſt theſe Arguments, ſo that the Queſtion being put, *That the Eldeſt Sons of the Peers of* Scotland *were capable by the Laws of* Scotland, *at the time of the Union, to Elect or be Elected as Commiſſioners of Shires or Burghs to the Parliament of* Scotland; *and therefore by the Treaty of the Union were capable to Elect or be Elected to repreſent any Shire or Burgh in* Scotland, *to ſit in the Houſe of Commons of* Great Britain: It paſs'd in the Negative; to the great Surprize of ſome eminent Perſons, who had made all poſſible Intereſt to the contrary: Nor could it be pleaſant to the Peers of *Scotland*, who put ſo much Confidence in the Members, that they would not ſuffer their Eldeſt Sons to be ſo degraded, ſince the Eldeſt Sons of the *Engliſh* Peers enjoy that Privilege. *A. D.* 1708.

Three Days after, the Commons order'd their Speaker to iſſue out Warrants to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out new Writes for electing Commiſſioners to ſerve in this preſent Parliament, for the Shire of *Aberdeen*, in the Room of *William* Lord *Haddo*; and for the Shire of *Linlithgow*, in the Room of *James* Lord *Johnſton*; who being the Eldeſt Sons of Peers in *Scotland*, were declar'd incapable to ſit in that Houſe.

1709. *February* 16th, the *Scots* Merchants petition on the Parliament for Draw-backs on Fiſh, &c.

Upon the 16th of *February*, 1709. the Royal Burghs of *Scotland* gave in a Petition to the Parliament; wherein they repreſented, " That by the Treaty " of the Union it was provided, *That all Fiſh exported from* Scotland *beyond* " *Seas, which ſhould be cur'd with Foreign Salt only, ſhould have the ſame* " Eaſes, Premiums *and* Drawbacks, *as were, or ſhould be allow'd to ſuch* " *Perſons as Exported the like Fiſh from* England: *And that for the Encou-* " *ragement of the* Herring-Fiſhing, *there ſhould be allow'd and paid to the* " *Subjects, Inhabitants of* Great Britain, *Ten Shillings and Five Pence* Ster- " ling, *for every Barrel of* White Herring, *which ſhould be exported from* " Scotland. That upon the Faith and Credit of the Act of the Union, di- " vers Quantities of *Herrings*, *Cod* and *Salmon*, were cur'd with Foreign " Salt only; the Drawback of which Fiſh amounted to 26967 l. 9 s. 1 d. " in the whole: And that the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers of *North Britain* had " not only refus'd Payment, but even Debentures for the *Eaſes*, *Premiums*, " and *Drawbacks*, by the ſaid Act directed; alledging, that the Salt where- " with ſuch Fiſh were cur'd (being in *Scotland* before the firſt of *May*, 1707) " did not pay the high Duties; of which Grievance the Petitioners prayed " to be relieved." After a warm Debate, upon the Subſtance of the Petition, it was adjourned to the 22d of the ſame Month, and accordingly the Debate was reſumed, which terminated in an Order to bring in a Bill, aſcertaing and directing the Payment of the Allowances to be made upon the Exportation from *Scotland* of Fiſh, Beef, and Pork, cur'd with Foreign Salt, imported before the 1ſt of *May*, 1707.

A Bill for allowing the Draw-backs.

Upon the 28th of *March*, the Houſe of Lords paſſed a Bill, Entituled, *An Act for improving the Union of the Two Kingdoms*. And ſent it down to the Houſe of Commons, where it was twice read; and being referred to a Committee on the 5th of *April*, when the Committee were impower'd to receive a Clauſe to condeſcend on what Offences ſhould be adjudg'd high Treaſon, or Miſpriſion of high Treaſon; and that the Method of Protecution and Trial, and Forfeitures, and Puniſhments, ſhould be the ſame throughout the whole united Kingdom of *Great Britain*. Which being taken into Conſideration, occaſion'd a warm Debate, whereupon the *Scotiſh* Members made ſeveral Speeches againſt the Clauſe for rendring the *Scots*, in Caſes of Treaſon,

March 28th, A Bill for the Trial and Puniſhment of Treaſon.

A. D. 1708. liable to the ſame Forfeitures and Puniſhments as the *Engliſh*, contrary to the ancient Laws of *Scotland*. The Debate was put off till the 7th of the ſame Month; and being then reſum'd by the *Scots* Members, they prevail'd ſo far, that ſeveral Amendments were made to the Bill, whereby, inſtead of making the Subjects of *Scotland* or *North Britain*, liable to the Laws of *England* in Caſes of Treaſon, it was provided, that no Attainder for Treaſon ſhould extend to diſinherit any Heir, nor be of any Prejudice to the Right or Title of any other than the immediate Offender during his Life.

The Caſe of Doctor *Sacheverel* before the *Britiſh* Parliament.

In this Parliament nothing of Moment relating to the Affairs of *Scotland* happen'd, yet an Affair came before the Houſes, towards the latter End of this Year, which cauſed great Noiſe in the Three Kingdoms, (*viz.*) The Caſe of Dr. *Sacheverel*; he having preach'd two Sermons, the one at *Derby* Aſſizes, on the 15th of *Auguſt*, and another at St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, upon the 5th of *November*, wherein he imprudently expreſs'd ſome Words, highly offenſive to ſome People. Theſe two Sermons being printed and publiſh'd, he, with Mr. *Clements* a Printer, were order'd to appear before the Houſe of Commons; whereupon they appear'd, and being examin'd, the Doctor confeſs'd the Sermons were preach'd, and order'd to be publiſh'd by him; ſo the Printer was diſmiſs'd, but the Doctor was taken into the Cuſtody of a Meſſenger at Arms; and Orders given to draw up Articles of Impeachment againſt him. Mean Time the Doctor petition'd to be admitted to Bail, whereupon Search was made to find a Precedent of his Caſe, which being found, was read before the Houſe; and it was put to a Vote, whether or not he ſhould be admitted to Bail, but it was carried againſt him by 114 Voices againſt 64, which occaſion'd great Diviſions among the Members of the Houſe, as well of Peers as Commons: And Matters were carried to ſuch a Height, that when the Trial came on, there were ſeveral Mobs and Tumults about *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and beſides the warm Debates in the Houſes of Parliament, the whole Nation was in a Uproar: But after all the great Noiſe, the Sentence againſt the Doctor was, that he ſhould be ſilenc'd for three Years, and his two Sermons to be burnt by the common Hangman at the Royal Exchange.

It is to be obſerved, that the Doctor by his imprudent meddling with what (in my humble Opinion) was entirely out of his way, prevailed with many noble and worthy Perſons, to diſtinguiſh themſelves very much to their Diſadvantage; and that learn'd Divine in ſome Time after, upon further Conſideration, freely relinquiſh'd thoſe Principles he had then ſo vigorouſly aſſerted.

1711. In the remaining Part of 1709 and 10, there happen'd nothing memorable in *Scotland*, nor in the Year 1711, only, that in *June* this Year, the Dutcheſs of *Gordon* ſent to Mr. *Robert Bennet*, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, a Medal, having on one Side a Head with the Motto *Cujus eſt*, and on the Reverſe the Iſles of *Britain* and *Ireland*, with the Motto *Redaite*, as a Preſent to the Faculty; the ſaid Medal was firſt left in the Hands of one of their Servants, the Dean being ſhy either to accept it, or place it in the Repoſitory of Rarities, before he had conſulted ſome of the Members of the Faculty. In order to that, there being either an occaſional or ſet Meeting, on the 30th of *June*, Mr. *Bennet* preſented to them the Medal before mention'd, telling the Faculty, her Grace the Dutcheſs of *Gordon* ſent to them as a Preſent, the Medal of King *JAMES* VIII. whom they and the *Engliſh* called the Pretender; and he hop'd Thanks would be return'd to her Grace. Mr. *Alexander Stevenſon* anſwer'd, *That the Medal ſhould be return'd to her Grace, for the receiving it was throwing Dirt on the Face of the Government.* He was ſeconded by Mr. *Robert Alexander* of *Blackhouſe*, who ſaid, *That the receiving of ſuch a Medal, was owning a Right contrary to her Majeſty's.* Mr. *Robert Frazer* anſwer'd, *That* Oliver Cromwel's *Medal, who deſerv'd to be hang'd, and the Arms of the Common-wealth of* England *had been receiv'd, and why not this?* Upon this Mr. *Duncan Forbes*, Brother to *Colloden*, and Mr. *Joſeph Hume* of *Nineholes*, ſaid, *It was Time enough to receive the Medal when*

The Dutcheſs of *Gordon*'s Medal makes a Stir at *Edinburgh*.

when the Pretender was hang'd. To whom adher'd Mr. *Hugh Dalrymple*, Son to the Preſident, Mr. *James Ferguſſon*, Son to Sir *John Ferguſſon* of *Kirknell*, and Sir *James Stewart* of *Goodtrees*, her Majeſty's Sollicitor. After that Mr. *James Dundas* of *Arniſtoun* junior, roſe up and made the following Speech: *A. D.* 1711.

Mr. *Dundas*'s Speech to the Faculty of Advocates about the Medal.

Dean of Faculty, whatever theſe Gentlemen may ſay of their Loyalty, I think they affront the Queen, whom they pretend to Honour, in diſgracing her Brother, who is not only a Prince of the Blood, but the firſt thereof; and if Blood can give any Right, he is our undoubted Sovereign. I think too they call her Majeſty's Title in Queſtion, which is not our Buſineſs to determine. Medals are the Documents of Hiſtory, to which all Hiſtorians refer; and therefore, tho' I ſhould give King William's *Stamp with the Devil at his right Ear, I ſee not how it could be refuſed, ſeeing an Hundred Years hence it would prove, that ſuch a Coin had been in* England. *But, Dean of Faculty, what needs further Speeches? None oppoſe the receiving the Medal, and returning Thanks to her Grace, but a few pitiful ſcoundrel Vermin and Muſhrooms, not worthy our Notice; let us therefore proceed to name ſome of our Number, to return our hearty Thanks to the Dutcheſs of* Gordon. Hereupon the Dean of Faculty put to the Vote, and it was carried by a Majority of Sixty three Voices, againſt Twelve, (there being Seventy five Members preſent) that Thanks ſhould be returned to her Grace by Mr. *Dundas* and Mr. *Horn* of *Weſthall*. Three Days after theſe Two Gentlemen waited on the Dutcheſs, and Mr. *Dundas* returned her the moſt hearty Thanks of the Faculty for all her Favours, particularly in preſenting them with a Medal of their Sovereign Lord the King, hoping, and being confident, that her Grace ſhould very ſoon have the Opportunity of preſenting the Faculty with a Second Medal, ſtruck upon the Reſtoration of the King and Royal Family, and the finiſhing of Rebellion, Uſurping, Tyranny, and Whiggery.

Sir *David Dalrymple*, the Queen's Advocate, taking Notice of this Affair, he thought it his Duty to give an Account of it to the Duke of *Queensberry*, one of the principal Secretaries of State; but his Grace dying at that Juncture, the Information was laid before the Queen; whereupon Orders were ſent to the Lord Advocate, to enquire into the Matter: But the Faculty of Advocates having Notice of the Orders, and ſuſpecting the Conſequence of that Action might prove dangerous, they made a Declaration in the following Manner, *That being met upon extraordinary Buſineſs, it appear'd to them that a Medal was ſent to one of their Servants, who being called, acknowledg'd his having the ſame, and juſtified that it never was put in to the Faculty's Collection of Medals, nor had ever been out of his Cuſtody. That the ſaid Dean and Faculty, did at the ſame Time unanimouſly declare, that they rejected the Offer of the ſaid Medal, and order'd the Servant to deliver up the ſame into the Hands of the Lord Advocate, which was done in their Preſence; and did unanimouſly appoint a Committee to bring in an Act of Faculty, containing a Narration of the Fact, as above, and a Declaration of their Duty, and loyal Affection to her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as by Law eſtabliſh'd, and the Deteſtation of all Practices, that directly or indirectly might contain the leaſt Inſinuation to the contrary.* Which Declaration prevail'd ſo far with the Government, that it was thought more proper to overlook, than puniſh any of thoſe who had offended in this Matter.

The Advocates Declaration.

Yet notwithſtanding of this Declaration, Mr. *James Dundas* could not refrain to write ſome Time after, a Vindication of their Proceedings about the Medal, which he ſent to the Preſs, in order to have it publiſh'd; but the Printer was ſo cautious, that he carried the Copy to the Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, who communicated the ſame to Sir *James Stewart* the Sollicitor, and he ſent an Information of it to the Queen and Council, whereupon the Paper was entirely ſuppreſs'd.

Mean Time an Account of this Affair being brought to the Court of *Hanover*, Monſieur *de Kreyenberg*, Reſident from the Electoral Prince, receiv'd expreſs Orders to preſent a Memorial, wherein he made preſſing Inſtances to

A. D. 1711. prosecute Mr. *Dundas* and his Associates, which Request the Government granted; and Orders were forthwith given to form an Indictment against them; and at the same Time, it being reported, that Sir *David Dalrymple* had appear'd somewhat favourable to the Offenders, he was remov'd from the Office of Advocate, and Sir *James Stewart* repon'd to that Place; but the Prosecution of Mr. *Dundas* terminated in his being reprimanded, and expell'd the Faculty.

Mr. *Dundas* is prosecuted.

1712. About the Beginning of this Year 1712, some Motions were made in the *British* Parliament, in favour of the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*, and a Bill being brought in for re-establishing Episcopacy, it was strongly opposed by several of the Members; and after many Debates for and against it, the Presbyterian Party at last prevail'd, so that the Bill was rejected, and the Episcopal Party were disappointed of the great Hopes they had upon that Occasion: However, several Motions were made in favour of Episcopacy, so that at last, they, for the most Part, were so far tollerated, that the Episcopal Ministers of *Scotland* used the *English* Service, in several publick Meeting-houses at *Edinburgh*, and several other Places of the Nation.

A Peace between *Britain* and *France* proposed.

This Year the Courts of *Britain* and *France*, having enter'd into a Treaty of Peace, the Queen appointed his Grace *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, her Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, and at the same Time her Majesty appointed his Grace Master General of the Ordnance, which Office had been vacant by the Death of the Earl of *Rivers*: But whilst the Duke was making Preparation to proceed on his Embassy, there happen'd a Quarrel betwixt his Grace and the Lord *Mohun*; which Quarrel brought on a most unfortunate Duel.

An Account of the Duel between Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Mohun*.

The Cause and Consequence of this Duel being variously reported, I cannot take upon me to say any Thing of it further than what I find mention'd in the publick Accounts of that Affair. Which is, that on the 13th of *November*, the Duke of *Hamilton* and Lord *Mohun*, having met at Mr. *Orlebar*'s Chambers, a Master in Chancery, at the Rolls; there happen'd some Words about a Law Suit, which was depending between them, yet seem'd to part without any Appearance of a Quarrel: But the next Day Lieutenant General *Mackartney* went twice to the Duke of *Hamilton*'s House; and it is said, the Occasion of his first Message was with a Challenge from my Lord *Mohun* to his Grace. And in the same Evening the Duke, accompanied by Collonel *John Hamilton*, went to a Tavern, where the Lord *Mohun* and General *Mackartney* then were. The General was some Time in private with the Duke, while the Lord *Mohun* and Collonel *Hamilton* were in separate Rooms; and they being there some Time, General *Mackartney* went several Times betwixt the Duke and Lord *Mohun*, after which they parted. And the next Day being *Sunday*, the 15th of *November*, the Duke, with Collonel *Hamilton*, took Coach, and went to the Lodge in *Hyde Park*, where coming about Eighth a Clock, they found the Lord *Mohun* and General *Mackartney*, whereupon they all jump'd over a Ditch into a Place called the *Nursery*; whereupon they all drew, and the two Combatants and Seconds being engag'd, the Duke and Lord *Mohun* having made some violent Passes at each other, the Duke run the Lord *Mohun* through the Body, so that he fell down on the Spot; and the Duke at the same Time having receiv'd a Wound in his right Arm, and another in the Body; his Grace likewise died in some few Hours after.

Various Speeches on Occasion of the Duel.

By some Accounts it is reported, that this Duel was a Party Contrivance, and that General *Mackartney* took the Advantage of the Words that had happen'd betwixt the Duke and Lord *Mohun*, to bring on the Duel, wherein the Duke of *Hamilton* only receiv'd a slight Wound in the Arm, and that his mortal Wound was given by General *Mackartney*; but other Reports seem to vindicate the General, and say, that both Wounds were given by the Lord *Mohun*. But as General *Mackartney* upon that Occasion, in some Days after fled over to *Flanders*, it occasion'd such Suspicion, that immediately strict Search

was

was made for him; and the Queen by Proclamation, offer'd a Reward of 500 *L.* for apprehending him. To which the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton* added a Reward of 300 *L.* more. *A. D.* 1613.

Beſides the Depoſitions at the Coroner's Inqueſt, ſeveral Examinations were made before the Seſſions at the *Old Bailie*; by all which the Matter ſtill remain'd dubious.

In *May*, 1713. Peace being concluded between *Great Britain*, *France*, &c. the ſame was proclaim'd at *Edinburgh*, and other Cities and Towns of the Nation. And about this time, ſeveral of the *Scots* Members, in both Houſes of the *Britiſh* Parliament, had ſeveral Conſultations among themſelves about the Malt Tax Bill: And upon that Occaſion having laid aſide all Party Diſtinctions, they conſulted Meaſures how to redreſs their Grievances: Whereupon his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Marr*, Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwath*, and Mr. *Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*, junior, went to wait upon the Queen, and repreſented to her Majeſty, "That their Native Country bore with "great Impatience, the Violation of ſome Articles of the Union: And that "the laying ſuch an unſupportable Burden as the Malt Tax upon them, was "like to raiſe their Diſcontent to ſuch a Height, as to prompt them to de-"clare the Union diſſolv'd." To this unexpected Remonſtrance the Queen made Anſwer, *That it was a precipitate Reſolution, and ſhe wiſh'd they might not have Reaſon to repent it: But however ſhe would make all Things eaſy.*

The *Scots* Peers and Commons being met together next Day, the Duke of *Argyle* and Earl of *Marr* reported the Queen's Anſwer: Whereupon it was unanimouſly agreed, That before they proceeded further, their Grievances ſhould be laid before the Houſe of Lords; which accordingly was done, and upon the 28th of *May*, the Earl of *Finlater* repreſented the Grievances of *Scotland* under the four following Articles: "1ſt, Their being depriv'd of "a Privy Council. 2d, The Laws of *England*, in Caſes of Treaſon, ex-"tending to *Scotland*. 3d, The *Scots* Peers being incapable of being made "Peers of *Great Britain*, as it was judged and declared in the Caſe of the "late Duke of *Hamilton*. And 4thly, The *Scots* being ſubjected to the Malt "Tax, which would be the more inſupportable to them, ſince they had not "been liable to it during the War, and had Reaſon to expect that now "they would reap and enjoy the Benefit of Peace: Concluding, That ſince "the Union between the two Nations had not ſuch good Effects as were ex-"pected from it; His Lordſhip therefore mov'd, That Leave might be given "to bring in a Bill, *For diſſolving the ſaid Union, and ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of* Hannover; *ſecuring the Queen's Prerogative in both Kingdoms, and preſerving an entire Amity and good Correſpondence between the two Kingdoms.*" This Motion was ſeconded by the Earl of *Marr*, but oppos'd by the Lord *North* and *Grey*; who in a long Speech endeavour'd to ſhew, that theſe Complaints were groundleſs, and the Diſſolving of the Union impracticable: And that there was nothing propos'd, but what was agreed to by the Treaty of the Union: That the 14th Article imported, That *Scotland* ſhould not be charg'd with any Impoſition on Malt, during the War only, which was now at an End. Upon this the Earl of *Iſla* made Anſwer, That he acknowledg'd there was ſuch a Clauſe, but that the ſame Article imported, *That ſeeing it could not be ſuppos'd, That the Parliament of* Great Britain *would ever lay any ſorts of Burdens upon the united Kingdom, but what they ſhould find of Neceſſity at that Time, for the Preſervation and Good of the whole; and with due Regard to the Circumſtances and Abilities of every Part of the united Kingdom: Therefore it was agreed, that there ſhould be no further Exemption inſiſted on, for any Part of the united Kingdom, but that the Conſideration of any Exemption beyond what was already agreed on in this Treaty, ſhould be left to the Determination of the Parliament of* Great Britain. His Lordſhip urg'd, That when this Treaty was made, the *Scots* concluded, the Parliament of *Great Britain* would never go about to lay any Impoſition, that they had Reaſon to believe grievous: And having ſet forth the Inability of the *Scots* to pay

The *Scots* Peers and Commons Reſolution to break the Union.

They inſiſt that 4 Articles of it has been infring'd.

The Earl of *Iſla*'s Speech.

A. D. 1713. the Malt Tax, concluded for the Earl of *Finlater*'s Motion. Upon this the Earl of *Peterborough* made a long Speech, wherein he endeavour'd to ſhew the Impoſſibility of diſſolving the Union; ſaying, among other Things, "That he had often heard the *Union* compar'd to a *Marriage*; and acco-
The Earl of *Peterborough*'s Speech. "ding to that Notion, ſince it was made it could not be diſſolv'd by any "Power upon Earth. That tho' *England*, who in this National Marriage "muſt be ſuppos'd to be the Husband, might in ſome Inſtances have been "unkind to the Lady, yet ſhe ought not preſently to ſhew for a Divorce; "the rather becauſe ſhe had very much mended her Fortune by this Match." To this the Earl of *Iſla* reply'd, That if the Union had the ſame Sanction as Marriage, he ſhould be for obſerving it as religiouſly, but that he thought there was a great Difference. To which the Earl of *Peterborough* again anſwer'd, He could not tell how it could be more ſolemn than it was, unleſs it had come from Heaven like the *Ten Commandments*: Adding the great Advantages that the People of *Scotland* had by the Union. Upon this the Duke of *Argyle* ſaid, "That he was by ſome reflected on, as if he was diſguſted and
The Earl of *Iſla*'s Reply.

The Duke of *Argyle*'s Speech. "had chang'd Sides; but he deſpis'd their Perſons as much as he undervalu'd "their Judgments: That it was true he had a great Hand in making the "Union, as the chief Reaſon that mov'd him to it was, the ſecuring the Pro-"teſtant Succeſſion; but that he was ſatisfy'd; That might be done as well if "the Union were diſſolv'd: That he ſpoke as a Peer of *England* as well as "of *Scotland*, and believ'd in his Conſcience it was as much the Intereſt of "*England* as of *Scotland*, to have it diſſolv'd; and if it was not, he did not "expect long to have either Property left in *Scotland*, or Liberty in *England*: "Adding, That the Malt Tax upon *Scotland*, was no leſs unequal than the "taxing Land by the Acre throughout *England* would be; becauſe Lands is "worth 5 or 6 Pounds an Acre about *London*, whereas in ſome Parts of "the Country it is not worth ſo many Shillings; which was the Caſe be-"twixt *Scots* and *Engliſh* Malt; the latter being worth 3 or 4 Shillings a "Buſhel, the other not above one: So that if the Tax were impos'd on "*Scotland*, it muſt be collected by a Regiment of Dragoons.

Some other Peers of *Scotland* ſeconded his Grace, ſaying, That the Union was intended to cultivate Amity and Friendſhip between the two Nations, but was ſo far from having that Effect, *That they were ſure the Animoſities between the two Nations were then much greater than before the Union*; *and therefore they were of Opinion, that if the Union was diſſolv'd, the two Nations would be better Friends.* Several other Debates happen'd upon this Matter; and ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Peers, as well as the *Scots*, were for diſſolving the Union; yet when the Earl of *Finlater*'s Motion was put to the Vote, it was carry'd in the Negative by Four Voices.

The diſſolving the Union is put to a Vote.

During the reſt of this Year nothing of Moment happen'd to *Scotland*, or relating to the Affairs of that Nation. Nor in the former Part of the next Year, 1714. till the firſt Day of *Auguſt*, That her Majeſty Queen *ANNE* departed this Life at Her Palace of *Kenſington*.

1714. Queen *Anne*'s Death.

And the ſame Day the Privy Council being met, they forthwith gave Orders to proclaim *GEORGE Lewis Auguſtus*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, Elector of *Hannover*, &c. King of *Great Britain*, &c. Which was accordingly done at the accuſtom'd Places, and with the uſual Solemnity.

King *George* proclaim'd at *London*.

And at the ſame time Orders came, directed to the Earl of *Iſla*, Lord Juſtice General, to proclaim his Majeſty in *Scotland*. The Orders arriv'd at *Edinburgh* upon the 4th of *Auguſt*, about 12 a-Clock at Night: Whereupon his Lordſhip ſent Notice to ſeveral of the Nobility, to attend him the next Morning at 8 a-Clock; which they did, and there being met, they went in a Body with his Lordſhip to the Duke of *Montroſe*; who was appointed one of the Regents; his Grace being attended by the Marquiſs of *Tweedale*, the Earls of *Rothes*, *Morton*, *Buchan*, *Lauderdale*, *Haddingtoun*, *Leven*, *Hyndford*, *Hopton*, *Roſeberry*; the Lords *Belhaven*, *Elibank*, *Torphichen*, *Polwart*, *Balgouny*, General *Wightman* and ſeveral Gentlemen and Officers of the Army: Whereupon, after Conſultation, they immediately gave Orders

to

to have all Things in Readineſs for the Proclamation; and the Streets being lin'd with the Train'd Bands, the Duke of *Montroſe*, with the reſt of the Nobility and Gentry, went to the Town Council-Houſe, where the Lord Provoſt, with the other Magiſtrates of the Town Council, the Lord Preſident, and the other Lords of the Seſſion, the Lord chief Baron, and the other Barons of the Exchequer, with the Commiſſioners of the Revenue and ſeveral others, attended to receive them; and all that were preſent having ſign'd the Proclamation, after which they went in a ſolemn Proceſſion to the Croſs of *Edinburgh*, where the Lord Provoſt read the Words of the Proclamation, and at the ſame time the Lyon Depute proclaim'd *GEORGE Lewis Auguſtus*, Elector of *Brunſwick*, *Lunenburg*, &c. by the Title of, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*. After which his Majeſty was proclaim'd at the other uſual Places, according to Cuſtom. *A. D.* 1714.

King *George* proclaim'd at *Edinburgh*.

GEORGE.

GEORGE Lewis Auguſtus, the Son of *Erneſt Auguſtus* Duke of *Hanover*, by the Princeſs *Sophia*, Daughter to the Elector *Palatine*, King of *Bohemia*, by the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter to King *James* the 6th of *Scotland* and 1ſt of *England*; was proclaim'd King of *Great Britain*, &c. at *Edinburgh* upon the 5th Day of *Auguſt*, 1714.

The Solemnity of the Proclamation being over, his Grace the Duke of *Montroſe* took his Journey to *London* the next Day; and the Forces in and about *Edinburgh* were order'd to encamp in St. *Ann*'s Yards by the Royal Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*; as there were, about this time, ſome Apprehenſions of Diſturbance, yet nothing of that Kind happen'd.

The Names of the Lords Juſtices, till his Majeſty came to *England*.

At the Death of the Queen, the Lord Archbiſhop of *York*, the Dukes of *Shrewsbury*, *Somerſet*, *Bolton*, *Devonſhire*, *Kent*, *Argyle*, *Montroſe*, *Roxburgh*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Angleſey*, *Carliſle*, *Nottingham*, *Abingdon*, *Scarborough*, *Orford*, Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*, Lord *Halifax* and Lord *Cowper*, having been appointed Lords Juſtices for the Management of the Government, till the coming over of King *George*; they receiv'd Information, that the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*, and ſome other diſaffected Perſons, intended an Inſurrection: Whereupon their Lordſhips ſent down Orders to *Scotland*, That the Duke of *Gordon* ſhould be confin'd to the City of *Edinburgh* on his Parole, his Son the Marquiſs of *Huntly* to his Houſe of *Caſtle-Gordon*, and the Lord *Drummond* to his Caſtle of *Drummond*, the Duke of *Athol* was order'd to continue at his Caſtle of *Blair* in the *Highlands*, to preſerve the Peace of the Neighbourhood. And as the Lords Juſtices had Information, that the Chieftains of the Clans had appointed a Deer Hunting, according to their yearly Cuſtom; Orders were given to diſcharge them from meeting upon that Occaſion. And at the ſame time Sir *Donald Macdonald* of *Slate* was made Priſoner, and ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; as alſo Captain *Campbell* of *Glenderoul* (who had a Commiſſion ſome Months before to raiſe an Independant Company in the *Highlands*) was taken at *Inverlochy*, and ſent Priſoner to *Edinburgh*. Orders were likewiſe given to ſeize the Lord *Drummond* and Earl of *Brodalbin*, but the former retir'd to the *Highlands*, and the latter to his Caſtle of *Loch-Tay*; from whence they wrote to the Lords Juſtices, offering Bail for their good Behaviour.

There happen'd no Diſturbance in *Scotland* at this time, except in *Glaſgow*, when King *George* was proclaim'd, about 40 or 50 Perſons went and pull'd down an Epiſcopal Meeting-Houſe, where one Mr. *Cockburn* had ſet up the Liturgy of the Church of *England* ſome Months before; whereof when the Magiſtrates had Notice, they immediately ſent to apprehend the Actors, but they had made their Eſcape. Of this a Complaint was ſent to the Regency, who forthwith ſent Orders to the Lord Advocate of *Scotland*, to enquire into

A. D. 1714. the Matter; and the Affair being examin'd, the Magiſtrates of *Glaſgow* declar'd, that the Action had been done while they were attending the Solemnity of the Proclamation; and that as ſoon as they had Notice of it, they ſent to apprehend the Actors, but they had made their Eſcape; and that altho' they had given Aſſurance of their Protection to Mr. *Cockburn*, yet he had retir'd with his Family to *Edinburgh* After this Examination had been remitted to the Lords Juſtices, that Affair was no further taken notice of.

Alterations of the State Officers in *Scotland.*

Upon the coming over of King *George*, ſeveral Alterations of State Officers happen'd in *Scotland*; the Duke of *Montroſe* being appointed Secretary of State, the Duke of *Roxburgh* Keeper of the Great Seal, the Marquiſs of *Annandale* Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Earl of *Ylla* Lord Regiſter, *Adam Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*, Lord Juſtice Clerk, beſides ſeveral other Alterations in inferior Offices. During the Remainder of this Year nothing of Conſequence happen'd in *Scotland*; but that the Oath of Abjuration was tendred to all ſuch as held any Office under the Government; as alſo to all ſuch as were Members of the College of Juſtice; but ſome of the Advocates refuſing to qualify themſelves by taking the Oaths, were debar'd the Privilege of Pleading before the Lords of Seſſion or any other Judicatory.

1715. In *February*, 1715, his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Scotland*, receiv'd Advice by a Letter from Sir *William Gordon* of *Dalfolly*, that a Veſſel with Ammunition and Arms was landed in the Iſle of *Sky*, and that five Strangers that came over in the Ship, had diſperſt themſelves immediatly upon their landing, through the Country. Beſides this, his Grace had Information, that the Chevalier *de St. George* was expected daily to land in that Part of the Country: Whereupon the Duke of *Argyle*, with the Duke of *Montroſe*, had a Meeting at *Edinburgh*; and Orders were given, to diſpoſe of the Forces then in *Scotland* to the beſt Advantage, in caſe of any Diſturbance. And, upon the 24th of that Month, the Duke of *Argyle* review'd the Earl of *Forfar*'s Regiment; and order'd the Dragoons who were then at *Jedburgh*, *Kelſo*, and other Parts of the Border, to repair to the Links of *Leith*, where they were likewiſe review'd by his Grace.

The Duke of *Argyle* reviews the Forces at *Leith.*

About the latter End of *February*, a current Report was ſpread about *Edinburgh*, that the Chevalier, with a *French* Army, intended ſuddenly to land in *Scotland*; which Report gave great Hopes to the *Jacobite* Party, upon which Occaſion they appear'd very chearful, but as thoſe Reports wanted Confirmation, the Government took little Notice of them; and altho' *Scotland* continued quiet for ſome Time, yet there were daily Accounts of Tumults and Mobs in ſeveral Cities and Towns in *England*, which ſtill gave greater Hopes to the *Jacobite* Party in *Scotland*, and the former Account of the Chevalier's Deſigns being renew'd, ſuch regular Troops as were in *Scotland*, were encamp'd in St. *Anne*'s *Yards*; and at the ſame Time, the Lord Provoſt and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, with Advice of the Council, order'd their Train'd-bands to be in Arms, and caus'd their City Guards to be reinforced, to ſecure the Town from any ſudden Attempt; and at the ſame Time they reſolved to levy 400 Men at the Charge of the Citizens, and they accordingly were enliſted in a few Weeks after, and Officers were appointed to command them in the Defence of the City and Liberties; and at the ſame Time ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, enter'd into an Aſſociation, and diſperſt circular Letters inviting People to take Arms in Defence of the Government and Country.

The Town of *Edinburgh* levies 400 Men.

About the latter End of *July*, the former Reports of the Chevalier's Deſigns to land in *Scotland*, was again renew'd; whereupon ſeveral of the Towns in *Scotland* raiſed their Militia, and order'd them to be exerciſed in Military Diſcipline.

Mean Time the Earl of *Marr* being then in *London*, and having concerted Matters with certain Perſons in *England*, he came down privately to *Scotland*, being only accompanied by General *Hamilton*, and two Servants, he croſſed the *Firth* of *Forth*, from *Dunbar* to *Cryle*, and went to the Laird of *Balfour's*

Balfour's Houſe, (he being married to General *Hamilton*'s Daughter) from thence he went to *Perthſhire*, where having ſtay'd ſome Days, he went to the *Braes* of *Marr*, from whence he ſent Letters to ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, inviting them to a general Deer hunting, as was uſual in that Part of the Country at that Seaſon. And in ſome few Days after, the Earl of *Marr* was met by the Marquiſſes of *Huntly* and *Tullibardin*, the Earls of *Mariſhall*, *Errol*, *Nithſdala*, *Seaforth*, *Southesk*, *Linlithgow*, *Strathmore*, *Carnwath*, and *Broadalbine*, the Viſcounts of *Kilſyth*, *Kenmure*, *Kingſton*, and *Strathallan*, the Lords *Rollo*, *Duffus*, *Drummond*, *Ogilvy*, and *Nairn*, with ſeveral of the Chiftians of the Clans, among whom were the Lairds of *Glengery*, *Clanronald*, *Glenco*, *Apin*, *Inverneity*, *Glenderule*, *Aldbar*, *Auchterhouſe*, beſides the two Generals *Hamilton* and *Gordon*.

A. D. 1715.

The Earl of *Marr* invites to a Deer Hunting in the Braes of *Marr*

About this Time Summonſes were iſſued, ordaining ſeveral ſuſpected Perſons to appear at *Edinburgh*, to find Bail for their good Behaviour and Obedience to the Government; and the principal Perſons thus ſummon'd, were the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Marr*, *Mariſhall*, *Nithſdale*, *Seaforth*, *Winton*, *Carnwath*, *Southesk*, *Linlithgow*, *Panmure*, *Kinoule*, and *Broadalbine*, the Viſcounts *Kenmure*, *Kilſyth*, *Stormount*, *Kingſton*, *Strathallan*, the Lords *Drummond*, *Rollo*, *Ogilvy*, *Nairn*, and *Glenorchy*, Sir *James Campbell* of *Auchinbreck*, Sir *Duncan Campbell* of *Lochneil*, Sir *Donald Macdonald* of *Slate*, Sir *Patrick Murray* of *Auchtertyre*, Sir *Hugh Paterſon* of *Bannockburn*, Sir *Alexander Erskine* Lord Lyon King at Arms, Sir *John Macklean* of *Dowart*, Lieutenant General *George Hamilton*, the Maſters of *Stormount* and *Nairn*, Mr. *Alexander Mackenzie* of *Frazerdale*, *James Stirling* of *Keir*, *Robert Stewart* of *Apin*, *John Campbell* of *Auchterbalder*, *William Murray* junior of *Auchtertyre*, *Alexander Robertſon* of *Strowan*, the Lairds of *Mackinan*, *Clanronald*, *Glengery*, *Keppoch*, *William Drummond*, Servant to the Lord *Drummond*, *James Seaton* of *Touch*, Captain *Allan Cameron*, *Robert Roy* alias *Macgregor*, Mr. *Stewart* of *Aird*, Mr. *Francis Stewart* Brother to the Earl of *Murray*, *John Cameron* of *Lochnell*, *John Fullerton* of *Greenhall*, *William Mackintoſh* junior of *Borlum*, Mr. *James Malcom* of *Grange*, Mr. *Henry Maul*, Brother to the Earl of *Panmure*, *John Walkenſhaw* of *Barrowfield*, *Collin Campbell* of *Glenderoul*, *Graham* of *Buchlivy*, *George Hume* of *Whitefield*, Mr. *John Drummond*, Brother to the Lord *Drummond*, Collonel *John Balfour* of *Fernie*, Major *Henry Balfour* of *Dunboig*, Mr. *Patrick Lyon* of *Auchterhouſe*, and *David Beaton* of *Balfour*. According to which Summons Sir *Alexander Erskine* Lord Lyon, and Sir *Patrick Murray* of *Auchtertyre*, having come into *Edinburgh*, and ſurrender'd themſelves, they were, by Orders of the Lords of Juſticiary, confin'd to the Caſtle, but the other Perſons above-mention'd not appearing, they were denounc'd and declared Rebels.

Diſaffected Perſons ſummon'd to appear at *Edinburgh*.

Such as refuſe are declar'd Rebels.

In the before mention'd Meeting of the Earl of *Marr*, and the other Nobility and Gentry, tho' they pretended Deer hunting, yet their real Intention was to concert Meaſures to promote their Deſigns in favour of the Chevalier, againſt the Government; and having conſulted Matters, Orders were given by them to get Poſſeſſion of the ſtrong Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; in which Attempt they ſo far ſucceeded, by the Aſſiſtance of one Mr. *Arthur* an Officer of the Caſtle, that they might have eaſily ſurpris'd it; but by the bad Conduct of ſome imprudent Perſons, who had the chief Management in the Undertaking, the Deſign was fruſtrated; for when they had fixt the ſcaling Ladders on the Wall, at ſuch a Place as they had concerted with a Centinel, who was to be there on Duty at the Hour appointed. Some Officers of the Garriſon, either by Intelligence or Suſpicion, went with a Party round the ſeveral Centry Poſts at that Time; which, when that Centinel that knew of the Deſign obſerv'd, he beat down the Ladder, and fired his Piece, to give an Allarm: Upon which the whole Party of thoſe who were ready near the Caſtle fled, and left the Ladder, wherein was one Captain *Allan Macklean*, Mr. *Ramſay*, Mr. *Boſwell*, Mr. *Leſly*, who being entangled in the Ladder, were very much bruiſed by the Fall, eſpecially Captain *Macklean*, and a Party of the Town Guards coming up, found them on the Ground, and carried

The Attempt on the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

A. D. 1715. them Priſoners to the Caſtle. This Attempt upon the Caſtle was upon the 8th Day of *September*.

Tho' the Miſcarriage of this firſt Attempt prov'd a very great Diſappointment to that Party, yet they ſtill proceeded in their Deſigns, and the Earl of *Marr* having Notice of the Miſcarriage of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, he remov'd from his Houſe of *Kildrumy* to *Mullen* in the *Braes* of *Atholl*, where he was met by ſeveral of the before mention'd Perſons, and others.

Mean Time Major General *Wightman* having receiv'd Orders to march with all the regular Troops then in *Scotland*, and form a Camp in *Stirling* Park, which he accordingly did upon the 28th of *Auguſt*; and in ſome Days after General *Whetham* arriv'd there alſo, ſo that their Camp was form'd about the Beginning of *September*; and at the ſame Time Orders were given to call over General *Evans*'s Regiment of Dragoons, and the Two Foot Regiments of *Clayton* and *Wightman*, who were then in *Ireland*.

The Duke of *Argyle* arrives in *Scotland*.

At the ſame time his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, who was made General of the Forces in *Scotland*, having left *London* on the 8th of *September*, his Grace arriv'd at *Edinburgh* upon the 14th, and ſome Days after arriv'd the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Marquiſſes of *Annandale* and *Tweddale*, the Earls of *Rothes*, *Haddingtoun*, *Loudon*, *Selkirk*, *Forfar*, and *Iſla*, the Lords *Torphichen* and *Belhaven*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen: And the Duke of *Argyle* having view'd the Garriſon, Fortification, and Magazine of the Caſtle, he order'd about 30 Cart Load of Ammunition and Arms to be carried to *Stirling* and *Glaſgow*, in order to arm the Inhabitants of both Places, and adjacent Towns and Country; and upon the 15th Day, his Grace ſet out for *Stirling*, accompanied by the Duke of *Roxburgh* and Earl of *Haddington*, with ſeveral other Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers; and being arriv'd at the Camp, he review'd the Army, which then did not exceed 2600 Men.

The Earl of *Marr* in the Braes of *Atholl*

To return to the Earl of *Marr*, who was then at *Mullen* in the *Braes* of *Atholl*, where being joyn'd by the Earl of *Broadalbine*, the Lords *Drummond*, *Strathallan*, and ſome other Noblemen and Gentlemen, with their Servants and Followers, to the Number of 600 Men: Upon the 16th of *September*, the Earl ſet up his Standard, and proclaim'd the *Chevalier de St. George*, by Name and Title of *James* VIII. King of *Scotland*, III. of *England*, &c. And that Party being daily join'd by others of their Adherents, the Earl of *Marr* ſent Collonel *John Hay*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Kinoule*, with a Party of Horſe into *Fife*, and being join'd by ſeveral Gentlemen of that Shire, he with them went ſtraight to *Perth*, which he ſurpriz'd and took. After which, the Earls of *Strathmore*, *Southesk* and *Panmure*, Lord *Ogilvy*, Maſter of *Sinclair*, and many other Gentlemen from the Shires of *Fife*, *Angus* and *Perth*, came into the Town, with conſiderable Bodies of Horſe and Foot. For as the Town of *Perth* was a great Diſappointment to the Government, it was of conſiderable Advantage to the Earl of *Marr* and his Party; for thereby he ſecur'd the plentiful Shires of *Fife*, *Angus*, *Merns*, *Aberdeen*, *Bamff* and *Murray*, beſides all the *Highlands*.

The Town of *Perth* ſurpriz'd by his Party.

Mean time the Party then in *Perth* being afraid of an Attack from *Stirling*, they ſent Notice to the Earl of *Marr* with his Forces to come to their Aſſiſtance, which he accordingly did; and at the ſame time they were join'd by the Earl of *Mariſhal*, with a Squadron of Horſe, conſiſting of the Gentlemen of the *Merns* and *Aberdeenſhire*.

About this time the Earl of *Sutherland* having offer'd his Service to the Government, he came down to *Scotland* on Board of the *Queenborogh* Man of War, having on Board a conſiderable Quantity of Ammunition and Arms, and having landed at *Leith* upon the 21ſt of *September*, a ſmall Veſſel was loaded with Ammunition and Arms, in order to be tranſported to the North for the Earl of *Sutherland*'s Uſe: As the Ship was lying in the *Firth*, oppoſite to *Burntiſland*, the Earl of *Marr* had Notice thereof, and ſent the Maſter of *Sinclair* with a Party of *Fife* Gentlemen and ſome Foot, who coming quietly to *Burntiſland* in the Night, the Maſter, accompany'd with a few other Gentlemen, came ſilently up to the Ship with their Boats, and having boarded

The Maſter of *Sinclair* ſeizes the Earl of *Sutherland*'s Arms.

boarded her, they commanded the Sailors to weigh their Anchor, and move in to *Burntiſland* Road, where they unloaded the Arms, and return'd with them to *Perth*. *A. D.* 1613.

Upon the 5th of *October*, the Marquiſs of *Huntly* came to *Perth* with two Squadrons of Horſe and a conſiderable Body of Foot; and the ſame Day the Earl of *Marr* march'd his whole Army out of *Perth* to *Tippermoor*, where a Commiſſion was read, by which the *Chevalier* appointed the Earl Commander in Chief of his Army, and return'd to *Perth* the ſame Day: At which time the Earl ſent over Collonel *John Hay* and Sir *John Erskin* of *Alva*, with an Expreſs to the *Chevalier*, giving an Account of his Proceedings: And ſome Days after the Earl of *Marr* took Poſſeſſion of all the Seaport Towns of *Fife*, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into the Caſtle of *Burntiſland*.

The Earl of *Marr* reads his Commiſſion.

The Earl of *Seaforth* puts a Garriſon in *Inverneſs*.

About this Time the Earl of *Seaforth* being join'd by ſeveral of the Highland Clans, took *Inverneſs*, and having planted a Garriſon in it, under the Command of Sir *John Mackenzie* of *Coul*, they had Notice, that the Earl of *Sutherland* was arriv'd at *Dunrobin* Caſtle; and that ſome Days after he was join'd by the Lord *Rae*, Collonel *Robert Monro* younger of *Fowls*, Mr. *Roſs* of *Killravock*, with conſiderable Parties of each of their Clans, of the *Mackays*, *Monros*, and *Roſſes*; and the Earl of *Sutherland* having raiſed his own Clan, they encamp'd at the Bridge of *Alneſs*, in *Eaſt Roſs*, to which Place the Earl of *Seaforth* and the Clans march'd; but the Earl of *Sutherland*'s Party being far inferior in Number to the Enemy, they retired. Whereupon the Earl of *Seaforth* march'd towards *Inverneſs*, and from thence towards *Inverlochy*, which they intended to ſurpriſe, but were diſappointed; yet they ſurpriſed and took *Glengery* Caſtle, (which was kept by a Party of Soldiers from the Garriſon of *Inverlochy*) and ſent the Soldiers Priſoners to *Perth*.

The Earl of *Sutherland* arrives in the North, and encamp at *Alneſs* Bridge.

But is obliged to retire.

But when the Earl of *Seaforth* and the Clans went towards the Weſt Highlands, their Garriſon was drove out of *Inverneſs*, and the Earl of *Sutherland* fixed his Reſidence there, and Collonel *Robert Monro* was made Governor of the Caſtle.

Inverneſs taken by the Earl of *Sutherland*'s Party.

Upon the 5th of *October* the Laird of *Mackintoſh*, with *William Mackintoſh* of *Borlum*, and the Clan of the Name, conſiſting of about 500 well arm'd Men, came to *Perth*: About which time the Earl of *Marr* had Notice from the Lord Viſcount *Kenmure*, that ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen were in Readineſs to join their Cauſe: Whereupon the Earl of *Marr* appointed his own Regiment, with other four Regiments of Foot, commanded by the Earl of *Strathmore*, Lords *Nairn*, *Drummond*, and Lord *Charles Murray*, to join the *Mackintoſhes*, and order'd them to croſs the River *Forth*, and to march to the South to join thoſe who were in Readineſs about the Borders of *Scotland* and *England*; of which Party *Mackintoſh* of *Borlum* had the chief Command: And having march'd down to the Coaſt of *Fife*, they procured Boats to tranſport themſelves over the *Firth*; and accordingly moſt of them landed ſafe on the South-ſide: But the Earl of *Strathmore* with a Party of his Regiment, being chac'd by Men of War, were oblig'd to put into the Iſle of *May*, from whence they return'd to *Fife*, and from thence to *Perth*: And at the ſame time a Boat was taken by a Man of War, wherein was Mr. *Threipland*, Son to Sir *David Threipland* of *Fingask*, Mr. *John Wilſon*, Doctor of Mathematicks, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, who were carry'd Priſoners to *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Mar* ſends over *Mackintoſh* to join the Ld. *Kenmure*.

Mean Time *Mackintoſh* having landed in *Eaſt-Lothian*, he took Poſſeſſion of *Seaton* Houſe, from whence he march'd towards *Edinburgh*; but being inform'd, that the City and Suburbs were well fortified, and guarded by ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, who had enter'd themſelves Volunteers in the Government Service, beſides the City Guards and Inhabitants, who were all in Arms upon that Occaſion; wherefore *Mackintoſh* with his Party, changed their Reſolution, and marched into *Leith*, and fortified the *Citadel*; whereof, when Notice was ſent to the Duke of *Argyle* at *Stirling*, his Grace march'd ſtreight to *Edinburgh*, with a Party of 300 Dragoons, and 200 Foot, and about

Mackintoſh lands in Eaſt *Lothian*, and takes Poſſeſſion of *Seaton* Houſe.

He marches to *Leith*, and fortifies the *Citadel*.

The Duke of *Argyle* comes to *Edinburgh*,

A. D. 1715. about 600 Militia and Volunteers: And march'd down early next Day towards the *Citadel*; where having view'd their Fortifications and Poſture, his Grace found it altogether impracticable to attack them, witho t great Loſs of his Forces, and little Hopes of Succeſs; and having remain'd ſome Part of the Day, his Grace ſent a Summons to the Rebels to lay down their Arms, and ſurrender upon Pain of High Treaſon, declaring withal, that if they obliged him to bring Canon to force them, that he would give them no Quarter. To which Summons the Laird of *Kinnachin* return'd Anſwer, *That as to ſurrendring they laugh'd at it, and as to bringing Canon to aſſault them, they were not afraid; that they would neither take nor give Quarters, and if he thought he was able to force them, he might try his Hand.* After this the Duke having conſulted with other Noblemen and Officers, he retired with his Forces to *Edinburgh*, in the Evening, intending to cauſe neceſſary Preparations to be made, in order to diſlodge the Highlanders the next Day: But that Night *Mackintoſh*, finding no Hopes of any Aſſiſtance from *Edinburgh*, he, with his Party, march'd out of the *Citadel* in the Night, and taking the Advantage of the Ebb Tide, they march'd out upon the Sands, and returned to *Seaton* Houſe.

And views the *Citadel*.

His Grace ſummons the Highlanders to ſurrender.

Their Anſwer.

Mackintoſh leaves *Leith*.

At this Time, the Earl of *Marr* having Notice of *Mackintoſh*'s Condition in the *Citadel* of *Leith*, he march'd with his whole Army out of *Perth*; and having quartered the firſt Night about *Auchterarder*, they march'd the next Day to *Dunblain*, where they continued all that Night in Arms, whereof, when Lieutenant General *Whetham*, who commanded at *Stirling* in the Duke's Abſence, had Notice, he ſent an Expreſs to the Duke of *Argyle*, whereupon his Grace gave Orders to Major General *Wightman*, and Collonel *William Ker*, (with whom he left 100 Dragoons, and 150 Foot, with the Militia and Gentlemen Volunteers) to ſecure the City of *Edinburgh*, and to march with a ſufficient Party and Ordnance from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to diſlodge *Mackintoſh* from *Seaton* Houſe; and his Grace ſet out to *Stirling*, where he arrived upon *Monday* the 17th, about Eight a Clock at Night. Whereof, when the Earl of *Marr* had Notice, he returned with his Army to *Perth*.

The Earl of *Marr* marches to *Dunblain*.

The Duke of *Argyle* returns to *Stirling*.

Mackintoſh at his coming to *Seaton* Houſe, having fortified the Gates, and entrench'd the Avenues, upon the firſt Notice that a Detachment of Dragoons, and a Party of Volunteer Horſe was upon their March from *Edinburgh*, towards them; he march'd out of the Caſtle with a Party of his Highlanders, and form'd themſelves to receive the Enemy; but the Party from *Edinburgh* being inferior in Number, returned again to *Edinburgh*, and the Highlanders retired to their Gariſon.

Mackintoſh keeps Poſſeſſion of *Seaton* Houſe.

The next Day the Earl of *Rothes*, with 300 Gentlemen Volunteers, the Lord *Torphichen*, with 200 Dragoons march'd from *Edinburgh* to *Seaton* Houſe, but finding the Highlanders ſo ſtrongly fortified, they found it impoſſible to diſlodge them, without Artillery to batter the Houſe, wherefore they returned again to *Edinburgh*.

About this Time ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen of the South of *Scotland*, had taken Arms againſt the Government, and ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen with their Tenants, and the Inhabitants of ſeveral Towns, had taken Arms to ſerve the Government; and about the firſt of their Riſing, Doctor *Sinclair* of *Hermiſtoun*, and Mr. *Hepburn* of *Humly*, two of the Marquiſs of *Tweddale*'s Deputy Lieutenants, with a Party, went and ſurrounded Mr. *Hepburn* of *Keith*'s Houſe, and ſent in Notice to Mr. *Hepburn* to ſurrender himſelf, and ſuch as were with him; but Mr. *Hepburn* inſtead of returning Anſwer to the Doctor, immediately, with his two Sons and Servants, mounted their Horſes, and ruſhed forth at the Gate, upon the Doctor and his Party, and ſome Piſtols being fired on both Sides, Mr. *Robert Hepburn* the Second Son, was ſhot dead on the Spot, who was the firſt Man that loſt his Life in this unhappy Affair.

A Scuffle at the Laird of *Keith*'s Houſe.

Mean Time Mr. *Hepburn*, with his other Son, after wounding Doctor *Sinclair* and two of his Servants, made their Eſcape, and in ſome Days after join'd

join'd the Earls of *Winton*, *Carnwath*, *Nithſdale*, and Lord *Kenmure*, who were then raiſing their Friends in *Annandale* and *Nithſdale*; and having come to a Rendevouz at the Town of *Moffat*, they propoſed to ſurpriſe and take *Dumfries*; but the Marquiſs of *Annandale*, with ſeveral Gentlemen of that Shire, having put that Town in ſuch a Poſture of Defence, that the Lord *Kenmure* and his Party found it impracticable to make any Attempt; therefore having got all their Friends together in *Annandale*, they march'd to *Lochmaben*, where having ſtaid all Night, they went the next Day to *Eccleſechen*, where ſome Diviſions happening among them, they were deſerted by ſome of their Party. From *Eccleſechen* they march'd to the Border, and ſome Days after they join'd a Party of the *Engliſh*, commanded by Mr. *Foſter*; and *Mackintoſh* with his Party, and they all came to a Rendevouz at *Kelſo*, upon the 22d of *October*: At this Time it being propoſed, that they ſhould march into *England*; there aroſe great Debates and ſuch Mutinies amongſt the Highlanders, and ſeveral Gentlemen, that when it was reſolv'd, that they ſhould go into *England*, ſeveral Parties of the Highland Foot deſerted, and ſuch as ſtaid, complied with great Reluctancy to enter *England*: However, the *Scots* ſubmitted to the *Engliſh*, and they march'd over the Border towards *Preſton*. A. D. 1715.

The *Scots* and *Engliſh* joyn at *Kelſo*.

They enter *England*.

By this time all the weſtern Shires and other Places on the South-ſide of the *Forth*, had rais'd their Militia and put the ſeveral Towns in a Poſture of Defence for the Government's Service. Among thoſe of the Nobility in the South, his Grace the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Marquiſſes of *Tweedale* and *Annandale*, the Earls of *Buchan*, *Rotheſs*, *Haddington*, *Loudon*, *Lautherdale*, Lord *Polworth*, now Earl of *Marchmount*, and the Lords *Torphichen*, *Belhaven*, and ſeveral other Noblemen and Gentlemen, were very active in raiſing the Militia in the ſeveral Shires, under their Care at that Time.

About the beginning of *November* the Earl of *Marr* had Notice, that the Earl of *Seaforth* with the Clans commanded by Major General *George Gordon* of *Achintowl*, were upon their March towards *Perth*; whereupon they receiv'd Orders to halt about *Tulibardin* and *Caſtle-Drummond*: And at the ſame time the Earl of *Marr* having held a Council of War at *Perth*, upon the 7th of *November*, he forthwith gave Orders to call up all his Parties from *Fife* and other Places; and upon the 8th Day the Earl, with his whole Army march'd out of *Perth*, and left the Lord *Ogilvy*'s Batalion to keep Garriſon in the Town of *Perth*, whereof Collonel *John Balfour* was made Governor. Mean time the Earl march'd his Army the firſt Night to *Auchterarder*, where they quarter'd; and the next Day having reſted, on the 10th they march'd to the Moor of *Tulibardin*; where being join'd by the Earl of *Seaforth*'s Men and the Clans, they were review'd, and ſaid to be about 1000 ſtrong. They return'd that Night to their former Quarters, and having reſted the 11th, they receiv'd Orders upon the 12th, to march towards *Dunblain*.

The Earl of *Marr* marches with his Army out of *Perth*.

The Duke of *Argyle* having Notice of the Earl of *Marr*'s March, his Grace, upon the 12th Day, march'd with his Army out of *Stirling*; and in the Evening drew them up on the Fields near *Dunblain*: And the ſame Day, by the Duke's Orders, the Earl of *Buchan* being Lord Lieutenant of the Shire of *Stirling*, with the Militia of the Shire, and the *Glaſgow* Regiment, conſiſting of 500 Men, took the Poſts of the Town and Bridge of *Stirling*.

The Duke of *Argyle* marches out of *Stirling* to *Dunblain*.

The Army commanded by the Duke of *Argyle*, at this time were the following Regiments, the Earl of *Stair*'s Regiment of Gray *Scots* Dragoons, the Earl of *Portmore*'s Dragoons, General *Evans*'s Dragoons, Collonel *Ker*'s Dragoons, with the Foot Regiments of General *Wightman*, the Earl of *Forfar*, *Moriſon*, *Montague*, *Clayton*, Earl of *Orrery*'s, *Egerton*'s, which Regiments of Dragoons and Foot, were about 3500 Men, beſides ſome Volunteers.

On the 12th Day the Earl of *Marr*'s Army having Orders to march, they drew up at *Auchterarder* in the Morning, and march'd to *Ardoch*, where the Earl of *Marr* order'd General *Gordon*, Brigadier *Ogilvy*, and the Maſter

A. D. 1715. of *Sinclair* with two Squadrons, of the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, and the *Fife* Squadron of Horſe, and about 3000 of the Clans, to march to take Poſſeſſion of *Dunblain*, and at the ſame Time order'd the reſt of the Army to parade at *Ardoch*, and to be in Readineſs to march upon the firing of three Guns; after which the Earl of *Marr* went to Caſtle *Drummond*, to meet the Earl of *Broadallin*. The Army at *Ardoch* hearing nothing from the advanced Party, till near Sun-ſet, they were diſpoſed to ly there all Night: But a little after their Guards were poſted, the Earl of *Marr* having returned to *Ardoch*, he receiv'd an Expreſs from General *Gordon*, wherein he gave an Account, that when they were on their Way to *Dunblain*, they receiv'd Notice, that the Duke of *Argyle* with his whole Army, were in and about *Dunblain*. Upon this the Earl of *Marr* ſent Orders to General *Gordon*, to halt with his Party till the reſt of the Army could come up. And the three Guns being fired, the Army immediately form'd and march'd up, and being join'd with General *Gordon*'s Party, they march'd to a Place called *Kinbuck*, about a Mile and a Half from *Dunblain*, where they lay all that Night, without Tent or Cover, tho' it was then extreme hard Froſt.

Upon the 13th in the Morning, the Duke of *Argyle* being inform'd of the Situation of the Enemy; and that they were drawn up, his Grace went to the Top of the Hill to view them, and ſeeing them Front towards the Hill called *Sheriff-moor*, and begin to march; Orders were given by the Duke to his Army, to remove from the Ground, where they had been drawn up; and to form with all Speed upon the high Ground.

The Form of the Duke of *Argyle*'s Army.

The Form that the Duke of *Argyle*'s Army were in at their drawing up, was as follows; Three Squadrons of Dragoons on the right and left of the Front Line, and the Six Battallions of Foot in the Center. The Second Line was made up of Two Battallions of Foot in the Center. One Squadron of Dragoons on the right, and another on the left, and one Squadron of Dragoons behind each Wing of the Horſe in the firſt Line, but by changing of their Ground that Form was ſomewhat alter'd.

Mean Time the Earl of *Marr*, in the Morning, having drawn out his whole Army upon the Moor of *Kinbuck*, and form'd them, and ſeeing a Party of the Duke of *Argyle*'s Army on the Top of the Hill: He called a Council of War, wherein were all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers of his Army, who unanimouſly reſolv'd to fight the Enemy, and all the Officers and principal Perſons, being order'd to their Poſts, they began their March with the utmoſt Expedition.

The Form of the Earl of *Marr*'s Army.

The Form of the Earl of *Marr*'s Army when drawn up, was thus: The *Stirling* Squadron with their Standard, with the two Squadrons of the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, made the Right of the firſt Line of Foot, the *Perthſhire* and *Fife* Squadrons form'd the left of the Second Line, three Battallions of the Earl of *Seaforth*'s Foot, two Battallions of the Marquiſs of *Huntly*'s Foot, the Earl of *Panmure*'s Battallion, the Marquiſs of *Tullibardine*'s Battallion, the Lord *Drummond*'s, commanded by the Lord Viſcount of *Strathallan*, *Strowan*'s Battallion, and the *Angus* Horſe on the left, form'd the Second Line; and being thus form'd, and ſeeing a Body of the Duke of *Argyle*'s Horſe on the Top of the Hill, the Earl of *Mariſhall* with a Battallion of Sir *Donald Macaonala*'s Foot, were ſent to diſlodge them; and at the ſame Time the reſt of the Army march'd off from the right, and divided in the Center, and march'd up the Hill in Four Lines. When they had march'd about a Quarter of a Mile, the Earl of *Mariſhall* ſent back Notice, that he ſaw the Enemy forming their Lines very near towards the South of the Top of the Hill; whereupon their Army were order'd to march up with all poſſible Expedition, which they did with ſuch Haſte, that they went into great Confuſion, ſo that their Second Line jumbl'd in with their firſt.

The Duke of *Argyle* ſeeing the Enemy come up ſo ſpeedily, order'd the Army to be in Readineſs to receive them; but by changing the Ground, ſome of the Foot Regiments under the Command of General *Whetham* were inform'd, when the right Wing of the Duke's Army were engag'd with the

the left Wing of the Earl of *Marr*'s Army; and at the ſame Time the Highlanders, commanded by *William* and *James Macdonald*, the Lairds of *Glengary*, *Clanronal*, *Glenco*, *Glenlyon*, *Glentucket*, Sir *John Macklane*, and Brigadier *Ogilvy*, made ſuch a furious Attack on thoſe Foot Regiments, and General *Evans*'s Dragoons, that they were put in great Confuſion: But on the other Hand, the Duke's right Wing had put the Earl of *Marr*'s left Wing to the Flight, and purſued them a great Way, and ſlew and took ſeveral Priſoners, among whom was the Earl of *Panmure*, who had receiv'd ſeveral Wounds in his Head: But by the Activity of his Brother Mr. *Henry Maule*, he was reſcued, but the other Priſoners were carried into *Dunblain*. *A. D.* 1715. The Battle of *Dumblain* or *Sherriff-moor*.

The Particulars of this Battle, or rather Skirmiſh, are ſo variouſly reported, that I cannot take upon me to give any further Account of it, than that in the Action, which began about twelve a Clock, and laſted about Half an Hour, great Slaughter was committed among thoſe Foot Regiments, who were firſt attack'd by the Clans, eſpecially to the *Scots* Fuziliers, Collonel *Montague*'s, *Moriſon*'s, and *Egerton*'s; and it is ſaid, that there were ſlain on the Duke of *Argyle*'s Side about 7 or 800, the Earl of *Forfar* being mortally wounded, he died ſome Days after at *Stirling*. The ſlain on the Duke of *Argyle*'s Side.

On the Earl of *Marr*'s Side were ſlain the Earl of *Strathmore*, the Captain of *Clanronald*, Mr. *Patrick Lyon* of *Auchterhouſe*, his Uncle; the Lairds of *Watterton*, *Innerallachy*, and ſome other Gentlemen, with about 200 common Men. This Battle was fought at *Sherriff-moor*, near *Dunllain*, on *Sunday* the 13th Day of *November*: And the Victory was claim'd by both Sides. The Earl of *Marr* having drawn his ſcatter'd Forces together after the Action, they were put into ſuch Order as he could, and came over the Field of Battle, where the Highlanders went to Work to gather what Spoil they could. Slain on the Earl of *Marr*'s Side.

Mean Time the Duke of *Argyle*'s right Wing having purſued the Earl of *Marr*'s left Wing to the River *Allan*, they fell in with the Earl's Baggage and Artilery; and the Dragoons having riffled the Baggage, they march'd in about the Bottom of the Hill, and join'd their Foot, who were put togegether in the low Ground. The Earl of *Marr* being then on the Top of the Hill, put his Forces in what Order he could, and did ſeem to make a Second Attack, but Day Light being then near gone, they only took up their Dead, and march'd towards *Ardoch*, and the adjacent Villages, where they quarter'd that Night, and his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* march'd his Army into *Dunblain*. The Earl of *Marr*'s Baggage taken.

The next Day being *Monday* the 14th, early in the Morning, the Duke of *Argyle* went with his Pickquet Guard to the Field of Battle, and to the Top of the Hill, where his Grace remain'd ſome Time, to obſerve the Motion of the Enemy: But when the Earl of *Marr* had drawn out his Army at the *Roman* Camp in *Ardoch*, and conſulted his principal Officers, they did not ſeem diſpoſed to make any further Attempt: And the Duke ſeeing them march off, his Grace return'd to *Dunblain*, and march'd with his Army into *Stirling*, having the Viſcount *Strathallan*, Mr. *Thomas Drummond* his Brother, the Lairds of *Barrowfield*, *Loggyalmond*, Mr. *Murray* of *Auchtertyre*, Mr. *Drummond* of *Drumaquhans*, Captain *William Creighton*, with about 20 Gentlemen more, beſides about 50 common Men. The Priſoners taken by the Earl of *Marr*, were Lieutenant Collonel *Laurence* of *Montague*'s Regiment, and 12 Captains and Subalterns, with the Laird of *Glenkindy*, and about 160 Centinels. The Priſoners taken on both Sides.

The Earl of *Marr* on the 14th, having march'd his Army to *Auchterarder*, they quarter'd there that Night, and reſted the 15th, and on *Wedneſday* the 16th, they were canton'd about *Duplin*, *Forglen*, and the adjacent Villages; and on the 17th march'd into *Perth*. Upon *Saturday* the 19th, the Earl of *Marr* receiv'd a Letter from Brigadier *Mackintoſh*, dated from *Preſton* on *Saturday* the 12th, wherein he gave an Account of their having repulſed General *Wills*'s Army, at their firſt Attack, and that he had great Hopes of a compleat Victory: Wherefore the Earl gave Orders for publick

A. D. 1715. rejoycing on the *Sunday* after; but whilſt they were very chearful that Day, they receiv'd the diſmal Account of the Surrender and Impriſonment of *Mackintoſh* and the whole Army, which put them into ſtrange Confuſion, and as then there being many of the Highlanders and others gone home, after the Battle of *Dunblain*, there were but a ſmall Number at *Perth*, ſo that many of the chief Perſons began to murmur and exclaim againſt the Conduct of others, whereby there were ſuch Animoſities among them, that the Earl of *Marr* found great Difficulty to pacify them.

As to the Affair of *Preſton*, it is ſo far out of my Way, that I cannot take upon me to give an Account of the Particulars; but that the general Account is, That when the *Scots* join'd the *Engliſh*, who conſiſted of Gentlemen and their Servants, among whom were the Earl of *Derventwater* and Lord *Widderington*, and ſeveral other *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Yorkſhire*, and *Lancaſhire* Gentlemen; they march'd from the Border towards *Preſton*, where being come, they fortified the Town and Bridge, called *Ribble-Bridge*: And upon *Saturday* the 12th of *November*, they were attack'd by General *Wills* with his Dragoons, and ſome Foot Regiments; but made ſuch Reſiſtance, that they ſeem'd to have the better that Day. But the next Day being *Sunday*, General *Carpenter* coming up with another Party of Horſe and Foot, attack'd the Town, and ſoon after the *Scots* and *Engliſh* offer'd to capitulate, and at laſt gave themſelves up, and were made Priſoners, and in ſome few Days after, the Noblemen and Gentlemen were ſent Priſoners to *London*, *Liverpool*, and *Cheſter*. At *London* the Earls of *Derventwater*, *Nithſdale*, *Winton*, *Carnwath*, Viſcount *Kenmure*, Lords *Nairn* and *Widderington*, were ſent to the Tower, and the Gentlemen to the *Fleet*, *Marſhalſea* and *Newgate* Priſons. And the Lord *Charles Murray*, with ſeveral other Gentlemen, were ſent to *Cheſter*, and others to *Lancaſter*, *Preſton*, and *Liverpool* Priſons; in which three laſt Places ſeveral Perſons were executed, and others tranſported to the *Weſt Indies*.

The Battle of *Preſton*.

To return to the Earl of *Marr* at *Perth*, he was then in very bad Circumſtances, by reaſon of the Animoſities among his Army, but in ſome Weeks after landed the Marquiſs of *Tinmouth*, who brought over ſome other Officers, and gave an Account, that the Chevalier was ready to follow them, with ſeveral Officers, Arms, and Ammunition, with a conſiderable Sum of Money. Beſides the Marquiſs of *Tinmouth*, came over at this Time the Lord *Talbot*, the Generals *Ecclin*, *Nugent*, and *Cook*, with ſeveral *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Officers and Gentlemen; and upon the 15th of *December*, arriv'd Sir *John Erskine* of *Alva*, and Collonel *John Hay* from *France*, having brought over about 100,000 *French Lewis-de-Ores* of Gold, and ſome Arms and Ammunition, but the Ship being ſtranded on St. *Andrew*'s Bay, they only got themſelves and the Money ſafe on Shore, and the other Things were left in the Ship.

The Marqniſs of *Tinmouth* and others land in *Scotland*.

Some Time before this, the Earl of *Sutherland* having retaken the Caſtle and Town of *Inverneſs*, the Marquiſs of *Huntly* march'd North with his Forces, and was follow'd by the Maſter of *Sinclair*, and others, who went to the Marquiſs's Houſe of Caſtle *Gordon*, and ſome Days after they enter'd into a Treaty with the Earl of *Sutherland*, as it is reported. Mean Time the Earl of *Seaforth* went to his Part of the Country to recruit his Regiments, as ſome had return'd home after the Battle of *Dunblain*, for one of his Battallions, called the *Kintail* Battallion, fought ſtoutly in the Action, while his other Battallion fled with the reſt of the Earl of *Marr*'s left Wing, and going ſtraight home, the Earl of *Seaforth* went North, to gather them together, which he did in ſome Time; but then the Earl of *Sutherland*, with his Son the Lord *Strathnaver*, the Lord *Rae*, and the Lairds of *Grant*, *Culloden*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen of that Part of the Country, had ſecured all the Paſſes, ſo that the Earl of *Seaforth* could not offer to march South.

The Marquiſs of *Huntly* treats with the Earl of *Sutherland*.

Upon the 23d of *December* the Chevalier landed at *Peterhead*, in a ſmall *French* Catch, having with him only three Perſons, beſides Captain *Allan Cameron*, Brother to the Laird of *Lochyell*. He lay that Night in *Peterhead*, and

The Chevalier lands in *Scotland*.

and the next Day being *Saturday*, and *Chriſtmas*-Eve, he went *incognito* through *Aberdeen* to *Fetteresſo*, the Earl of *Mariſhall*'s Houſe, where he remain'd *incognito* till *Wedneſday* the 27th, that the Earls of *Marr*, *Mariſhall*, *Southesk*, *Linlithgow*, with ſeveral other Noblemen and Gentlemen, came to *Fetteresſo*, to whom he diſcover'd himſelf; and having ſtaid there till *Saturday* the 31ſt, he then ſet out on his Journey to *Perth*, being attended by the before mention'd Noblemen, and ſeveral others, with a Body of Horſe. They went that Night to *Brichen*, and the Chevalier lodg'd at the Earl of *Panmure*'s Houſe. Having ſtaid there, the next Day he went from thence to *Kinaird*, the Earl of *Southesk*'s Houſe, and from that to *Dundee*, where he made a publick Entry; and having lodging all Night in the Laird of *Gairntully*'s Houſe, the next Day he went to *Glamis*, to viſit the Counteſs of *Strathmore*, where he ſtaid that Night, and then went to Sir *David Threipland*'s Houſe of *Fingask*, where he likewiſe ſtaid a Night, and went from thence to *Scoon*; and upon *Munday* the 9th of *January*, he made his publick Entry into *Perth*, and review'd all his Army, who were drawn up upon that Occaſion. *A. D.* 1716

It is to be taken Notice, that upon the firſt Inſurections in *Scotland* and *England*, the *Britiſh* Government had demanded Supplies of Forces from *Holland*, which were accordingly granted, and 6000 *Dutch* and *Swiſs* Foot being ſent over under the Command of Major General *Cadogan*; they landing in *England* about the middle of *November*, by eaſy Marches arriv'd at *Edinburgh* and *Leith* the 20th of *December*; and ſome Days after they came to the Camp of *Stirling*, where they were review'd by his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*.

General *Cadogan* with 6000 *Dutch* and *Swiſs* arrive in *Scotland*.

At this Time the Chevalier's Army at *Perth* were but a ſmall Number, for ſeveral Parties being in Garriſons at *Falkland*, *Burntiſland*, and other Places; yet they had great Hopes of being join'd about the beginning of the Spring by the Marquiſs of *Huntly* and Earl of *Seaforth*. But while they were in this Poſture at *Perth*, his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* reſolv'd to march his Army, with the *Dutch* and *Swiſs* Auxiliaries, to attack them; and having march'd out of *Stirling*, proceeded towards *Perth*, but made very ſlow Marches, by reaſon of the prodigious Quantities of Snow and ſtrong Froſt then on the Ground. However they proceeded on their March, whereof when the Chevalier at *Perth* had Notice, he call'd a Council of War, conſiſting of the Noblemen, Chiaftains of Clans, and Officers. It was by ſome propos'd to meet and fight the Duke of *Argyle*'s Army, but at laſt it was determin'd, that they ſhould retire towards *Aberdeen*, and wait for the Marquiſs of *Huntly* and Earl of *Seaforth*'s coming to join them: And upon that Reſolution they march'd out of *Perth* the 30th of *January*; and having ſent an Expreſs to the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, they continu'd their March towards *Aberdeen*: But upon the 4th of *February*, the Chevalier having receiv'd Letters from the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, He, with the Chief of the Nobility and Officers, march'd into *Montroſe*, and order'd the Army to march forward to *Aberdeen*. At *Montroſe*, Guards being ſet upon the Chevalier's Lodgings, as formerly, he, with the Noblemen, Officers and others, held a Conſultation; wherein at laſt it was determin'd, That the Chevalier ſhould take Shipping for *France*: And accordingly, betwixt One and Two in the Morning, he went on Board an *Iriſh* Ship, accompany'd by the Earls of *Marr*, *Panmure*, *Melfort*, Lord *Drummond*, Lieutenant Generals *Bulkley*, *Sheldon*, and ſeveral other Officers and Gentlemen; and the Wind being fair, they clear'd the Coaſt of *Scotland* before Day-light. Next Day, being *Sunday*, the 5th of *February*, the Earl of *Mariſhal* march'd with the Army into *Aberdeen*, and on *Munday* call'd a Council of War, wherein he produc'd the Chevalier's Letter, containing the Reaſons of his departing: And in that Council it was determin'd, that every one ſhould ſhift for themſelves. Nor had they long Time to conſult in that Town, for the next Day after they had left *Perth*, the Duke of *Argyle* with his Army came into that Town, and purſu'd them with ſuch Expedition, that his Grace was then within a Day's March of *Aberdeen*:

The Duke of *Argyle* marches towards *Perth*.

The Chevalier returns to *France*.

The Duke of *Argyle* comes to *Perth*.

A. D. 1716. *Aberdeen*: Whereof when the Earl of *Mariſhal* had Notice, he acquainted the reſt of the Nobility and Gentry, which put them in the utmoſt Confuſion. As the Coaſts were for the moſt Part guarded by the Men of War, and the Earl of *Sutherland* then had a ſtrong Garriſon in *Inverneſs*, and had fortify'd other Places thereabouts: For it ſeems, that when the Earl of *Seaforth* had recruited his Men, and intended to march with them to *Perth*, he ſent Notice to the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, to attack *Inverneſs* on the one Side, and that he would bring his Men to attack the other; but the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, before that, having had a private Interview (as 'tis ſaid) with the Lord *Rhae* or ſome other of the Earl of *Sutherland*'s Party, he had obtain'd ſuch Terms, as made him give over any further Attempt againſt the Earl of *Sutherland* or any of his Party; which is generally alledg'd to be the Cauſe of the Chevalier's ſudden Retreat: And when his Army were oblig'd to diſperſe, they knew not which Way to take, being cloſs purſu'd by the Duke of *Argyle*'s Army, and their Paſſage in the North ſtop'd by the Earl of *Sutherland*: However in this deſperate Condition, moſt of them reſolv'd to make the beſt of their Way out of the Kingdom: And the Earl of *Mariſhal*, with ſeveral other Noblemen and Chieftains of the Clans, taking their Rout through the *Highlands* to the Weſtern Coaſt, a great Body of Gentlemen and Officers march'd from *Aberdeen* to the Shire of *Murray*, where they were join'd by General *Ecclin* and ſeveral others, who had been ſome time with the Marquiſs of *Huntly* at *Caſtle-Gordon*; and coming to *Elgin*, they had Notice from the Lord *Duffus*, that he had provided Boats to tranſport them over the *Murray* Firth: Whereupon they march'd to a Place call'd the *Brugh-head*, and having quitted all their Horſes, they took Boats, and in a few Hours after they landed at *Dunbeth* in the Shire of *Caithneſs*: And croſſing over that Country, the Lord *Duffus* went with them to his Brother-in-Law, Sir *James Sinclair* of *May*'s Houſe, where having ſtaid one Night, Sir *James* furniſh'd them with Boats, wherewith they croſs'd the *Pentland* Firth, and landed in the Iſles of *Orkney*; where having ſtaid ſome Days, they divided into two Parties; one Party going to *Kerſton*, found a ſmall Veſſel, with which they put to Sea, and landed in *Hamburgh*. And the Lord *Duffus*, General *Ecclen*, and ſeveral others, being at *Kirkwall*, they by Chance found a *French* Ship, on Board of which they went, and landed at *Gottenberg*, in the King of *Sweden*'s Dominions.

Of thoſe that went with the Earl of *Mariſhal* to the *Highlands*, ſeveral went privately to their reſpective Houſes, and others went in Diſguiſe to other Parts of the Country: But at laſt there arriv'd ſome Ships from *France*, on Board of which the Marquiſs of *Tullibardin*, the Earls *Mariſhal*, *Southesk*, and *Linlithgow*, the Viſcounts *Kilſyth*, *Kingſton*, *Dundee*, Lord *George Murray*, and ſeveral others went, and landed in *France*. The Marquiſs of *Tinmouth* and Collonel *Bulkly* having travell'd in Diſguiſe from the Mountains down to *Fife*, they found an Opportunity to make their Eſcape to *France*.

The Duke of *Argyle* marches into *Aberdeen*.

His Grace the Duke of *Argyle* having continued his March to *Aberdeen*, as before-mention'd, he left the Command of the Troops to Lieutenant General *Cadogan*, and return'd to *Edinburgh* upon the 27th of *February*. And at the ſame time General *Cadogan* ſent Officers with Parties, to reduce ſuch of the *Highlanders* as were then in Arms, which they accordingly did.

The Earl of *Seaforth* at this time being at his Houſe of *Caſtle-Brahan*, he went to the Iſle of *Sky*, and from thence took Ship into *France*. And Brigadier *Campbell* of *Ormondale*, who had been in the *Muſcovite* Service, had landed ſome time before in *Scotland*, and being then with a Party of *Highlanders* in the Iſland of *Lewis*, he was taken Priſoner by Collonel *Cholmondely*, who brought him from thence to *Fort-William*, from whence he was ſent Priſoner to *Edinburgh*.

The Duke of *Argyle*, at his retnrn to *Edinburgh*, having given ſuch Orders as he thought neceſſary, his Grace proceeded on his Journey to *London*. And at the ſame time, General *Cadogan* receiving Orders from Court, to cauſe publiſh Edicts in all the Pariſh Churches; wherein it was requir'd, That all ſuch

ſuch Common-People as had been in the Rebellion, ſhould ſurrender themſelves and deliver up their Arms; which if they did, they ſhould have Leave to return home in Safety: But if they refus'd, and ſtood out againſt the Government, that they ſhould be reduc'd by Rigour and proſecuted. *A. D.* 1716.

General *Cadogan* having ſtaid ſome time in the North, he return'd to *Edinburgh*, where he arriv'd about the Firſt of *May*; and General *Sabine* being appointed to command the Forces in *Scotland*, General *Cadogan* return'd to *London*. And about the ſame time the *Dutch* and *Swiſs* Auxiliaries return'd to *England*, and ſoon after were ſhip'd off to *Holland*.

General *Cadogan* returns to *London*.

Several of thoſe who had been in Arms, having ſurrender'd themſelves to the Duke of *Argyle*, Earl of *Sutherland*, and other Officers of the Army, they were committed Priſoners to the Caſtle, Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, to the Earl of *Winton*'s Houſe, and Tolbooth of the *Canongate*; and ſome time after the Priſoners in *Stirling* Caſtle and *Blackneſs* were remov'd to *Edinburgh*; and in *September* after they were, by Order from Court, carry'd to *Carliſle*, being guarded by a Regiment of Dragoons and another of Foot; where, ſome time after, they were brought to their Trials. At which time ſeveral Learn'd Advocates went from *Edinburgh*, to plead before the *Engliſh* Judges; among whom were Mr. *James Graham* and Mr. *Alexander Hay*, who, in their Pleadings, inſiſted very warmly upon the Privileges of the Laws of *Scotland*, according to the Articles of Union; which occaſion'd long and warm Debates: Notwithſtanding of which, the Judges paſt Sentence on ſeveral of the Priſoners; but yet they were all, after ſome Months Confinement, diſcharg'd, and had Leave to return home.

Priſoners try'd at *Carliſle*.

This being the general Account of ſo far as related to the Affairs of *Scotland*, concerning this Inſurrection; I ſhall take no further Notice of what happen'd in *England*, than of thoſe *Scots* Priſoners who were taken at *Preſton* and executed; the Lord Viſcount *Kenmure* at *London*, Captain *Philip Lockhart*, Major *John Nairn*, Enſign *Erskin*, *Archibald Burnet* of *Carlips*, *James Drummond*, Brother to the Laird of *Innermay*, Captain *Thomas Bruce*, *David Drummond* of *Undermeath*, *Kennedy*, *George Gibſon*, *George Mackintoſh*, *Hercules Durham*, *Donald Robertſon*, *John Hunter*, *Alexander Drummond*, *John Magilvray*, *William Black*, *Roderick Kennedy*, *Donald Mackdonald* and *John Ord*. The Viſcount *Kenmure* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, and his Corps was carry'd by Sea to *Leith*, where it was receiv'd by a Number of his Relations in Mourning, and was convoy'd to his Burrying-place at *Kenmure* in *Galloway*. The Earl of *Nithſdale* and *Winton* having made their Eſcape out of the Tower, the former in a Cape and Cloak, convey'd in by his Lady; and the latter by Help of artificial Inſtruments. The Earl of *Carnwath* and Lord *Nairn* were ſome time after releas'd. As alſo all the other Priſoners in the ſeveral Priſons in and about *London*, tho' ſeveral of them had been ſentenc'd to die. And of the other *Scots* Priſoners who were confin'd in *Lancaſter* and *Liverpoole* Priſons, about 48 Gentlemen and 50 Common Perſons were tranſported to *Virginia* and other Plantations, and of thoſe in *Cheſter* Caſtle, moſt of them having made their Eſcape, the reſt were releas'd.

The Names of ſuch *Scots* as were executed.

Of all thoſe who had been in Arms againſt the Government, none were executed in *Scotland*; except one *John Knox*, who was ſhot at *Perth* for Deſertion; and one *Ainſly*, a Serjeant of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, for being concern'd in the Attempt of ſurprizing it.

Upon this Occaſion Commiſſioners were appointed to enquire into the Eſtates of ſuch as had been forfeited in *Scotland*: And thoſe Commiſſioners having erected a Court at *Edinburgh*, and appointed their proper Officers, they gave publick Notice, That all ſuch as could diſcover any of the Eſtates of ſuch Perſons as were forfeited, that they ſhould have Encouragement according to the Act of Parliament; by which means they proceeded to ſequeſtrate ſeveral Eſtates. But in the mean time the Creditors of thoſe forfeited Eſtates put in their Claims, which being debated before the Lords of Seſſion, it was decreed, That the juſt Claims of all Creditors ſhould be preferr'd

Commiſſioners of Enquiry appointed.

A. D. 1717. ferr'd to the Property of the Crown: Whereupon all ſuch as had Demands upon any of thoſe Eſtates gave in their Claims regularly, and were moſt of them preferr'd before the Court of Enquiry.

An Act of Indemnity paſt. In the Year 1717. an Act of Indemnity being paſt and publiſh'd, all ſuch as had been in Arms and had not gone out of the Kingdom upon that Occaſion, appear'd and pleaded the Benefit of the Act. But at that time ſeveral Informations were given in, that ſome of thoſe who appear'd, had been out of the Kingdom; whereby they were diſabled from pleading the Benefit of that Act: Upon which Account Commiſſioners of *Over* and *Terminer* were ſent down to *Scotland*, before whom ſeveral Perſons were try'd, according to thoſe Informations; but for want of Evidence to prove thoſe Informations, I do not find that any of thoſe who appear'd were found guilty.

From this time Matters continued quiet in *Scotland*, till towards the latter

1719. end of the Spring, 1719. that the War betwixt *France* and *Spain* broke out: And in the Month of *April* daily Rumours were ſpread over the Nation, that a *Spaniſh* Fleet were ſet out to Sea, having an Army commanded by the Duke of *Ormond*, and were expected to land in ſome Part of *Scotland*: Upon which Occaſion all the Forces then in *Scotland* were order'd to be in Readineſs. But after all the Noiſe, all the Fleet that came to *Scotland* was only Two ſmall

Some Noblemen and *Spaniards* land in the North of *Scotland.* Frigats, having on Board the Earls of *Mariſhal*, *Seaforth*, Marquiſs of *Tullibardin*, Lord *George Murray*, and ſome other *Scots* Gentlemen, with about 400 *Spaniards*. And having landed in *Weſt Roſs*, they were ſoon join'd by ſeveral of the Lord *Seaforth*'s Vaſſals and Tenants; as alſo by *Rob. Roy*, who had ſtill kept a Party in Arms ſince the Year 1715. and upon that Occaſion join'd with thoſe who came from Abroad.

Mean Time the Government having Notice thereof, ſent Orders to General *Wightman*, who commanded then in *Scotland*, and he accordingly ſent a Regiment of Foot to *Fort William*, and another to *Inverneſs*, and having order'd a Rendevouz at *Perth* of ſuch Dragoons and other Forces as were then in the Kingdom, they march'd ſtreight North in Purſuit of the *Spainards*, and thoſe who had join'd them; and having march'd from *Inverneſs* on the 5th of *June*, they came up with them on the 10th Day, at a Place called

The Skirmiſh at *Glenſhiel.* the Paſs of *Glenſheil*, where they had a Skirmiſh; but the Lords and their Followers having made a ſudden Retreat, the *Spaniards* ſurrender'd themſelves the next Day to General *Wightman*, and were brought Priſoners to *Inverneſs*, and from thence to *Edinburgh*. Mean Time the before mention'd Lords, and ſuch Gentlemen as came from abroad with them, having diſperſt themſelves, they ſoon after found an Opportunity to make their Eſcape, and return to *Spain*, and other Places beyond Sea.

The *Spainards* having continued ſome Months at *Edinburgh*, they were civilly uſed during that Time, and were afterwards releaſed, and returned home to *Spain*.

It was generally reported, that the Intention of their being ſent to *Scotland* at that Time, was, that as the Court of *Britain* having given Orders to ſeveral Regiments to be in Readineſs to be ſent over to aſſiſt the *French* againſt the *Spainards*, who then had beſieg'd St. *Sebaſtian* and *Fountarabia*, that it was given out, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which was intended to tranſport Forces from the *Groyne*, to the Relief of thoſe Towns, were to invade *Scotland*; and that thoſe Noblemen, with the few *Spainards*, being at that Time landed in the North, retarded the March of theſe Forces, which Diverſion anſwer'd the *Spaniards* Ends. Yet at the ſame Time it is reported, that this *Spaniſh* Fleet were intended to land in ſome Part of the Iſle of *Britain*; but by a violent Storm they being ſcatter'd, and having ſuſtained great Damage at Sea, were oblig'd to put back again, ſo that whatever was intended ſtill remains a Secret.

1720. In the Year 1720, ſeveral Perſons of Quality, Merchants, and others of

The *South Sea* Project fatal to ſome *Scots.* *Scotland*, engag'd themſelves in the memorable Project of the South Sea Stocks at *London*; and notwithſtanding of the Examples, they had of the unhappy Circumſtances, many Perſons had reduc'd themſelves, to by the like late

late Contrivance of the *French* Miſſipi Project; yet they were ſo infatuated by the Temptation of ſuch very uncertain Profit, that ſeveral Perſons of conſiderable Eſtates and Subſtance, ventur'd ſo far, that they impair'd their Eſtates and Circumſtances to the irrepairable Loſs of themſelves and Poſterity. This Project having ſubſiſted for ſeveral Months, at laſt ended in the Ruin of many good Families, and Perſons of Credit and Subſtance. *A. D.* 1725.

A Mob at *Glaſgow*.

Nothing of Conſequence happen'd in *Scotland* at any Time after this, till the Year 1725, that the Malt-tax came to be collected, there happen'd ſome Diſturbance in ſeveral Parts of the Nation, but nothing made ſuch a Noiſe as the Mob at *Glaſgow*, who oppos'd the Officers that were appointed to ſurvey their Malt-Barns; and after ſome warm Diſputes upon that Account, they went to the Houſe of Mr. *Campbell* of *Shawfield*, their Repreſentative in the *Britiſh* Parliament, where, in a moſt furious Manner, they pulled down all his Furniture, and broke down, deſtroyed, or carried away every Thing of any Value, within or about the Houſe; after which they went through the Streets in the like tumultuous Manner; and upon that Occaſion there having been a Party of regular Troops ſent in to the City, they ſeeing great Mobs in the Streets, the commanding Officer gave Orders to fire among them, which the Soldiers did, ſo that ſeveral innocent Perſons who had only come out of their Houſes to ſee the Fray, were unfortunately kill'd. Whereupon the Rioters redoubled their former Fury, and attack'd the Soldiers ſo reſolutely, that they beat them from the Guard, drove them out of the Town, and purſued them ſeveral Miles towards *Dunbarton*.

They ranſack Mr. *Campbell*'s Houſe.

Several Perſons kill'd.

The Mob drives the Soldiers out of the Town.

Upon that Account, the Provoſt and Bailies of *Glaſgow* were apprehended by the Lord Advocate's Orders, and carried Priſoners to *Edinburgh*, as alſo about 30 of the other Inhabitants, who were committed Priſoners to the Tolbooth, where they continued for ſome Time. The Magiſtrates were at laſt diſcharged, but ſome of the Rioters being tried, and found guilty, two of them were ſentenc'd to be hang'd, and five to be tranſported, but that two alſo had their Sentence chang'd to Tranſportation. Mr. *Campbell* having repreſented his Loſſes to the Parliament of *Great Britain*, he had Reparation of his Damages, by an Act of the laſt Seſſions. The other Parts of the Nation having ſubmitted to the Malt-Tax, the Country continued in Peace and Quietneſs.

The Magiſtrates made Priſoners.

Mr. *Campbell*'s Loſſes redreſſed by Act of Parliament.

Upon the 31ſt of *October*, 1726, the Moſt Noble *JAMES* Duke of *HAMILTON*, was (with the uſual Solemnity in the Royal Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*) inſtall'd Knight Companion of the moſt ancient and moſt noble Order of the THISTLE. 1726.

The Duke of *Hamilton* inſtall'd Knight of the Thiſtle.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

INDEX.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A.

ABERCORN Wall built, *Page* 40. call'd *Graham*'s Dyke, 56.

Aberdeen City built and made a Biſhop's Seat, 150 The Univerſity founded there, 310.

Aberdeen Earl created, 687.

Abernethies, a potent Family, 174. Convent built there, 82.

Achaius King, 84. His Speech to the *French* Ambaſſador, 85. He enters into a perpetual League with *France*, 87. He obtains Victory over *Athelſtane* King of *England*, 88. His Death, 89.

Acho King of *Norway* lands in *Scotland*, 166.

Adrian the Emperor comes into *Britain* and builds a Wall, 37.

Agricola Julius comes into *Britain*, 33. He ſails about the Coaſt of *Scotland*, 34. He is call'd home, and poiſon'd, 35.

Airly Earl joins *Montroſe*, 630.

Aidanus King, 73. His Victory over the *Picts*, 74.

Alexander I. ſirnam'd *Acer*, King, 148.

Alexander II. King, 162. He meets the King of *France* at *Bolloign*, *ibid.* He meets the King of *England* at *York*, 164. His Death, 165.

Alexander III. King, meets the King of *England* at *Wark*, 166. He obtains Victory over *Acho* King of *Norway*, 168. He aſſiſts the King of *England* againſt the Barons, 169. He with his Queen goes to *London*, 170. His Death, 171.

Alpin King, 90. he is beheaded by the *Picts*, 91.

Albany, Duke of, created, 219.

Amberkilethus King, 81.

Anne Queen proclaim'd, 712. her Motto, 716. Her Letter to the *Scots* Parliament, 723. Her Death, 752.

Anne Daughter of *Denmark* marry'd to King *James* VI. 525. crown'd Queen. 526. her Death, 595.

Anderogius, his Speech, 19.

Anguſianus King, ſlain by the *Picts*, 47.

Angus George Earl of, heads a Faction, 242. his great Enterprize at *Alnwick*, 260. *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* marries the Queen Dowager, his great Power, 311. he contends againſt the Earl of *Arran*, 321. He is divorc'd from the Queen, 330. is ſent with an Army againſt the Queen's Party, 470. is confin'd to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, 530. makes his eſcape, *ibid.* is excommunicated, 533. he is receiv'd into Favour, by the King, 534.

Argyle Colin Earl of, oppoſes the Duke of *Albany*, 277. is Commiſſioner for the King to treat with the *Engliſh*, 279. his Command in the Army at *Flowdon*-Field, 307. is ſlain there. 308. joins the Congregation, 376. commands the Queen's Army at *Langſide*, 420. acts as Queen's Lieutenant, 422. beſieges the Town of *Glaſgow*, ibid. he heads the Queen's Party againſt the Aſſociators, 438. he goes over to the young King's Intereſt, 449. turns to the Church of *Rome*, is out-law'd, 591. he returns to *England*, 610. his Advice againſt his Son the Lord *Lorn*, ibid. dies, and is ſucceeded by the Lord *Lorn*, 611. he declares for the Covenanters, *ibid.* he attends the King, 613. he confines the Earl of *Atholl* and Sir *Patrick Ogilvy*, 616. he is created Marquiſs, 620. he goes over to *Ireland*, 639. returns and goes to the King at *Newcaſtle*, 640. he crowns *Charles* II. 665. he is accus'd and committed to the Tower of *London*, 678. and beheaded, 681. his Son reſtor'd to the Title of Earl, 683. he objects againſt the Teſt, is impriſon'd, try'd and ſentenc'd, 687. eſcapes to *Holland*, ibid. he lands in *Scotland* and publiſhes a Declaration, 689. is defeated and taken, 690. and beheaded, 691. his Son, the Earl, lands with the Prince of *Orange* in *England*, 607. *John* Duke of *Argyle* High Commiſſioner to the Parliament, 720. his publick Entry into *Edinburgh*, ibid. his Speech to the Parliament, *ibid.* his Speech for diſſolving the Union, 752. is appointed one of the Lords Juſtices, 753. is made General of the Forces and arrives in *Scotland*, 756. his Action at *Dunblain*, 761. marches to *Perth* and *Aberdeen*, 794. returns to *Edinburgh* and takes Journey to *London*, ibid.

Arran James Stewart Earl of, 479.

Arviragus King of *Britons*, 25.

Atholl Stewart Earl of, created, 137. Earl of *Atholl* carry'd to *London* and executed, 184. Earl *Walter* murders King *James* I. 233. he is executed, *ibid.*

Alholl Murray Earl, raiſes an Army for the King, 615. is taken Priſoner by the Earl of *Argyle*, 616. *John* Marquiſs of *Atholl* raiſes an Army againſt the Earl of *Argyle*, 690. he adheres to King *James*, 703. *John* Duke of, proteſts againſt the Union, 734.

Athirco King, his Reign, 42.

Aulus Didius a *Roman* General, his Meſſage to King *Corbredns*, 29.

B.

BALMERINOCH Abbey built, 161.

Banquho, Thane of *Lochaber*, 128. is ſlain by *Macbeth*, 132.

Balliol John his Competion for the Crown of *Scotland*, 172. is crown'd King, 174. is defeated, taken, and ſent Priſoner to *France*, by *Edward* King of *England*, 174. he reſigns the Crown to King *Robert Bruce*, 193.

Balliol Edward, his Son lands in the River *Forth* with an Army, 197. is crown'd at *Scoon*, 198. he is defeated and flies into *England*, 204. he reſigns his Pretenſions to the Crown, 208.

Balmerinoch Lord, his Trial and Sentence, 580. his Son draws a Petition, 604. he is examin'd, ſentenc'd, and pardon'd, *ibid.* he joins the Covenanters, 607.

Berigonium the Capital of *Scotland* built, 8.

Bing Sir *George* commands a Fleet againſt the *French*, 741. his Expedition on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, 742. he is complimented by the Lord Provoſt and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, ibid. his Account of the *French* Fleet, 744.

Belhaven Lord, againſt the Union, 733. he is carry'd Priſoner to *London*, and dies, 745.

Beaton Cardinal ſlain, 361.

Biſhops in *Scotland* excommunicated, 609.

Blantyre Lord, ſent to *London* with an Addreſs of thoſe who proteſted againſt the Union, 713.

Bothwel Earl, marries the Queen, 408. he is taken Priſoner in *Denmark*, 416.

Bothwel James Stewart Earl of, is outlaw'd, 524.

Boyds, their great Power, 265. *Robert Boyd* made Regent of *Scotland*, 367. his Son *Thomas* marries the King's Siſter, *ibid.* the Deſtruction of that Family, 268. *Thomas Boyd* Earl of *Arran* dies at *Antwerp*, 269.

Boniſacious, a Biſhop, comes into *Scotland*, 76.

Britons, the Inhabitants of the South Part of the Iſle, declare War againſt the *Scots*, 4. are defeated by the *Scots* 6. are conquer'd by *Julius Cæſar*, 21. they are driven into *Wales* by the *Saxons*, 65.

Bruce Robert, Earl of *Annandale*, marries the Counteſs of *Carrick*, 170. his Succeſſor Competitor for the Crown, 172. *Robert* proclaim'd King of *Scotland*, 183. his Victory over the *Engliſh* at *Bannockburn*, 188, his Death, 194. *David Bruce* proclaim'd King, 195. his Army defeated by *Edwnrd Baliol*, 197. he goes over to *France*, 198. he is reſtor'd to his Crown, 204. he is taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*, 207. is ranſom'd, 209. and dies, 210.

Buchan Counteſs of, abuſed by *Edward* King of *England*, 184. that Title given to *Alexander Stewart*, 212. Falls in to the Crown, 231. Earl of *Buchan* againſt the Union, 734. he is Lord Lieutenant of the Shire of *Stirling*, keeps the Town and Bridge in the Duke of *Argyle*'s Abſence, 759.

Bute created Earl, 717.

***

INDEX.

Buchanan George, his unjuſt Reflections on Queen *Mary* confuted, *Page* 401.
Byland, a Battle, King *Robert Bruce*'s Generoſity to the *Engliſh* Queen, 191.

C.

CADVALUS, General of the *Scots* Army, his Expedition into *Ireland*, 17.
Caratacus King, 23. his Victory over the *Romans* 26. he is betray'd by his Step-mother and carry'd Priſoner to *Rome*, 28. his Speech to *Cæſar*, ibid. he is releas'd and returns to *Scotland*, ibid.
Carthamunda, Step-mother to King *Caratacus*, for her Treachery is buried alive, 29.
Caithneſs Earl created, 137. *Sinclair* Earl of *Caithneſs* ſuppreſs the Rebellion in *Orkney*, 584.
Caithneſs Cathedral Church built by King *Malcolm*, 143.
Canutus King of *Denmark* routed in *Scotland*, 129.
Caſibellan King of *Britons*, his Embaſſy to King *Ederus*, 19 he is kill'd, 21.
Caſſils Gilbert Earl of, ſent Commiſſioner to *England*, 327. he is kill'd, 333. dies at *Diep*, 373.
Carnwath Earl, taken Priſoner at *Preſton*, 715.
Carthilinthus King, 44. his Death, 45.
Carantias, his Enterpriſes, 45.
Carthalinthus kills *Cratenus*, 115. he is apprehended and executed, *ibid.*
Camus, General of the *Danes*, kill'd, 124. his Croſs, *ibid.*
Caledonians, mention'd by *Cornelius Tacitus*, 52.
Catus Roman General, 30.
Camleon, Chief City of the *Picts* built, 8.
Charlemagne, his League with the *Scots*, 87.
Charles, Prince born, 557. His Expedition into *Spain*, 597. Proclaimed King, 597. Comes into *Scotland*, and crown'd at *Holy-rood-houſe*, 603. Returns to *England*, 604. Sets up his Standard at *Nottingham*, 622. He is beſieged in *Oxford*, 638. He makes his Eſcape, and goes to the *Scots* Army, *ibid.* He writes to the Marquiſs of *Montroſe* to disband his Army, 640. He is given up to the *Engliſh*, and carried to *Hemby Caſtle*, 644. Brought to *Hampton-Court*, 645. Makes his Eſcape, 646. Is taken by Collonel *Hammond*, and carried to *Carisbrook Caſtle*, *ibid.* He is brought to *Hurſt Caſtle*, 652. He is brought before Judges, and ſentenced, 653. And beheaded at *Whitehall*, 654.
Charles II. born, 601. He retires to *France* with the Queen his Mother, 636. He comes with a Fleet to *Yarmouth*, 649. He is proclaimed King in *Scotland*, 655. He meets the *Scots* Commiſſioner at the *Hague*, 659. He lands in *Scotland*, 663. The Form of his Coronation, 665. Is defeated at *Worceſter*, 667. His Concealment in *Beſcobell-wood*, 668, 9, 70, 71. His Journey with Mr. *Lane*, 672, 3, 4. Takes Ship for *France*, 675. is reſtored, 678. his Declaration concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Birth, 686. his Death, 687.
CHRIST JESUS, his Birth, 23.
Chriſtian Faith received into *Scotland*, 41.
Claudius Cæſar comes to *Britain*, 24.
Clement firſt Regent of the *Scots* College in *Paris*, 88.
Clancatton and *Clankays*, their Encounter at *Perth* 219.
Conarus, King, 37. he defeated the *Romans*, *ibid.*
Corbredus, King, 29. his Victory over the *Romans*, 30.
Corbredus Galdus, King, 32. he aſſiſts the *Britons*, 33. his Death and Burial, 36.
Conſtantin, King, 59.
Conſtantin II. King, 99. beheaded by *Picts*, 101.
Conſtantin III. King, 107.
Conſtantin IV. King, 118. is ſlain in Battle, *ibid.*
Congalus, King, 60. his Victory over the *Britons*, 61. his Victory over the *Saxons*, 64. his Death, 67.
Congalus II. King, 72.
Colm Saint comes into *Scotland*, 73. his Death, 75.
Coillus, King of *Britons*, with moſt of his Army, ſlain by the *Scots*, 6.
College of Juſtice erected at *Edinburgh*, 335.
Cruthenus King of the *Picts*, builds the Maiden Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, 8.
Crichton, this Sirname comes into *Scotland*, 141.
Crichton, Sir *William*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, 234. is at Variance with the Regent, 235. his Speech to the Regent, 238. lays down his Office, 242. he is received into Favour, and ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, 244.
Crawford, Earl, kills the Lord *Glames*, 214. Earl of *Crawford* enters into a League with Earl *Dowglaſs*, 251. forſakes *Dowglaſs*, and is pardoned by the King, 253. Earl ſlain in *Flowdon Field*. Earl ſlain in an Encounter by the *Ogilvies*, 243. Earl *Crawford*, his Loyalty to the King, 629.
Cromwell Oliver obtains Victory at *Marſton-moor*, 629. at *Nasby*, 631. beſieges *Oxford*, 638. receives the King at *New-Market*, 645. ſubdues the City of *London*, *ibid.* his Victory at *Preſton*, 651, he comes to *Edinburgh*, 652. returns to *London*, *ibid.* comes to *Scotland* with an Army againſt King *Charles* II. 664. his Victory at *Dunbar*, *ibid.* his Victory at *Worceſter*, 667. made Lord Protector, 676. his Death, 677. his Body hung up at *Tyburn*, 680.
Cullenus, King of *Scotland*, 111. is ſlain by the *Thane* of *Methvin*, 112.
Cummin, *John* Earl of *Buchan*, 164. *Patrick Cummin* Earl of *Atholl*, 165. *Alexander Cummin* General of the *Scots* at the Battle of *Eveſham*, 166.
Cummins are Competitors for the Crown of *Scotland*, 172. *John* ſlain by King *Robert Bruce*, 182.
Cumberland, &c. annexed to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, 46.
Culdees, Religious Men in *Scotland*, 46.

D.

DARNLY, Lord of, married to the Queen, 397. his Death, 405.
Danes firſt came into *Scotland*, 100. are routed at *Longcarty*, 114. are overcome by *Macbeth*, 129. are Shipwreck'd at *Drumlaw*-Sands, *ibid.* are overcome at *Largs*, 168.
David I. King, called Saint, 149.
David II. King, 195. See *Bruce*.
Dardanus, King, 32.
David Earl of *Huntingdon*, Brother to King *William*, his Expedition to the Holy Land, 158. his Return to *Scotland*, 159.
Diadem ſent by the Pope to King *William*, 160.
Donald I. King, 40.
Donald II. King, 44.
Donald III. King, *ibid.*
Donald IV. King, 77.
Donald V. King, 98.
Donald VI. King, 105.
Donald VII. King, 128. defeats the *Danes* at *Culroſs*, 129.
Donald VIII. Sirnamed *Bane*, 145.
Dongardus, King, 58.
Dongallus, King, 89.
Dornadilla, King, 10.
Dowglaſs, Original of that noble Sirname, 84.
Dowglaſs, *James* Earl of, joyns King *Robert Bruce*, 183. he takes the Caſtle of *Roxburgh*, 185. his generous Behaviour to the Earl of *Murry*, 186. his Command in the Battle of *Bannockburn*, 187. he obtains Victory over the *Engliſh* at *Northalerton*, 190. his Atchievement by carrying King *Robert Bruce*'s Heart to the Holy Grave, 194. he is killed by the *Sarazens*, 195. *William*, Earl, oppoſes *Edward Balliol*, 203. Strife among that Name, 207. Earl *William* claims the Crown, 211. he is married to the Daughter of King *Robert* II. 212. Earl *James* overcomes the Earl of *Northumberland* in a Combat, 216. he is ſlain at *Otterburn*, 217. *William Dowglaſs* of *Drumlanrig*, his Expedition into the Border, 224. *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, created Duke of *Tourney* in *France*, is killed at *Veronel*, 225. Earl *William* and his Brother murdered in *Edinburgh* Caſtle, 240. the immoderate Power of that Family, the Earl goes to the Jubile, 248. returns and enters into a League, 249 he is ſtab'd by the King, 251. that Name proclaimed publick Enemies, 252. but are pardoned, 253. he is confined to the *Abbey* of *Lindores*, 279.
Dowglaſs, Lady *Jean*, her Accuſation, 345. her Defence, 346. her Execution, 347.
Dowglaſs, *George*, releaſes Queen *Mary* from *Lochleven*, 419.
Druids, learned Men ſo called in *Scotland*, 14.
Duffus, King, 110.
Durſtus, King, 115.
Dunſtaffage built, 16.
Dunfermling, Earl of, &c. 593.
Duncan, King, 145.
Dunfermling, the Reſidence of King *Malcolm* III. 140. the *Abbey* built there. 144.

Dundee ſurpriſed, 149. that Town taken, and ranſomed by General *Monk*, 676.
Dunbar, Earl, his Diſcovery concerning *Gowrey*'s Conſpiracy, 597.
Dunbar, the Original of that Sirname, 95.

E.

EDINBURGH Caſtle built, 8.
Ederus, King, 19. his Speech to the *Briton*'s Ambaſſador, 20. he orders all memorable Actions to be recorded by the *Druids*, 21.
Edgar, King, 146.
Edward Balliol, King, 198.
Eward I. King of *England*, choſen Arbitrator of the Competition between *Bruce* and *Balliol*, 172. his Behaviour in that Caſe, 174. his Barbarity to Sir *William Wallace*, 182. his Death 185.
Edward II. invades *Scotland*, 185. is routed at *Bannockburn*, 187. his Death 193.
Edward III. renounces his Pretenſions to the Superiority of *Scotland*, *ibid.* he hires a Monk to poiſon the Regent of *Scotland*, 169. he inſtitutes the Order of the Garter in *England*, 214.
Edward Bruce ſlain in *Ireland*, 190.
Eglinton, Earl, murdered, 495. the Earl leaves his Eſtate to Sir *Alexander Seaton*, 582.
Elizabeth, Queen of *England*, 375. her Orders to confine Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, 421. her Conference with Secretary *Daviſon*, about Queen *Mary*'s Execution, 509. her Letter to King *James*, 518. her Death, 560.
Engliſh, ſo firſt called, 65.
Erskine, Sir *Thomas*, his Speech to King *James* V. 339.
Ethodius, King, 38.
Ethodius II. 41.
Etſinus, King, 83.
Ethus, King, 101.
Eugenius I. King, 88.
Eugenius II. King, 55.
Eugenius III. 71.
Eugenius IV. King, 76.
Eugenius V. King, 80.
Eugenius VI. King, 81.
Eugenius VII. King, 82.
Eugenius VIII. King, 83.
Evenus I. King, 15.
Evenus II. King, 17.
Evenus III. King, his wicked Laws, 22.

F.

FERGUS I. King of *Scotland*, 5. he divides that Kingdom, 7. his Death, 8.
Fergus II. King, 53.
Fergus III. King, 83.
Ferquhard I. King, 77.
Ferquhard II. King, 78.
Fechelmachus, King, 45.
Findochus, King, 43.
Finanus, King, 14.
Fleance, the Son of *Banquho*, Original of the *Stewarts*, 141.
Fritharius, King, 8.
Ferquhard Roſs overcomes a *Norman* at *London*, 170.
Flowden Field Battle, 307.
Ficao, Brother to King *Ferquhard*, his Religions Life, 77.
Forbes, Lord, beheaded, 344.
France, ſo firſt called, 55.
Francis, King of *France*, his Letter to the Prior of St. *Andrews*, 378. his Death, 386.
French Auxiliaries ſent over to *Scotland*, 365.

G.

GATHELUS, a *Greek* Prince, his Exploits in *Egypt*, 1. he comes into *Spain*, 2. his Death 3.
Galloway, Earl of, againſt the Union, 734.
Gethus, King of *Picts*, aſſiſts the *Scots* againſt the *Romans*, 20.
George, proclaimed King at *Edinburgh*.
Gillus, King, 17.
Gilcriſt, Earl of *Angus* kills his Wife, 156. his Life, 157.
Glencairn, Earl, treats of Peace with *England*, 358. he joyns the Aſſociation, 375. he ſits on the Trial of the Earl of *Gowry*, 489. is appointed a Commiſſioner to treat of the Union, 566. ſits on the Trial of the Earl of *Orkney*, 584.
Glenlivet Battle, 538.
Glenco Maſſacre, Account of it, 707.
Glenſheill Skirmiſh, 766.
Goranus King, 67.
Gordons, the Surname firſt in *Scotland*, 137.
Gordon, Lord *Alexander*, his great Power in the North, 310. Lord *John* beheaded at *Aberdeen*, 395.
Gordon, Duke of, keeps out the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, 704.
Gordon, *John* Earl of *Sutherland*, 394.
Gordon, Dutcheſs preſents a Medal to the Advocates, 748.
Gowrey, Earl, tried and executed, 489.
Gowrey's Conſpiracy, 553.
Gray, Lady *Jean*, proclaimed Queen of *England*, 369.
Gregory, King, 102.
Grimus, King, 119.
Graham, Original of that noble Surname, Father-in-Law to King *Fergus* II. 53. he demoliſhes *Abercorn* Wall, called *Graham*'s *Dyke*, 56.
Granard, King of *Picts*, built the Convent of *Abernetie* 52.
Griffith, Prince of *Wales*, his Daughter married to *Fleance*, 141.
Grange, the Laird of, brings Queen *Mary* to the Rebels, 411. he purſues the Earl of *Bothwell* at Sea, 416. he declares for the Queen's Party, 440. he is executed at *Edinburgh*, 460. his Character, *ibid.*
Graham, *James*, Lord Viſcount *Dundee*, ſlain at *Killicrankie*, 704.
Gray, Maſter of, his Embaſſy to *England*, 505. is baniſhed, 520.
Guillam, Brother to King *Achaius*, his noble Exploits, 87.
Gwallo Nunico from the Pope, uſes Means to extort Money from the *Scots*, 163.
Guſtavus Adolphus, King of *Sweden*, receives the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, at his Camp, 902. his Death, *ibid.*
Guthrie, *John*, Biſhop of *Murray*, excommunicated, 609.
Gun Powder Treaſon, the Account of it, 573.

H.

HAMILTON, Original of that Noble Family, *Page* 192.
Hamilton Lord *James*, married to *Mary* Counteſs of *Arran*, 269. his Son created Earl of *Arran*. ibid. *James* Earl, his Expedition to *France*, 301. He is offended at the Nobility, 311. is made Warden of the South Marches, 320. takes *Hume* Caſtle, *&c. ibid.* is at Variance with the Earl of *Angus*, 321. *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, made Regent and declar'd next Heir to the Crown, 358. his Speech to the *Scots* Nobility, 365. he reſigns the Regency, 370. is ſent over to *France* by the Queen, 413. his Palace plunder'd by the Earl of *Murray*, 421. his Family and Kindred out-law'd, 422. he raiſes an Army for the Queen, 423. is decoy'd by the Earl of *Murray* and committed Priſoner, 434. is releas'd, 439. his Palace burnt, 441. is proclaim'd Traitor by *Murray*, 443. his Death and Character, 462.
Hamilton Lord *John* and *Claud*, &c. maltreated by the Earl of *Morton*, 472. Lord *John*'s Speech to the King, 494. he is created Marquiſs, 551. *James* Marquiſs of *Hamilton* his Expedition into *Germany*, 602. he is created Duke, 624. he is ſent Priſoner to *Pendinnes* Caſtle, 628. is releaſed, and comes to the King, 641. his Remonſtrance againſt giving up the King, 943. he marches with an Army into *England*, 650. he is defeated and taken Priſoner, 651. his Trial and Speech, 655. his Execution, 658. *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, ſlain at *Worceſter*, 668.
Hamilton, *Anne*, Dutcheſs of, marries *William Dowglaſs* Earl of *Selkirk*, he is created Duke of *Hamilton* for Life, 680.
Hamilton, *James* Earl of *Arran*, accompanies the King to *Rocheſter*, 700. his Speech concerning King *James*, 703. his Proteſtation againſt the Meeting of the Parliament, 712. he oppoſes the Union, 718. his Proteſtation againſt the Union, 734. is ſlain in *Hyde-Park*, 750.
HAMILTON, *James*, Duke of, inſtalled Knight of the Thiſtle, 767.
Haddo, Laird, of his valiant Behaviour, 630.
Haddington, Earl of killed at *Dunglaſs* Houſe, 116.

INDEX.

Hamilton, Sir *James* beheaded and quartered, 352.
Hay, Original of that Sirname, 114.
Henry VIII. King of *England*, divorces Queen *Catharine*, 336. his Meſſage to King *James*, 337.
Henry Prince of *Wales*, his Death, 583.
Holy-rood-houſe Abbey built, 149.
Hingiſt, firſt *Saxon* Prince in *Britain*, 61.
Harelaw Battle, 223.
Hepburns their Original, 217.
Harris, Lord, his Loyalty to Queen *Mary*, 419.

I.

JAMES I. King, crown'd at *Scoon*, 229. is murdered by *Walter Stewart*, 233.
James II. King, crown'd, 234. ſlain at *Roxburgh* Caſtle.
James III. King, 258. is at Varicnce with the Nobility, 285. is ſlain at *Bannockburn*, 287.
James IV. King, crown'd, 289. is married to *Margaret* Daughter to *Henry* VII. of *England*, 298. is ſlain at *Flowden* Field, 307.
James V. King, crown'd, 309. he goes over to *France*, marries the Lady *Magdalen*, 343. he marries the Lady *Mary* of *Lorain*, 349. his ominous Dreams, 352. his Death, 356.
James VI. crown'd, 414. he takes the Government upon him, 466. he goes to *Denmark*, and is married, 526. is proclaimed King of *England*, 560. takes the Title of King of *Great Britain*, 571. his Death, 597.
James Duke of *Albany* and *York*, High Commiſſioner to the Parliament of *Scotland*, 686. is Ship-wrackt, *ibid.* is crown'd King, 688. his Speech to the Council, 696. he goes to his Army at *Salisburry*, 698. he is ſeized at *Fevarſham*, 699. he leaves *England*, 700. his Death, 711.
Indulfus, King, 109.
Joſina, King, 13.
Inverneſs and *Inverlochie* built, 18.

K.

KENNETH I. King, 76.
Kenneth II. King, 91. he contrives a Stratagem to raiſe an Army, 92. his Anſwer to *Dunskin*, King of *Picts*, 94. his Victory over the *Picts*, 95. his good Laws, 97. and Death, 98.
Kenneth III. King, 112. his Victory over the *Danes* at *Longcarty*, 114. his Laws of the Succeſſion of Kings, 116. is kill'd by an Engine, 118.
Keiths, the Original of that Sirname, 124.
Kinnatelus, King, 73.
Ker, Sir *Robert*, created Earl of *Somerſet*, 582.
Killicranky Battle, 704.
Kennedy, *James*, oppoſes the Queen Regent, 262.

L.

LANGSIDE Battle, 425.
Lauder, a Sirname in *Scotland*, 137.
Lauderdale, Duke, great Favourite with King *Charles* II. 684.
Lenox, Earl of, ſlain in *Flowden* Field, 308. *Matthew*, Earl, comes into *Scotland*, 359. he oppoſes the Regent, *ibid.* returns to *England*, and marries Lady *Margaret Douglaſs*, *ibid.* he is made Regent of *Scotland*, 442. his laſt Speech and Death, 451. *Eſme Stewart* Earl of *Lenox*, 473. created Duke, 479. he leaves *Scotland*, 484. *Lodowick* his Son ſucceeds to his Titles, 488. is Preſident of the Council, 525. accompanies the King to *England*, 564. his Death, 596.
Lethington Secretary, his Anſwer to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, 424. his Death, 461.
Leſly Biſhop of *Roſs*, Commiſſioner for Queen *Mary*, 424. his Death and Character, 548.
Lindſay and *Ogilvy* fight a ſharp Battle, 243.
Lindſay, Lord, enters into an Aſſociation, 408. he threatens Queen *Mary*, 413. he is choſen Lord Provoſt of the City of *Edinburgh*, 456.
Lorn, Lord, joyns the Covenanters, 610.
Lothian, Earl, made Governor of *Newcaſtle*, 616.
Loudon, Lord, againſt the *Engliſh* Liturgy, 607.
Leſly, *David*, General of the Covenanters Army, 612.
Lovat, Lord, ſlain at *Flowden* Field, 308.
Living ſton, Lord Commiſſioner for Queen *Mary*, 424.
Lochinvar, Laird of, Commiſſioner, *ibid.*
Lugtacus, King, 36.

M.

MACBETH, General of the *Scots* Army, his Stratagem to deſtroy the *Danes*, 129. He murders the King, 131. Uſurps the Crown, 132. is ſlain by *Macduff*, 136.
Macduff, his Speech to Prince *Malcolm*, 134.
Malduinus, King 80.
Malcolm, the Firſt King, 108.
Malcolm II. King, 121.
Malcolm III. King, 137. is ſlain at *Alnwick*, 144.
Malcolm IV. King, called the Maiden, 152.
Mainus, King, 9.
Mary Queen, p. 357. ſhe is ſent over to *France*, 367. is married to the *Dolphin*, 373. returns to *Scotland*, 389. is married to the Lord *Darnly*, 397. is brought to Bed of a Prince, 403. is married to the Earl of *Bothwell*, 408. Is taken Priſoner by the Rebels and confin'd to *Lochleven*, 412. She makes her Eſcape, 419. her Army defeated at *Langſide*, 420. She goes into *England*, ibid. is confin'd there, 421. her Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, 484. ſhe is requir'd to appear to be try'd, 498. her Anſwer, *ibid.* her Defence, 501. is ſentenc'd, 503. her 2d Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, 508. her Preparation for Death, 513. her Execution, 516. her Character and Epitaph, 517.
Marr Earl of, made Regent, 451. his Death, 455.
Margaret Queen, aboliſhes *Evenus*'s wicked Laws, 142. her Death, 144.
Maud, or *Maultilda*, Daughter of King *Malcolm*, her ſingular Piety, 147.
Maxwell Lord, ſlain by *Johnſton*, 535.
Marr Earl, has the Keeping of the Prince, 538.
Mettelanus King, 22.
Mogaldus King, 36.
Mordachus King, 82.
Monteith, Sir *John* betrays Sir *William Wallace*, 182.
Montroſe Earl of, Chancellor of *Scotland*, 566.
Montroſe James Earl of, joins the Covenanters, 608. he deſerts the Covenanters, 624. he goes to the King at *Oxford* and is created Marquiſs, 628. he obtains Victory at *Tippermoor*, 630, at *Aberdeen*, ibid. at *Old-Erne*, 632. at *Alford* and *Kilſyth*, 633. is defeated at *Philliphaugh*, 635. disbands his Army by the King's Orders and leaves *Scotland*, 641. he writes an Elegy on the King's Death, 654. he returns to *Scotland*, 660. is defeated, taken and ſentenc'd, 661. his Speech and Execution, 662.
Morton Earl of, Chancellor, Enemy to Queen *Mary*, is made Regent, 455. his Cruelty and Oppreſſion, 461. he gives up the Regency with great Reluctancy, 466. he is accus'd of King *Henry*'s Murder, 475. is found guilty and ſentenc'd, 478. his Confeſſion and Execution, 479.
Murray, *James Stewart*, Earl of, Queen *Mary*'s Baſtard Brother, created 392. his Treachery to the Queen, 407. he goes over to *France*, 409. returns and is made Regent, 414. he inſults the Queen, 415. his Treachery to the Duke of *Norfolk*, 434. he is kill'd at *Linlithgow*, 437. his Character, *ibid.*
Murray Earl of, kill'd by the Earl of *Huntly* at *Dunibriſtle*, 529.
Murdoch Earl of *Fife*, Regent, 224.
Murrays, their firſt coming into *Scotland*, 31. their Valour againſt the *Romans*, ibid.

N.

NATHALOCUS King, 42.
Nothatus King, 11.
Northalarton Battle, 150.
Napier Maſter of, joins the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, 632.
Napier Lord, joins *Montroſe*, 636.
Norfolk Duke, his Expedition to *Scotland*, 354. he favours Queen *Mary*'s Cauſe, 429. he propoſes Marriage to the Queen, 431. he is beheaded on *Tower-hill*, 433.
Noman Leſly kills Cardinal *Beaton*, 361. he and his Accomplices are taken Priſoners, 363.
Normandy, *William* Duke of, his Conqueſt of *England*, 140.

INDEX.

C.

OCCA Son of *Hengiſt*, a *Saxon* Prince, 63.
Ogilvys, Sir *Thomas* and *David*, with the Earl of *Aairly*, join the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, 630. their valiant Behaviour at the Battle of *Kilſyth*, 631.
Ogilvy, Sir *Alexander* of *Innerquhonty*, Sir *William Rollo*, and Sir *Philip Nisbet* executed at *Edinburgh* by the Covenanters, 636.
Ogilvy Lord, and the Earl of *Hartfield* order'd for Execution, but eſcape, 637.
Oſtorius Capula, a *Roman* General in *Scotland*, 27.
Octavius Prince of *Wales*, flies for Shelter into *Scotland*, 45.
Octavians, Commiſſioners of Exchequer, ſo called, 540.
Orkney, *Patrick Stewart*, Earl of, committed to *Edinburgh* Caſtle, 581. he is ſentenc'd and beheaded, 585.
Overburry Sir *Thomas*, an Account of his Death, 585.

P.

PICTS, an Account of them, 3. they join the *Romans* againſt the *Scots*, 48. they are entirely extirpated and their Kingdom conquer'd by *Kenneth* II. 95.
Priſoners taken at *Langſide* Battle, 420.
Paiſly taken by Lord *Claud Hamilton*, 446.

Q.

QUEENSBERRY William Duke of, Lord High Treaſurer of *Scotland*, 688. he repreſents King *James* VII. as High Commiſſioner in his firſt Parliament, *ibid.* *James* Duke, is Lord High Commiſſioner to King *William*'s Parliament, 710. and to Queen *Anne*'s firſt Parliament, 712. is a Commiſſioner for the Treaty of Union, 714. is appointed Lord Privy Seal, 721. and High Commiſſioner at the Union Parliament, 723. is created Duke of *Dover*, 745.

R.

RANDOLPH Sir *Thomas* Earl of *Murray*, his Exploits, 186. is poiſon'd by a Monk, 197.
Ramſays, a Surname in *Scotland*, 141.
Redbeard Magnus, his Expedition in *Scotland*, 249.
Rizio David employ'd as Secretary to Queen *Mary*, 399. is murder'd, 400.
Robert Bruce King, 183.
Robert II. ſurnam'd *Stewart*, King, 211.
Robert III. King, 218.
Romachus King, 46.
Rutherus King, 11.
Reutha King, 10.
Roſs Earl created, 137.
Ramſay Sir *John*, kills the Earl of *Gowry* and his Brother, 554.
Roſs Lord, kill'd at *Flowden-field*, 308.
Rothes Earl, attends King *James* V. and at his Funeral, 357. he is ſent Commiſſioner to *France*, and dies at *Diep*, 373.
Rothes Earl, Privy Counſellor to Queen *Mary*, 409.
Rothes Earl, Commiſſioner of *Scotland* and Chancellor, 685.
Roſs Lord, joins to releaſe Queen *Mary*, 418.
Roſs Lord, his Command at *Bothwell-Bridge*, 685.
Roioruſe, the Boundary between *Scotland* and *England*, 142.
Ruel, or St. *Regulus*, brings over the Arm of St. *Andrew* to *Scotland*, 48.

S.

SATRAEL King, 40.
St. *Andrew*'s Church and Abby built, 96. The Univerſity founded there, 224.
St. *Andrew*'s, the Archbiſhop *Hamilton* executed at *Stirling*, 447.
Sanquhar Lord of, executed at *London*, 582.
Sandilands, a Surname in *Scotland*, 141.
Saxons, their firſt coming into *Britain*, 61.
SCOTS, firſt ſo call'd, 2.
SCOTLAND independant of *England*, 173.
Scott Michael, a great Phyſician, 171.
Scott Sir *Alexander*, Director of the Chancery, 287.
Scott Sir *Walter* of *Buccleugh*, his Expedition againſt the Earl of *Angus*, 331.
Scott Sir *Walter*, his good Conduct, and Victory over the *Engliſh*, 360.
Scott Laird of *Buccleugh* quarrels with the *Engliſh* Warden, 540. *Buccleugh* ſurpriſes *Carliſle*, 541.
Scott Anne, Counteſs of *Buccleugh*, created Dutcheſs, 692.
Selkirk Earl of, againſt the Union, 734.
Seatons, the Surnames firſt in *Scotland*, 137.
Seaton Lady, her Heroick Speech to her Husband, 199.
Seaton Sir *Alexander*, ſlain at *Flowden-field*, 308.
Seaton Lord, receives Queen *Mary* from *Lochleven*, 419. his bold Enterprize in *Holland*, 443.
Semple Lord, ſlain at *Flowden-field*, 308.
Seymore, General of the *Engliſh* Army againſt *Macbeth*, 138.
Sinclair, or *St. Clare*, the Sirname firſt in *Scotland*, 141.
Sinclair, *Robert*, Earl of *Orkney*, Regent of *Scotland*, 262.
Sinclair, *George*, Earl of *Caithneſs* ſlain at *Flowden*, 308.
Sinclair, Lord, ſlain, *ibid.*
Sinclair, *Oliver*, Favourite to King *James* V. has the Command of the Army at *Solway* Moſs, 356.
Sholto, firſt of the Name of *Dowglaſs*, 84.
Sharp, *James*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Account of his Murder, 684.
Solvathius, King, 84.
Somervel, Lord, ſlain at *Solway* Moſs, 356.
Somerſet, Duke, invades *Scotland*, with an Army, 363.
Spaniſh Armado, 532.
Stewarts, the Original of that Name, 141.
Stewart, *Robert* II. the firſt King of that Name, 211.
Surrey, Earl, challenges King *James* IV. 305.
Sutherland, *John* Earl of, 394.
Sntherland, *John* Earl of, a Commiſſion for the Union, 722. he offers his Service to the Government, 756. he takes *Inverneſs*, 757.

T.

TACITUS Cornelius, his Account of the *Scots*, 52.
Thereus King, 13.
Thirlſtane, Lord Chancellor, accuſed, 520. is in great Favour with the King, 523. his Death 539.
Traquair, Earl, Lord Treaſurer of *Scotland*, 608.
Trebellius, a *Roman* General defeated by the *Scots* and *Picts*, 39. his Cruelty to the *Britons*, *ibid.*
Traherus, a *Roman* Captain, his Meſſage to King *Fincormachus*, 45.
Turnbull, *Walter* executed at *Edinburgh*, for writing a Lampoon on the Regent, 472.

V.

VESPASIAN the *Roman* General, accompanies *Claudius Cæſar* to *Britain*. His great Humanity, *ibid.*
VIRGIN MARY tranſlated to Heaven, 25.
Vcadicia, Daughter to Queen *Voda*, kills herſelf, 33.
Vortigeren, Prince of *Britons*, brings over the *Saxons*, 61.

W.

WALLACE, a Surname in *Scotland*, 137.
Wallace, Sir *William*, his valiant Exploits, 176. he overthrows *Creſſingham* at *Stirling*, 177. his Conference with *Robert Bruce*, 179. is betrayed by *Menteith*, and barbarouſly executed, 182.
Walſſingham, Sir *Francis*, Secretary to Queen *Elizabeth*, 497. his Letters to Sir *Amias Pawlet*, 509. his Letter to the Lord *Thirlſtane*, 519.
Warbeek Perkin the Impoſture, an Account of him, 293.
Wauchop, a Surname in *Scotland*, 137.
Walter, High Steward of *Scotland*, 141.
William I. King, Surnamed the *Lyon*, 154.
William II. King, 703.
Voda, Queen of *Britons*, 30. kills herſelf, 31.
Wood, Sir *Andrew*, Admiral of *Scotland*, his great Loyalty and Courage, 289. he takes *Stephen Bull* the *Engliſh* Admiral Priſoner, 291.

FINIS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM